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No. 5. (1864.)

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF THE DUCHIES

OF

HOLSTEIN, LAUENBURG, AND SCHLESWIG.

(In continuation of Correspondence "Denmark and Germany, No. 4.")

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
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Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig.

No. 846.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, January* 23, 1864.

I AM directed by your Lordship's despatch of the 15th instant to ascertain what reply the Russian Government propose to return to the application which the Danish Government is understood to have made to it for mediation in its differences with Germany, in conformity with the principle laid down in the 23rd Protocol of the Conference at Paris, in the year 1856.

I placed your Lordship's despatch in the hands of Prince Gortchakoff yesterday. His Excellency stated to me, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, that he had accepted the communication of the Cabinet of Copenhagen as a proposal for a Conference of the signataries of the Act of London with a representative of the Diet, the best form, in his opinion, in which the good offices of foreign Powers could be exerted in this controversy. He had taken no notice of the reference made to the Protocol of Paris.

No. 847.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, January* 24, 1864.

I HAD yesterday the honour of laying before Prince Gortchakoff your Lordship's despatch of January 18th, recapitulating the motives which had prompted the Great Powers to sign the Act of London of 1852, for the preservation of the Danish Monarchy, and stating that for the same purpose concert and co-operation between the Contracting Parties was now necessary.

To the general affirmation of the principles and policy which guide Her Majesty's Government Prince Gortchakoff made no objection, but when his Excellency came to your Lordship's pointed inquiry, "whether Russia would concert and co-operate with the Governments of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and France, for the purpose of maintaining the engagements of the Treaty of May 1852, and especially of upholding the integrity of the Danish Monarchy," the Russian Minister was not prepared to give a direct reply. His Excellency asked me whether I was enabled to define the terms "concert and co-operation." These words seemed to point to an ulterior course of policy, contemplated by Her Majesty's Government in certain contingencies; what was the nature of the measures which Her Majesty's Government had in view? He had already requested me to obtain from Her Majesty's Government a more distinct definition of their intentions, without which he could not state his own. The Prince also requested that he might be informed, as soon as was convenient to Her Majesty's Government, of the replies which they obtained from the other Courts consulted.

No. 848.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, January* 26, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I waited on Prince Gortchakoff this afternoon.

I explained to the Vice-Chancellor that, generally speaking, Her Majesty's Government proposed to France, Russia, and Sweden to give material assistance to Denmark in the contingency of an attack against the integrity of the Danish Monarchy by Germany, but that Her Majesty's Government did not propose to give such aid as long as Austria and Prussia limited their demands to the execution of the engagements of 1851 and 1852. If the two German Powers should continue hostilities with Denmark after those demands had been complied with, then a new case would arise demanding further consideration. I added that an instruction to Lord Cowley setting forth the views of Her Majesty's Government would shortly be forwarded to this Embassy, and that Her Majesty's Governmment had also addressed themselves to Austria and Prussia, with the view of obtaining their co-operation in supporting the integrity of Denmark.

Prince Gortchakoff remarked that in a question of such importance it was more prudent not to conclude anything upon intelligence received by telegraph; he would await the development of your Lordship's sentiments, which was no doubt embodied in your despatch addressed to Paris. There were, however, two points on which he wished to be particularly informed. 1st. What was the nature and extent of the material assistance which, in the contingency indicated, Her Majesty's Government designed to afford to Denmark? And 2ndly. Did Her Majesty's Government make such assistance conditional on the co-operation of all or of any of the Powers parties to the engagements of London:—would they act with all, or with some, or would they even act alone?

Prince Gortchakoff then showed me a telegram from Paris reporting that the French Government had refused to engage itself to support Denmark by material force, but had stated their intention to support the integrity of that State by diplomatic means.

No. 849.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, January* 26, 1864.

IN conformity with the sense of your Lordship's telegram, I have informed Prince Gortchakoff that Her Majesty's Government will not advise the Cabinet of Copenhagen to submit without resistance to the occupation of Schleswig by the forces of Austria and Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 850.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, January* 26, 1864.

I REPORTED to your Lordship by telegraph, that the Russian Cabinet would join with Her Majesty's Government in advising the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin to suspend operations pending the convocation of the Rigsraad, and the repeal of the obnoxious Constitution as soon as Her Majesty's Representatives at Berlin and Vienna had received instructions to that effect.

On the evening of the 24th instant I had the honour of meeting Prince Gortchakoff at the Palace, when his Excellency told me that, having learned by telegraph from Berlin that representations had been made in the sense above mentioned by the English and French Ministers, he had immediately given orders to the Russian Ministers at the Courts of Austria and Prussia to take the same course.

The Vice-Chancellor informed me this afternoon that he had received telegraphic intelligence to the effect that the Austrian Cabinet had positively declined to delay the invasion of Schleswig for the time and purpose desired, and that M. de Bismarck had

approved the resolution of Count Rechberg. The official reply of Prussia had not been received, but there could be little doubt of the sense in which it would be framed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 851.

Rear-Admiral Harris to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.) *Berne, January* 25, 1864.

THE President informs me that three weeks ago the Federal Council received a communication from Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, informing them of his Succession to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. It has remained unanswered.

No. 852.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Munich, January* 26, 1864.

SINCE the vote of the Diet on the 14th instant, on the Austro-Prussian proposal for the occupation of Schleswig, and the determined action of the two great German Powers in consequence of its rejection, the agitation of public opinion here, which had somewhat abated, has recommenced.

A meeting numerously attended by the middle classes was held here on the 20th instant, at which the most violent language was held against the two great German Powers. The policy of Austria and Prussia was characterized as "treason" to Germany, and as not only threatening the rights of the German Duchies but the independence of the several minor German States, to whom no choice was now left but that of accepting the thraldom of the two German Powers or of civil war.

An address to the King was moved and voted unanimously, praying His Majesty to convoke the Chambers and to mobilize the army.

I am informed that the object of the Ultra party here is to restore M. Von der Pfordten to power, hoping through him to carry out a more decided policy of action in favour of placing Prince Frederick of Augustenburg in possession of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig. Their wish is that the Diet should march a number of troops into Holstein equal to the Austro-Prussian force in Schleswig, with a view to prevent any reversal of the policy declared by the Diet in Holstein.

On my reverting in conversation with Baron Schrenk to this meeting and the objects of the Ultra Party, his Excellency stated that there was no question of convoking the Chambers, observing that no definite proposal could at this moment be submitted to them.

With respect to the army there was no necessity, he observed, for mobilization, as its present organization was such that it could be in marching order in a fortnight. He remarked, with reference to the idea of marching a large force to the north, that the country would be thereby denuded of protection if required, and he considered that the placing of an army of observation on the Austrian frontier, of which an idea had been suggested by the press, would be a senseless provocation. Nothing, said his Excellency, can be done until the Diet had decided on the question of Succession in Holstein, and if the decision should be in his favour, he repeated what he had stated to me on a previous occasion, that the Diet would be then called upon to place Prince Frederick in possession of that Duchy and to defend him in case of need.

Baron Schrenk stated that the last declaration of the two great German Powers at the Diet had produced a calming effect, and that the necessary orders had been sent to the Federal Commissioners to allow the Austrian and Prussian troops to traverse Holstein.

The language of Baron Schrenk was calm and conciliatory, nor did he appear to apprehend, notwithstanding the renewal of popular agitation as evinced by the meetings held here and elsewhere, that the Ultra Party would attempt to force on the Government measures suggested by the dictates of passion rather than of reason.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 853.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Munich, January* 26, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that M. d'Ozerow, lately appointed Russian Envoy at this Court, has arrived in this capital, and was received on the 24th instant by the King of Bavaria, when he had the honour to deliver his credentials to His Majesty.

No communications have taken place between the Russian and Bavarian Governments on the Schleswig-Holstein question. Baron Schrenk has informed me that he has learnt from St. Petersburgh that Prince Gortchakoff, although maintaining his strong sympathies for Denmark, is not disposed, with the pressure upon him of internal affairs, to take any active part in the Danish cause.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 854.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Munich, Januaay* 26, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith in translation by Mr. Trench, the motives assigned by the Bavarian Representative at Frankfort for the vote he gave at the sitting of the Diet on the 14th instant, on the Austro-Prussian proposal for an occupation of Schleswig in case of their demands being rejected by Denmark.

This document further contains a formal declaration made by the Bavarian Representative in the name of his Government in consequence of the announcement by Austria and Prussia of their intention (on the rejection of their proposal) to take the matter into their own hands.

This declaration reserves to the Diet the power of taking ulterior measures to protect the rights and interest of Germany.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 854.

Vote given by the Bavarian Representative at Frankfort at the sitting of the Diet of the 14th instant on the Austro-Prussian proposal.

(Translation.) *Munich, January* 17, 1864.

THE vote which the Bavarian Representative at the Diet gave in the name of the Royal Government at the sitting of the Diet of the 14th instant, on the Austro-Prussian proposal respecting the upholding of the rights pertaining to the German Confederation relating to Schleswig is as follows :—

"The Royal Government find themselves, in consequence of the course which the affair in question has taken since their proposal of the 23rd of last month, strengthened in their opinion that the decision of the question of Succession is imperatively demanded before any further step be taken, in order to be able to consider the measures which the Diet will have to decide upon respecting Schleswig. The Royal Government, however, is not unmindful of the opportuneness of precautions which have in view the security of the rights, the protection of which in this Duchy is incumbent on the Diet, and therefore only agrees to the Austro-Prussian proposal in so far as the same has for object the military occupation of Schleswig by Federal troops, and under the modification that this occupation for the protection of the said rights shall be at once carried into effect."

After, therefore, the Austrian-Prussian proposal was rejected by 11 against 5 voices, and it was declared by the Austrian and Prussian Envoys that in consequence thereof the two Great German Powers would take the question into their own hands, the Bavarian Representative at the Diet made the following declaration :—

"The Royal Government sees itself called upon, in consequence of this declaration, on its side to reserve the further resolutions in this affair to the Bund, which will be shortly called upon to protect the rights and interests of Germany, as the intended advance of Austria and Prussia can only be considered as a result of their position as European Powers."

No. 855.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Munich, January* 26, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith a translation, by Mr. Lonsdale, of a despatch addressed by Baron Schrenk, on the 31st of December last, to the Bavarian Minister at Vienna, in reply to the note addressed by Count Rechberg to the Bavarian Government on the 5th ultimo (which was identic with one addressed by the Prussian Government bearing the same date), on the question as to whether there should be a Federal Execution or a Federal occupation of the Duchy of Holstein.

I further annex a translation in French, of Count Rechberg's reply to the Bavarian despatch, although it is probable that your Lordship will have already received a copy of this document from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna.

These documents, although now of no recent date, pourtray very clearly the divergence of views existing on the Schleswig Holstein question between the two Governments, and detail the arguments put forth by both in defence of the policy they have adopted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 855.

Baron Schrenk to the Bavarian Minister at Vienna, December 31, 1863.

[See Part IV, Inclosure 1 in No. 763.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 855.

Count Rechberg to the Bavarian Minister at Vienna, January 10, 1864.

[For Précis of this despatch, see Part IV, Inclosure 2 in No. 763.]

No. 856.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, January* 26, 1864.

A PARAGRAPH has been going the round of the German newspapers to the effect that the Russian Government has notified to certain German Courts that, in the event of the claim of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg to be Duke of Holstein being recognized by the German Diet, the Russian Imperial Family would consider as revived their claims to the Gottorp portion of Schleswig, which were renounced by them by the Protocol of Warsaw of 1851 in favour of the eventual Succession of the Glücksburg family to the sovereignty of the Duchies.

I am in a position to assure your Lordship that no such communication has been made to this Government by the Russian Minister here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. J. R. GORDON.

No. 857.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.) *Stuttgardt, January* 26, 1864.

THE Stuttgardt Committee for Schleswig-Holstein called together a public meeting on the 21st instant, with reference to the late occurrences in the Diet at Frankfort on that question. The meeting was numerously attended, and an address to the King was resolved upon in addition to a number of resolutions; and an address to the German subjects of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia.

The resolutions adopted by the meeting were that series of five which appears to have

been drawn up by the Central Committee of the German Representatives at Frankfort. It turns on the usual points of the recognition of Prince Frederick as Duke of Holstein, the necessity of holding the military force of the country in readiness for action, the willingness of the people to accept any sacrifice necessary for this object, the necessity for close concert between the middle and smaller States of Germany, and an invitation to the rest of the country to adopt similar resolutions.

The address to the German subjects of Austria and Prussia is a strong appeal to the patriotic feelings of the inhabitants of those different Provinces to stand by the rest of Germany at the present crisis, when the Governments under which they live have united in opposing the decision of the German Diet, in determining to support the anti-German Treaty of London of 1852, and in adopting a course of action which must result in depriving Duke Frederick VIII of Holstein of his rights, and restoring the Duchies to Danish rule.

The address to the King is an earnest appeal to His Majesty to continue steadfastly to follow the course declared by Baron Hügel to the Chamber of Deputies to be that adopted by the Government, namely, the support of the claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg. The King's attention is earnestly called to the grave consequences—not to the Schleswig-Holstein cause alone—but to German Federal independence and the rights of the smaller States, which must necessarily result from the decision of the two great Powers, not only not to submit to, but to act in opposition to, a formal decision of the Diet. The meeting express their conviction that this proceeding on the part of the great Powers is not to be met by weak concession and submission, but by firm opposition, close union, and immediate occupation of the Duchies by a Federal force of sufficient strength to carry out the decisions of the Diet, accompanied by holding ready for active service the whole military force of the country. The close union of the rights and interests of Princes and people in such a cause, must, the address declares, render their efforts invincible; and for this object, the latter are prepared for any sacrifices.

This address was received by the King through the medium of His Majesty's private Secretary, and the official newspaper of the 24th instant contained a few paragraphs dated the 22nd, which, although printed in the non-official portion of the paper, are known to be the King's reply.

I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of this article, which, as your Lordship will observe, is composed with the intention of moderating the extreme views of his people on this now very serious question.

Inclosure in No. 857.

Note in the "Staats Anzeiger" of January 24, 1864.

(Translation.) *Stuttgardt, January* 22, 1864.

MR. DEPUTY PROBST brought forward a motion in the Chamber, for placing on a war footing the Wurtemburg *corps d'armée;* this demonstration (for it can be nothing else) would cost a couple of millions, and would lead to nothing further. We are not aware whether the other Middle States would consent to arming their military forces; but even if this improbable case should occur, their strength, as opposed to Austria and Prussia, would be by no means such as to be able to compel these States to change their course.

The present situation is a very painful one, and it is earnestly to be wished that Austria and Prussia may terminate it in such a manner as to render possible the maintenance of the Confederation; but we also must take care to remain on such terms with the Great Powers as to secure this object, and not to cut off the further development of the Federal relations.

If, however, the present situation be very disagreeable, it is easier to endure, if the truth be spoken in a legal and moderate manner.

No. 858.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, January* 29, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith translation of the official reply given by Royal command, by the Minister of the Interior, Baron Linden, to the address to the King

resolved upon at the public meeting on the Schleswig-Holstein question, reported upon to your Lordship in my despatch of the 26th instant.

In view of the determination, as would appear on the part of Austria and Prussia, to prosecute, undeterred by any representations, the anti-federal as well as very serious enterprize which they have entered upon in Schleswig, it seems by no means impossible that, in this country, the determination of the King to pursue a prudent course suitable to the circumstances and inferior importance of his country and consistent with the preservation of peace, may have the effect of moderating the excitement on the Schleswig-Holstein question which has prevailed since the decease of King Frederick VII of Denmark.

The King of Wurtemberg enjoys, both in his own country and throughout Germany, an amount of consideration and influence which is not possessed by any other Sovereign of the middle and smaller States, and the hope may perhaps be entertained that His Majesty's coming forward at this juncture, in reliance upon these attributes, may avert, for the present at least, the dangers of the civil war and foreign interference to which the violence of popular feeling appeared to have exposed this section of Germany.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. J. R. GORDON.

Inclosure in No. 858.

Communication from the Home Office to the Schleswig-Holstein Committee of Stuttgardt, in reply to their Address to the King of January 21, 1864.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Stuttgardt, January* 27, 1864.

I HAVE the honour, by His Majesty's commands, to make to you the following communication in answer to the address submitted by you to the King on the 21st instant, with reference to the Schleswig-Holstein question.

His Majesty the King has constantly devoted to the affair forming the subject of the address that serious attention which its great importance demands.

His Majesty has also willingly received the views and wishes which the Constitutional Representatives of the Wurtemberg people have brought before him with reference to the above, and has bestowed upon them all the consideration possible according to the state of the existing circumstances.

His Majesty can so much the less consent to enter into discussion with private persons who occupy themselves with this question; the King expects rather that the management of an affair, a proper estimate of which must depend upon a constant exact knowledge of all its relations, will be left to those organs which are constitutionally charged with it.

By how much more the diligence of His Majesty's Government in this matter is acknowledged, and by how much more, also, the King himself is conscious of having unremittingly kept in view during a long life and reign, under manifold difficult circumstances, the true welfare of both the German and the Wurtemberg Fatherland, by so much the more has His Majesty the right to claim that he only intends, as well as knows, how to act in this question as the weal of the country requires.

The Minister of the Interior,
(Signed) LINDEN.

To the Mayor of Stuttgardt, Herr Sick.

No. 859.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, January* 28, 1864.

AS a preparatory measure to the elections for the Rigsraad, the Danish Government has just published for the Duchy of Schleswig a list of the places where the electors are to inscribe themselves, and the names of the officials who are to control the lists.

M. Quaade, however, informed me to-day that he thought it would be next to impossible that under any circumstances, and using all speed, the necessary legal forms could be accomplished and the Rigsraad called together before the beginning of April.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 860.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, January* 29, 1864.

THE Diet sat yesterday, but transacted no business of interest beyond receiving and referring to the Holstein Committee a representation from the Government of Electoral Hesse, urging a speedy decision on the claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg to the Succession in the Duchies.

This step has created some surprise, as the Hesse-Cassel Government has hitherto consistently acted with Austria and Prussia throughout the agitation upon this question, and the wording of the motion shows, as I am told, that the Electoral Cabinet entertains a bias favourable to Prince Frederick's pretensions, a feeling which nothing has yet indicated to be shared by either Austria or Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 861.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, January* 30, 1864.

THERE may be a certain degree of utility in my epitomizing to your Lordship the actual position of the several questions relating to the Danish question now pending in the Diet, including all I can learn of their probable course and result.

The note I presented on the 27th ultimo by your Lordship's instructions, as well as the copy of your Lordship's despatch of the 31st ultimo, both of which proposed Conferences, are laid aside, ostensibly because it would be impossible for the Diet to agree upon the instructions to be given to the Plenipotentiary whom it was proposed to admit to these Conferences had they been agreed upon.

2nd. The main ground of disagreement in respect of the instructions above referred to, is that the majority of the Diet rejects the London Treaty of 1852.

Your Lordship will recollect my notice of M. von der Pfortden's observations on this point in my despatch of 11th instant.

It seems his Excellency has prepared a Report inviting the Diet to pronounce the nullity of that Treaty. The President, and the small minority, consisting I believe of Prussia, Hesse-Cassel, and Mecklenburg, have as yet succeeded in preventing this Report from being presented. Their argument is that it is superfluous to examine the question, no one ever having pretended that the Treaty was binding on the Diet. This plea does not, however, satisfy the majority, the Bavarian Minister especially being desirous that his appreciation of that act, which his Report denounces in the strongest terms as spoliatory and illegal, should be adopted by the Diet.

The dilatory forms of the Diet will, however, enable the opponents of this Report to postpone its being brought up almost indefinitely, and circumstances may occur rendering any vote on the matter unnecessary.

Third in order comes the question of Succession. The document which is known to be in readiness upon this subject from the pen of M. von der Pfordten would be more fitly described as the individual vote of Bavaria, for as the Committee is not agreed each member is entitled to place his own, or, if the case so happens, the opinions of the minority agreeing with him, on record.

In the present case I am told that Austria and Prussia are still occupied in formulating their votes, neither of them being yet by any means ready.

By this mode of proceeding sources of delay are, as your Lordship will see, readily found, and my own belief is that a very considerable time (I should hardly scruple at naming two or three months) may yet elapse before this matter is brought to a vote. In the first place, after the Committee have terminated their labours, the several opinions pronounced by the members of that Body will have to be communicated to the several Governments, and deliberated on by their Cabinets; and secondly, the Members of the Diet will have to receive final orders as to their vote.

Efforts are not wanting to obtain a virtual recognition of the rights of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg by a sort of side wind, for it is sought to have the Baden Minister recognised as his Plenipotentiary.

Acceleration of a decision on the right of Succession is also pressed on the Diet, as

shown by the motion of Electoral Hesse, reported in my despatch of the 29th instant, but these attempts do not move the Diet from its customary deliberate rate of progress, though some of its Members begin to be alarmed at external clamour.

There is, however, some reason to think that perilous decisions are purposely staved off by those who direct the movements of the Assembly, in view of what is passing on the Eider at this moment, and the expectation that events will occur rendering much of what is matter of debate in the Diet altogether a work of superfluity.

No. 862.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Vienna, January* 28, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the French Ambassador, the Swedish Minister, and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires have made communications to Count Rechberg in the same sense as that which I addressed to his Excellency by your Lordship's orders, respecting the project of the Danish Government to convoke the Rigsraad and submit to it a measure for the repeal of the Constitution of November 18, and that they have likewise requested the Austrian Government to grant six weeks' time to Denmark to consider and deliberate, before carrying their military arrangements into effect.

Count Rechberg has returned answers to these representations similiar to that which he had previously given to myself, and which I have already reported to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 863.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Vienna, January* 28, 1864.

I CALLED on Count Rechberg yesterday and inquired if his Excellency was prepared to say anything further with regard to the two communications which I had lately addressed to him on the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy and the proposal of the Cabinet at Copenhagen to repeal the Constitution of November 18.

Count Rechberg said he was still in communication with the Prussian Government, and that he expected soon to be able to reply to the former of these communications in a manner that he hoped would not be unsatisfactory to Her Majesty's Government.

We then conversed on the question of the advance of the troops into Schleswig. His Excellency repeated what he had stated on a former occasion, that the march of this large force could not be stopped; and, on my saying that they might halt on the Eider and take up a commanding position there, he said that their number was too great to admit of this for any length of time; and if they did halt on the Eider the excitement produced thereby in Germany would become uncontrollable and might lead to civil war: therefore if the Austrian and Prussian troops did not advance it was possible others might make the attempt to take their place.

I told him that if he ever seriously doubted the intention of the Danes to resist the advance of the Austro-Prussian army into Schleswig, he must now at all events be aware of their determination to defend the Duchy to the best of their power; and I asked if under these circumstances it would not be wiser to pause for a few weeks and give time to the Danish Government to satisfy Germany by the repeal of the Constitution; by doing so the Austrian Government would show deference to a reasonable proposal, the acceptance of which had been urged on their consideration by England, France, Russia, and Sweden. He replied it was impossible, it was altogether too late; and who, he said, would answer if the delay was agreed to, that the Danish Government would succeed in carrying out their project in the Rigsraad? Would England answer for this? I said that Her Majesty's Government earnestly desired to prevent the threatened war; that they hoped a pause of a few weeks in the advance of the Austro-Prussian army might have relieved Europe from the danger with which she was threatened, whilst it offered the means of a pacific settlement of the dispute between Germany and Denmark. I remarked further, that the acceptance of the proposal of Denmark would have proved moreover that Austria was animated

with a spirit of moderation, and it would have placed her in a better position towards the European Powers who had signed the Treaty of London with her, than by forcing on hostilities in the very teeth of a reasonable concession that had been made by Denmark.

Count Rechberg then spoke of the lateness of the season, of the increasing difficulties the troops would have to contend with if there was any delay; he hinted that this Danish proposal might be a mere subterfuge for the purpose of gaining time; that the Rigsraad after all might not pass the measure that was to be proposed to it, and that the late discussion in the Landsthing at Copenhagen and the language there held by Bishop Monrad were not calculated to inspire him with confidence. Time, he added, must not be lost, meaning that with the opening of the navigation and the return of spring Denmark might obtain material assistance from abroad; and that it was consequently necessary for the success of the expedition that it should be carried out at once.

He observed that he deeply regretted to find that Her Majesty's Government was indisposed to attach sufficient importance to the very grave difficulties in which Austria and Prussia were placed, with Germany in a state of frenzy on this very question. The Imperial Government, he said, sought to obtain a pledge for unfulfilled obligations on the part of Denmark by the temporary occupation of Schleswig, which if they are allowed to effect it peaceably, Austria and Prussia would restore unharmed, when once the necessary guarantees were obtained. Of course, if there was resistance it might be otherwise, and the defensive works erected by Denmark would have to be destroyed, and there would be a great expenditure of life and treasure on both sides.

I said to Count Rechberg that this experiment which Austria and Prussia were about to try was full of peril; the system of seizing material guarantees had produced one war and might produce another, and it was establishing a precedent fraught with danger; and it surely was an unjust proceeding towards Denmark, because Germany was in a state of feverish excitement, that war should be carried into her territory at the very moment she was disposed to yield the point upon which so much stress had been laid.

I then inquired, if war became inevitable, was there any intention of advancing beyond the frontiers of Schleswig. His Excellency replied there was no such intention.

His Excellency asked me whether I had received any answer from your Lordship respecting the suggestion reported in my despatches of the 14th and of the 19th instant, which he had made as to the form of an invitation to a Conference on the Dano-German differences which, in his opinion, might be advantageously adopted, namely, to the effect that a Conference was desired for the purpose of regulating the international questions and effecting a pacific solution, for he was as anxious as ever for the establishing of a Conference on this question.

I replied that I had received no answer, and that it would, I feared, not be of much use to convoke a Conference at the very moment when Austria and Prussia were about to wage war against Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 864.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Vienna, January* 28, 1864.

I UNDERSTAND that orders have been issued to prepare twenty more regiments of infantry (sixty battalions) for active service.

No particular destination is mentioned of these troops, and the measure is reported to be simply one of precaution in the event of a sudden emergency. Italy, however, is supposed to be the direction in which they may be wanted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 865.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Vienna, January* 28, 1864.

A DEBATE in the Lower Chamber on the proposed grant of 10,000,000 florins for the expenses of the military expedition into the Duchies was commenced to-day. At 4 o'clock

the debate was adjourned, and it is probable that it will not be brought to a close in another sitting. The Ministers have not yet spoken on the debate. The tone adopted by the Opposition implies their readiness to vote unlimited supplies to the Government if it will carry out a National policy in the Duchies, but renders it very doubtful whether the House will do more than sanction the sum—not exceeding 6,000,000 florins—recommended by their Committee to be allowed the Government for the expenses incurred on Federal grounds.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 866.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January* 29, 1864.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram, I have the honour to inform you that I lost no time in communicating to M. de Bismarck the proposal which it instructed me to convey to the Prussian Government, that a Protocol should be signed in London by the signataries of the Treaty of May 8, 1852, in which Denmark should engage to convoke the Rigsraad, and to submit a proposal to it for the repeal of the Constitution of November last, and in which Austria and Prussia should agree not to invade Schleswig until the result of the engagement of the Danish Government to propose the repeal of the Constitution should be known.

I regret to say that M. de Bismarck has declined this proposal, and his Excellency has repeated to me that it is impossible for the troops of Austria and Prussia to remain stationary on the Eider for six weeks until an Assembly—against the legality of which these Powers have protested—can be elected, and deliberate as to whether their demand for the repeal of the Constitution shall be granted. But even if this objection were not insisted upon, his Excellency said, the proposal of Her Majesty's Government affords no security to Austria and Prussia that the Rigsraad would consent to the repeal of the Constitution; and while any delay in the military operations would greatly increase the defensive means of Denmark, it might add to the political embarrassments which at present exist in the relations of Austria and Prussia with the other Governments of Germany.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 867.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, January* 29, 1864.

I HAD the honour to receive last night your Lordship's telegram, proposing to the Prussian Government the signature of a Protocol in London by the signataries of the Treaty of London, by which Denmark should engage to convoke the Rigsraad for the repeal of the Constitution of November last, and Austria and Prussia should engage not to enter Schleswig until the result of the deliberations of the Rigsraad should be made known.

I immediately requested an interview with M. de Bismarck, and having been informed that he could not receive me, as a Cabinet was sitting, I wrote a few lines to his Excellency, forwarding the substance of your Lordship's telegram, and expressing a hope that he would see me to-day, and enable me to inform your Lordship that you might expect a favourable answer to your proposal.

This morning I called upon him by appointment, and when I spoke of my communication of the previous evening, he replied that he had already telegraphed to England that the proposal which it conveyed could not be accepted; he said it afforded no security for the repeal of the Constitution, and that Austria and Prussia could not make their arrangements dependent on the deliberations of an Assembly which they considered illegal. I replied that they had no right, however, to ask a Danish Minister to violate the laws of his country, and that it appeared to me, whatever future arrangements may be concerted with the other Signataries of the Treaty of London for the reorganization of the Danish Monarchy, the King of Denmark will be unable to sanction them until the existing Fundamental Law is repealed in a legal manner; and if such a formality will be required eventually, no objection ought to be made now to its being resorted to as a means of preventing war. I said that Prussia would not improve her position towards Denmark by abandoning

the Treaty of London and adopting the policy of the smaller States of Germany, as I believed Russia was disposed to show much greater forbearance towards Prussia acting independently as at present, than she would do were Prussia to make common cause with Germany in an aggressive war against Denmark.

M. de Bismarck said he was quite aware of this.

I said that among other circumstances which were not likely to increase the confidence of Her Majesty's Government in the policy of Prussia, I regretted to perceive that the Prince of Augustenburg's position in Holstein had not been changed by the presence of the troops of Austria and Prussia in the Duchy, and his Excellency replied that his Highness would have been expelled from the Duchy, but that the Prussian Government was told such a measure could not be effected without bloodshed; besides, the Prussian troops were only passing through the Duchy, and their officers did not interfere with the civil authority of the Federal Commissioners. I said the Prince of Augustenburg was, however, an officer in the Prussian service, and that it appeared to me an order from Marshal Wrangel ought to suffice to effect his removal, for he could not disobey such an order, nor could he evade it by his resignation, as the King would have a right to refuse the acceptance of his resignation until he had obeyed His Majesty's orders or those of the Prussian Commander-in-chief in Holstein.

M. de Bismarck said that he would bring this question again before the King, as he believed, if the Prince were removed from Holstein and satisfactory assurances given to Her Majesty's Government as to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, they would have less objection to the occupation of Schleswig by the troops of Austria and Prussia.

No. 868.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January* 30, 1864.

I AM assured that on Monday next the Prussian troops in Holstein will amount to 45,000, and the Austrian to 27,000 men, and it is believed the combined army will be ready to cross the Eider on the 3rd or 4th of February.

Their plan, it is said, will be to turn the Dannewerk by crossing the Slei, and to cut off the Danish communications with the sea, an operation of which the safety and success must greatly depend on the weather, independently of the means of defence which the Danes may have at their disposal.

As to these means, the last report received here from the military authorities in Holstein estimates the strength of the Danish army at 45,000 men, but as reinforcements are daily reaching it, it may amount before the operations begin to the 75,000 men spoken of at Copenhagen. It is believed here that their artillery will be much inferior in quality to that of the two great German military Powers, but if there is no frost, the nature of the ground to be defended may, notwithstanding, enable them to make a formidable resistance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 869.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January* 30, 1864.

I UNDERSTAND that His Royal Highness the Crown Prince will leave Berlin this evening and proceed to Holstein to join the head-quarters of Field-Marshal Wrangel, the Commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army about to enter the Duchy of Schleswig.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 870.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord, *Hanover, January* 30, 1864.

YOUR Lordship will be already aware that what is called the National Government (administrative authority) in Holstein has urged the Federal Commissioners to convoke the Holstein States, and that they have referred the question to the Diet.

The ostensible ground for this demand is the necessity of a confirmation by the States of the establishment of the National Government, but this is no doubt a mere pretext, and its real object may be safely said to be the wish of that Government—which is chiefly, if not entirely, composed of partisans of the Prince of Augustenburg, the adherents of His Majesty King Christian having been removed from it by the Federal Commissioners—to obtain from the States a recognition of the pretensions of the Prince to the Duchy, an object which there is too much reason to fear might, under the present revolutionary excitement existing in Holstein, be attained; as although the largest landowners and most distinguished members of the States have remained faithful to His Majesty's cause, and very little sympathy is in reality felt for the Prince of Augustenburg, yet the probability, according to the most generally accredited opinion, is that a majority would be induced to vote in favour of the pretender's claims.

In a conversation which I had with Count Platen to-day, I called his attention to the additional complications likely to arise from the convocation of the States, and to the expediency of its being prevented.

His Excellency stated that he altogether disapproved of the convocation, which was, he considered, quite unnecessary for the purposes for which it had been proposed, and which only served to cover the ulterior object of procuring a vote of the States in favour of the Prince of Augustenburg, but he feared it could not be prevented, as a majority of the German Diet was likely to pronounce itself for it. He added, however, that such a vote on the part of the States, although it would certainly prove a new complication, would not decide the question, and he repeated his wish to see both the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig remain under the sceptre of His Majesty King Christian, united with the Crown of Denmark, as far as Holstein and the German part of Schleswig were concerned, only by a personal bond.

Such an arrangement could, however, he considered, not be otherwise obtained from Denmark than by the projected occupation of Schleswig by Austria and Prussia, to be followed by a Congress in which the whole question could be settled.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 871.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.) *Paris, January* 31, 1864.

I COMMUNICATED this afternoon to M. Drouyn de Lhuys your Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date, relating to the late proposals of Her Majesty's Government with reference to the Dano-German question, and I asked his Excellency whether your Lordship had correctly represented the tenor of his despatch to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, referred to in the despatch addressed to me.

After reading it, his Excellency said that your Lordship's despatch gave a correct summary of the observations which he had addressed to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.

No. 872.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir. *Foreign Office, February* 1, 1864.

HER Majesty's Government have seen with deep regret the unsuccessful issue of all their endeavours to obtain from the Austrian and Prussian Governments a delay in their military operations against Schleswig, and their consent to the signature of a Protocol proposed by Her Majesty's Government instead of the prosecution of an immediate invasion of the Duchy of Schleswig.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 873.

*Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 1, 1864.

THE Swedish Minister communicated to me a few days ago a despatch which Count Manderström had addressed on the 22nd of January to the Swedish Ministers at Berlin and

* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Napier, Lord Bloomfield, and Sir A. Buchanan.

at Vienna, with reference to the collective note addressed by the Prussian and Austrian Governments to that of Denmark on the 16th of January, requiring it to revoke within forty-eight hours the Constitution of November last.

Count Manderström does not disguise the painful impression which that document has produced on the Swedish Government: he declines to enter into the question as to how far the several Governments have fulfilled the engagements reciprocally contracted by them in 1851 and 1852, the non-execution of which by Denmark can clearly afford no justification to Austria and Prussia for interfering in the internal affairs of an independent State.

The form adopted was the more objectionable because Denmark could not possibly comply legally with the demands of the two Powers, and no Government was entitled to require another Government to perform an act absolutely illegal.

The Swedish Government, therefore, could not but protest in the most explicit manner against such an use of force, and could not but throw upon the Governments which had recourse to it, the whole responsibility for the disastrous consequences which might ensue from it.

The Government of Sweden had scrupulously abstained from interfering in Federal questions; but the question now raised was one of general European interest, and every independent State was entitled to express an opinion upon it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 874.

Mr. Jerningham to Earl Russell.—(Received February 2.)

(Extract.) *Stockholm, January* 25, 1864.

HAVING received your Lordship's telegram on the night of the 22nd instant* and communicated its substance the next day to Count Manderström, his Excellency informed me to-day that he had lost no time in taking the King's orders upon the subject, when he observed to His Majesty that the proposition might either be acted upon immediately or await the expected communication from Copenhagen; that the King desired him to adopt the former more efficient course, as it was a matter bearing on the preservation of peace; and that he had consequently instructed the Swedish Representatives at Berlin and Vienna by telegraph to make the desired application regarding the convocation of the Rigsraad as soon as a like step should have been taken by the respective Representatives of England.

Count Manderström further informed me that the announcement of the Danish Government reached him only this morning through Count Plessen, the Danish Minister, and he read me part of a despatch from Copenhagen stating that the Danish Government might be relied upon for doing their utmost to bring about the required change in the Constitution of November, and also that it was their intention to retire in the event of failure.

His Excellency appeared to apprehend that military reasons might possibly prevent Prussia and Austria from agreeing to the delay of six weeks from the 1st February, since at the end of that period the winter might have broken up sufficiently for the operation of the Danish fleet, but I expressed my inability to conceive their taking up such ground if they really wished to avoid war.

Count Manderström took occasion to eulogize your Lordship's proposition, which he seemed to think likely to prove conducive to the maintenance of peace, especially as it had been readily adopted by the French Government, thereby forming a new common ground for France and England; and also as the Prussian Chamber had been dissolved, the six weeks necessary for the election of whose successor might prove very aptly consonant with a like period required for the meeting and deliberation of the Rigsraad.

No. 875.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 2.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, January* 31, 1864.

THE Austrian and Prussian forces mentioned in my despatch of the 26th instant, as destined for Schleswig, have passed into Holstein, and the strength of the combined

* See Part IV, No. 773.

armies, is at present, as I learn from military authorities, 68,000 men. The Austrian army consists of—

Infantry	24,500
Cavalry	4,000
Artillery, foot and horse, about..	1,500
	30,000

with 64 cannons. The Prussian army is larger, consisting of—

Infantry	28,000
Cavalry	7,500
Artillery, foot and horse, about..	2,500
	38,000

with 110 cannons, including three batteries of rifled steel guns.

Information has, however, been received here that further forces, both Austrian and Prussian, may be immediately expected, and that such further forces will probably consist of 20,000 Austrian, and from 12,000 to 15,000 Prussian troops. If so, the strength of the combined army destined for Schleswig will exceed 100,000 men, exclusive of the Federal army occupying Holstein.

Field-Marshal Wrangel is at his head-quarters at Bordesholm in Holstein, where a Council of War was held yesterday. I have been told by a high military authority that the combined Austrian-Prussian army would cross the Eider into Schleswig at latest on the 6th of February.

The Crown-Prince of Prussia arrived here this morning, and proceeded immediately to the head-quarters at Bordesholm.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 876.

Mr. Murray to Earl Russell.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, *Dresden, February* 1, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on Friday evening last, the 29th, a deputation from the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein arrived in this city and were welcomed by music, processions, and other demonstrations of popular favour. On Saturday morning they had an audience of the King and afterwards of M. de Beust, at which they made speeches expressing their thanks for the energetic support given by the Saxon Court to the cause of "German rights and German honour" in the Duchies. After these audiences the deputation was escorted back to the railway station by a procession with bands of music and followed by a crowd of several thousand persons. After exchanging a liberal amount of speechifying and hurrahing, they took their departure for Holstein. Their visit occasioned little or no sensation among the more respectable classes in the city.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 877.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 3, 1864.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 27th ultimo, reporting the communications made by your Excellency to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, on the receipt of my telegram of the 26th ultimo, with reference to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government for a Protocol on the Danish question.

With reference to the impression which it appears your Excellency had entertained that this proposal had been made simultaneously to Berlin and Vienna and to the non-German Powers, I have to observe that the telegram was sent to Berlin and Vienna on Thursday last, the 28th ultimo, when it was ascertained that the proposal met with the assent of the non-German Powers. The Prussian answer was sent to your Excellency on the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 878.

M. de Bismarck to Count Bernstorff.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by Count Bernstorff, February 3.)

(Traduction.)

M. le Comte, *Berlin, le 30 Janvier*, 1864.

DEJA par ma dépêche en date du 24 courant j'ai donné à votre Excellence communication des démarches faites conjointement par les Gouvernements de Prusse et d'Autriche, le 16 de ce mois, à Copenhague, dans le but de tenter encore un dernier effort pour engager le Danemark à remplir des obligations solennellement contractées. Malheureusement j'ai dû constater en même temps le refus formel qui avait déjà été prononcé, et je vous ai fait part en même temps de la résolution que les deux grandes Puissances Allemandes s'étaient vues forcées de prendre à la suite de ce refus, d'occuper le Duché de Schleswig pour faire cesser ainsi l'état d'incorporation dans lequel ce pays se trouve placé en ce moment d'une manière arbitraire et illégale, et d'établir un *statu quo* tel que nous devons l'exiger comme condition préalable de négociations ultérieures.

Aussi ai-je répété dans cette dépêche ce que j'avais déjà à plusieurs reprises confidentiellement fait observer à votre Excellence, qu'il est pour nous de toute impossibilité de maintenir le Traité de Londres de 1852, et de permettre en même temps une violation manifeste des stipulations qui l'ont précédé et se trouvent dans une connexion intrinsèque avec ce Traité.

Par le non-accomplissement pendant douze ans des obligations contractées dans ces stipulations, et par leur violation finale et formelle moyennant la constitution du 18 Novembre de l'année passée, le Danemark nous a donné le droit de nous dédire de ce Traité.

Nous avons dû nous demander si nous devions user de ce droit, ou bien si nous devions suivre la voie tout aussi justifiée d'essayer encore une fois de décider le Danemark à remplir ses obligations.

Ce n'est que le désir sincère de ne pas compromettre nos relations avec les co-signataires du Traité de Londres qui a pu nous déterminer à choisir cette dernière alternative, et à constater par-là que nous restions fidèles au dit Traité.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ne pourra se refuser à reconnaître qu'ainsi nous nous sommes efforcés de la manière la plus consciencieuse de remplir les obligations qui nous sont imposées par le Traité de Londres.

Mais si nous maintenons l'ensemble des stipulations de 1851-52, nous devons à nous-mêmes et aux intérêts Allemands que nous avons à sauvegarder dans les Duchés, de ne pas laisser se prolonger la période des pures promesses qui se sont montrées si complètement inefficaces, mais d'avoir soin que les engagements dont l'existence et la force obligatoire ne sont niées par personne soient remplis.

Nous ne pouvons nous en laisser empêcher par la dernière proposition qui nous a été faite par l'entremise du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, d'accorder au Danemark un délai de six semaines pour tenter l'essai de révoquer la Constitution du 18 Novembre par la voie constitutionnelle, c'est-à-dire, par l'application même de cette Constitution illégale. En faisant cette proposition, le Gouvernement Danois paraît oublier que, ne reconnaissant pas l'existence de la Constitution du 18 Novembre, nous ne pouvons prêter la main à un procédé qui impliquerait pour le moment la reconnaissance de cette même Constitution, abstraction faite de ce que le Gouvernement Danois ne saurait donner la plus faible garantie pour la réussite de cet essai, surtout dans un délai de six semaines. Il oublie de plus, que c'est lui qui a créé les difficultés qu'il fait valoir à présent, en poussant d'une manière précipitée et malgré les nombreux avertissements et protestations, réitérés par nous dans toutes les phases préparatoires, l'adoption par les Chambres et puis la sanction Royale de la Constitution commune pour le Royaume et le Duché ; et que, ni dans l'espace de temps entre le 18 Novembre et le 1 Janvier, délai que nous avions accordé pour éviter de plus sérieuses complications, ni pendant le mois entier qui s'est écoulé depuis, il n'a fait aucune démarche quelconque pour revenir sur ses pas. Le Gouvernement Danois s'étant ainsi fait spontanément une situation qui est reconnue aussi par les Grandes Puissances non-Allemandes comme illégale, nous pensons qu'on ne saurait que trouver juste que le Danemark, s'il ne peut écarter les difficultés créées par lui-même, permette que les conséquences illégales qui en résultent soient enlevées par notre occupation du Duché de Schleswig.

Dans le cas où le Danemark s'opposerait à main armée à cette occupation, il doit en résulter des événements belliqueux dont les conséquences influeraient d'autant plus profondément sur le développement ultérieur des relations réciproques entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark que par-là les Traités existants entre les deux pays cesseraient d'être en

vigueur. Ce ne serait qu'à ce moment-là que la question de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise demanderait une solution. Nous ne doutons pas qu'alors cette question ne soit examinée par toutes les grandes Puissances avec la sagesse sérieuse et prévoyante qui est due à une question aussi importante; et nos rapports d'amitié avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique nous inspirent la confiance que, comme nous, il prendra part à cette solution dans un esprit qui réponde à ces rapports.

Je prie votre Excellence de vouloir bien s'énoncer en ce sens d'une manière pressante envers Lord Russell, en lui donnant lecture de la présente dépêche.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) BISMARCK.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Berlin, January* 30, 1864.

I HAVE already in my despatch of the 24th instant communicated to your Excellency the steps taken jointly by the Governments of Prussia and Austria on the 16th of this month at Copenhagen, with the object of making a final effort to induce Denmark to fulfil the obligations solemnly contracted by her. I have unfortunately been obliged at the same time to report the formal refusal which had already been pronounced, and I at the same time informed you of the resolution which the two German Powers found themselves compelled to adopt in consequence of that refusal, to occupy the Duchy of Schleswig in order thus to put an end to the state of incorporation in which that country is at present placed in an arbitrary and illegal manner, and to establish a *status quo* such as we must demand as a preliminary condition for further negotiations.

I further repeated to you in that despatch what I had already observed confidentially to your Excellency several times, that it was quite impossible for us to maintain the Treaty of London and at the same time to allow of a manifest violation of the engagements which preceded and are intrinsically connected with that Treaty.

By the non-accomplishment during twelve years of the obligations contracted in those stipulations, and by the final and formal violation of them by means of the Constitution of the 18th November last, Denmark has given us the right to release ourselves from that Treaty.

We have asked ourselves whether we should exercise this right, or if we should follow the equally justifiable course of endeavouring once more to induce Denmark to fulfil her obligations.

It is only the sincere desire not to compromise our relations with the co-signataries of the Treaty of London which has induced us to choose the latter alternative, and thus to prove that we remain faithful to the said Treaty.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government cannot refuse to recognize that we have thus endeavoured in the most conscientious manner to fulfil the obligations which are imposed on us by the Treaty of London.

But if we maintain the whole of the stipulations of 1851-52, we owe it to ourselves and to the interests of Germany which we have to protect in the Duchies, not to allow the period of mere promises, which have been so utterly inefficacious, to be prolonged, but to take care that engagements, the existence and obligatory force of which are denied by no one, are fulfilled.

We cannot allow ourselves to be deterred from this by the last proposal which has been made to us through Her Britannic Majesty's Government to grant to Denmark a delay of six weeks, in order to attempt to revoke the Constitution of November 18 in a constitutional manner, that is to say, by the application of this illegal Constitution itself. In making this proposal, the Danish Government appear to forget that, as we do not recognize the existence of the Constitution of November 18, we cannot lend ourselves to a proceeding which would imply the recognition for the moment of that same Constitution, leaving out of the question the fact that the Danish Government could not give the slightest guarantee for the success of this attempt, especially within six weeks. They forget moreover that it is they who have created the difficulties which they now put forward, by hurrying on, in a precipitate manner, and notwithstanding the numerous warnings and protests reiterated by us in all its preparatory phases, the adoption by the Chambers and then the Royal sanction of the common Constitution for the Kingdom and the Duchy; and that neither in the period between the 18th of November and the 1st of January, a delay which we had granted to avoid more serious complications, nor during the whole month which has elapsed since, have they taken any measures to retrace their steps. The Danish Government having thus placed themselves, of their own accord, in a position which is recognized by the Great non-German Powers also as illegal, we think that it can only be considered just that Denmark, if she cannot avoid the difficulties created by herself,

should allow the illegal consequences resulting therefrom to be removed by our occupation of the Duchy of Schleswig.

In case Denmark should oppose this occupation by arms, military operations must ensue, the consequences of which would have so much more serious an influence on the further development of the reciprocal relations between Germany and Denmark that the Treaties existing between the two countries would cease to be in vigour. It would not be till that moment that the question of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy would demand a solution. We do not doubt that that question would then be examined by all the Powers with the serious wisdom and forethought which is due to so important a question; and our friendly relations with Her Britannic Majesty's Government make us confident that, like us, they will take part in this solution in a spirit in conformity with those relations.

I beg your Excellency to express yourself urgently in this sense to Lord Russell, and to read the present despatch to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BISMARCK.

No. 879.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 4.)

(Extract.) *Hamburgh, February* 1, 1864.

FIELD-MARSHAL WRANGEL has established his head-quarters at Emckendorf in Schleswig, not far from Rendsburg, and the advanced guard of the combined army is expected to march from Rendsburg some miles into Schleswig in the course of the day.

The Prussian forces will probably reach Eckernförde this evening, and it is believed that the Duke of Augustenburg will be proclaimed there, and at other places in Schleswig, so soon as the Danish troops retire.

No. 880.

Count Rechberg to Count Apponyi.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by Count Apponyi, Febuary 4.)

Vienne, le 31 *Janvier*, 1864.

LE Gouvernement Impérial, en basant sur les stipulations de 1851-52 les droits que, de concert avec la Prusse, il se dispose à faire valoir contre le Danemark, a reconnu par ce fait même le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, établi par les transactions de 1851-52. Le Gouvernement Impérial, en procédant à l'occupation du Slesvig, n'a pas l'intention de se départir de ce principe. Si néanmoins, à la suite de complications que pourrait amener la persistance du Gouvernement Danois dans le refus d'accomplir ses promesses de 1851-52, ou de l'intervention armée d'autres Puissances dans le conflit Dano-Allemand, le Gouvernement Impérial se voyait forcé a renoncer à des combinaisons qui n'offriraient plus un résultat proportionné aux sacrifices que les événements imposeraient aux Puissances Allemandes, les arrangements définitifs ne sauraient être arrêtés sans le concours des Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres. Le Gouvernement Britannique trouverait alors le Gouvernement Impérial prêt à se mettre d'accord avec lui sur l'arrangement définitif de la question Dano-Allemande.

Votre Excellence est invitée à donner lecture et à laisser copie de la présente dépêche à M. le Comte Russell.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) RECHBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, January 31, 1864.

THE Imperial Government, by basing upon the stipulations of 1851-52 the rights which in concert with Prussia it is proceeding to enforce upon Denmark, has by this very act recognized the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, as established by the transactions of 1851-52. The Imperial Government, in proceeding to the occupation of Schleswig, does not intend to depart from this principle.

If, however, in consequence of complications which may be brought about by the persistence of the Danish Government in its refusal to accomplish its promises of 1851-52, or of the armed intervention of other Powers in the Dano-German conflict, the Imperial

Government were to find itself compelled to renounce combinations which would no longer offer a result proportionate to the sacrifices which events might impose upon the German Powers, no definite arrangements could be made without the concurrence of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London. The British Government would then find the Imperial Government ready to come to an agreement with them as to the definitive arrangement of the Dano-German question.

Your Excellency is requested to read and give a copy of this despatch to Earl Russell.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) RECHBERG.

No. 881.

M. de Bismarck to Count Bernstorff.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by Count Bernstorff, February 4.)

M. le Comte, *Berlin, le* 31 *Janvier,* 1864.

LE Gouvernement du Roi, en basant sur les stipulations de 1851-52 les droits que, de concert avec l'Autriche, il se dispose à faire valoir contre le Danemark, a reconnu par ce fait même le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, établi par les transactions de 1851-52. Le Gouvernement du Roi, en procédant à l'occupation du Slesvig, n'a pas l'intention de se départir de ce principe. Si néanmoins, à la suite de complications que pourrait amener la persistance du Gouvernement Danois dans le refus d'accomplir ses promesses de 1852, ou de l'intervention armée d'autres Puissances dans le conflit Dano-Allemande, le Gouvernement du Roi se voyait forcé à renoncer à des combinaisons qui n'offriraient plus un résultat proportionné aux sacrifices que les événements imposeraient aux Puissances Allemandes, les arrangements définitifs ne sauraient être arrêtés sans le concours des Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres. Le Gouvernement Britannique trouverait alors le Gouvernement du Roi prêt à se mettre d'accord avec lui sur l'arrangement définitif de la question Dano-Allemande.

Votre Excellence est invitée à donner lecture et à laisser copie de la présente dépêche à M. le Comte Russell.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) BISMARCK.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Berlin, January* 31, 1864.

THE Government of the King, by basing on the stipulations of 1851-52 the rights which in concert with Austria it is proceeding to enforce upon Denmark, has by this very act recognized the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy as established by the transactions of 1851-52. The Government of the King, in proceeding to the occupation of Schleswig, do not intend to depart from this principle. If, however, in consequence of complications which may be brought about by the persistence of the Danish Government in its refusal to accomplish its promises of 1852, or of the armed intervention of other Powers in the Dano-German conflict, the King's Government were to find itself compelled to renounce combinations which would no longer offer a result proportionate to the sacrifices which events might impose upon the German Powers, no definitive arrangements could be made without the concurrence of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London. The British Government would then find the King's Government ready to come to an agreement with them as to the definitive arrangement of the Dano-German question.

Your Excellency is requested to read and give a copy of this despatch to Earl Russell.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) BISMARCK.

No. 882.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January* 31, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a letter, accompanied by a translation by Mr. Grosvenor, addressed by the Emperor of Austria to Field-Marshal Wrangel, which has been published in the Berlin newspapers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 882.

The Emperor of Austria to Marshal von Wrangel.

(Translation.)

Dear Field-Marshal M. de Wrangel, *January* 23, 1864.

IT causes me real pleasure to know that my brave troops are under the command of a warrior whom I know, who is so endowed and so experienced in war. They will, in accordance with my parting instructions, rivalling with their Prussian brethren in arms in bravery, submission, and endurance, in noble companionship and with united strength, be and continue worthy of the approval and satisfaction of the allied Generals. Thanking you beforehand for your careful conduct of my troops, I remain, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS-JOSEPH.

No. 883.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 3, 1864.

WHEN I received your Lordship's telegram instructing me to press M. de Bismarck for the declaration asked for in my note to his Excellency of the 20th instant, relative to the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, he had not named any hour at which he could receive me, and as it was too late to ask again for an interview, and I was certain to meet him at a party at the French Embassy, I deferred executing your instructions until I should have that opportunity of doing so.

When I spoke to him on the subject, he said an agreement had now been come to between the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin, as to the terms of the proposed declaration, but that Count Rechberg appeared to object to its being made in the form of a note, and that the King would prefer the views of the Cabinet of Vienna being adopted on this point. I said I presumed the wish of Austria and Prussia was that the declaration they were about to make would be accepted by Her Majesty's Government as satisfactory, and that a disinclination to reply to the question of Her Majesty's Government in the same form in which it had been put would not tend to inspire confidence in the guarded and ambiguous language in which the answer would be given.

M. de Bismarck replied, that he would himself have no objection to meet my wishes as to a note being delivered to your Lordship. We therefore joined Count Karolyi, and after conversation with him, they both gave me an assurance that instructions would be sent to-day to the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors in London, to address notes to your Lordship embodying the declaration which had been agreed upon between the two Governments. It was arranged also, that I was to see M. de Bismarck again on the subject to-day, but when I called at the Foreign Office he was about to proceed to the Palace in obedience to an order from the King, and he sent me a message that he could not see me until 8 o'clock in the evening.

I therefore wrote a few lines to his Excellency acquainting him with the substance of my telegram to your Lordship of this morning, and stating that I was unwilling to forward a further one, which was not likely to be received with satisfaction. I then called upon M. de Thile and requested him to forward my letter to M. de Bismarck at the Palace.

M. de Thile, who immediately despatched a messenger with it, assured me at the same time that he felt confident the instructions which were under consideration would be forwarded to-night to Count Bernstorff, and when I left him I called upon the Austrian Minister, who said he considered the question as to the declaration settled, and that he believed Count Apponyi's instructions were probably already on their way from Vienna.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

P.S.—Since writing this despatch M. de Bismarck has informed me that instructions have been sent to Count Bernstorff to make the declaration to your Lordship.

A. B.

No. 884.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 3, 1864.

I SPOKE to M. de Bismarck last night of telegraphic reports which had reached Berlin of the Prince of Augustenburg having been proclaimed as Duke of Holstein in the villages and towns occupied by Prussian troops in Schleswig. He said that no official confirmation of these reports had been received, but orders had already been despatched to Field-Marshal Wrangel, reminding him that it was his duty to repress every demonstration of the kind.

M. de Thile, however, in speaking to me on the subject to-day, observed with some truth that it might be impossible to prevent boys or even people shouting in favour of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein on the appearance of the troops of Austria and Prussia, and that any such incident would doubtless be represented by the partizans of his Highness in the manner most favourable to his cause.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 885.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 3, 1864.

BARON BRENNER, the late Austrian Minister at Copenhagen, passed through Eckernförde almost immediately after it was evacuated by the Danish garrison.

The Prussian troops did not leave detachments there, and Baron Brenner met, between Eckernförde and Kiel, a party of Schleswig-Holstein revolutionary emissaries with a cart-load of cockades, banners and coloured lamps, who probably entered the town as soon as the Prussians left it, and got up the demonstration in favour of the Prince of Augustenburg which the Schleswig-Holstein Press in Holstein and Germany have described as the enthusiastic proclamation of his Highness by the people of Eckernförde.

M. de Bismarck, from whom I received this information, said that he has called the attention of the King to the necessity of preventing such proceedings, but that His Majesty had replied it was impossible for the army to leave detachments in every village they passed through. I observed that was doubtless true, but nevertheless it was precisely what your Lordship had predicted would occur, that the result of the occupation of Schleswig by the troops of Austria and Prussia will be to give military possession of the Duchy to the Prince of Augustenburg and his emissaries. His Excellency replied he had, however, received telegrams from Marshal Wrangel and Prince Frederick Charles assuring him that they were not aware of any Schleswig-Holstein demonstration having as yet taken place within the districts occupied by their troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 886.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 3, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation, by Mr. Grosvenor, of a telegram from the head-quarters of the Prussian army, which has been published in the "Gazette" of this evening. It appears from it that the Prince Frederick Charles has met with more serious resistance than he expected at Missunde, where the Danes have a *tête de pont* on the Schlei, and that the private telegrams from the seat of war published last night and this morning have given much too favourable a view of the position of the Prussian army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 886.

Telegrams from the Head-Quarters of the Prussian Army.

(Translation.) *Kiel, February* 2, 1864, *evening.*

THIS afternoon a violent combat of three hours' duration took place near Missunde, in which all arms, and especially the Artillery, took part. The Danes were driven back to the *tête de pont.*

Prussian Head-Quarters, Wednesday, February 3, 1864, 1·45 A.M.

His Royal Highness Prince Frederick Charles led the advance guard, viz., the 11th Brigade of Infantry and 74 pieces of Artillery, to the attack of Missunde. It happened that the Danes wished to hold the position. On our side 100 killed and wounded; the behaviour of the troops excellent. Missunde is in flames.

No. 887.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 5.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 3, 1863.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith translations, by Mr. Morier, of the summons addressed by Field-Marshal Wrangel to the Commander-in-chief of the Danish forces to evacuate the Duchy of Schleswig, and of General Meza's reply.

Inclosure 1 in No. 887.

Field-Marshal von Wrangel to General de Meza.

(Translation.) *Rendsburg, January* 30, 1864.

THE Undersigned, Field-Marshal Baron Wrangel, Commander-in-chief of the united Austro-Prussian army, has the honour to make the following communication to the Commander-in-chief of the Danish troops in the Duchy of Schleswig.

The Ministers of Prussia and Austria accredited at Copenhagen addressed to the Danish Government, in a note delivered on the 16th instant, of which a copy is inclosed herewith, the demand on the part of their Governments that the common Constitution of the kingdom of Denmark and Duchy of Schleswig of the 18th of November of last year should be withdrawn, and that the former *status quo* should be restored.

This demand having been replied to in the negative, by a note dated the 18th instant on the part of the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the withdrawal of the Constitution not having taken place, the case foreseen in the note adverted to has occurred, and the two Great German Powers find themselves under the necessity of using the means at their disposal to restore the *status quo*, and to secure the constitutional rights of the Duchy of Schleswig.

The Undersigned has received orders to occupy in this sense the Duchy of Schleswig with the united Prusso-Austrian troops under his command, and to undertake the provisional administration of the Duchy.

Whilst having the honour to inform his Excellency the Danish Commander-in-chief of these facts, the Undersigned requests his Excellency to let him know at once whether he has received orders to evacuate the Duchy of Schleswig, and to withdraw the Danish troops beyond its frontiers.

He seizes, &c.
(Signed) VON WRANGEL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 887.

General de Meza to Field-Marshal von Wrangel.

(Translation.) *Schleswig, January* 31, 1864.

THE Undersigned, who is just as little able to admit the right of Prussian and Austrian troops to occupy any portion of the Danish territory as to allow that the deductions in the document inclosed in your Excellency's note are correct, and who has received instructions the very opposite to those supposed by your Excellency, is ready to meet every act of violence by armed resistance.

(Signed) CH. JULIUS DE MEZA.

No. 888.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 2, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th ultimo, and your Lordship's commands that I should send a copy and translation of the document therein analyzed, I beg to annex Mr. Mitford's translation, together with the appeal, as published in the journals of Frankfort.

Mr. Mitford has also translated the speeches of some of the members of the self-elected body which issued the appeal made at the public meeting held on the occasion of the visit of the Holstein Deputies to Frankfort, which I likewise inclose.

No more flagrant proof could well be given of the excited state of the public mind in Germany on the Schleswig-Holstein question, and of the helplessness of the Governments in the matter, than that language similar to that held by the speakers on this occasion should pass wholly unrebuked, and that such a publication, openly exciting to civil war, should emanate from them, and pass, as it has done up to this date, without any legal steps being taken against the self-constituted body which drew it up.

There is some talk of Austria and Prussia moving the Diet to suppress this Central Committee,—a measure in which it is problematical whether the Diet will concur.

Measures of suppression would have more properly originated with the authorities of Frankfort, but they have neither the will nor the energy to venture such a step, or to institute any legal proceedings whatever in the matter. Indeed, members of the Frankfort Government have taken part in an agitation which is leading them much further than they probably intended, for it is evident that the leaders of the National party are making use of the excitement springing from the Schleswig-Holstein cry to advance their own peculiar views; and your Lordship will remember that in my first notice of the establishment of this Central Committee, in my despatch of the 22nd December last, I mentioned that it was mainly composed of members of the so-called "National Verein."

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

P.S.—The preparation of the inclosed translation has occupied Mr. Mitford longer than he at first thought would be necessary, and your Lordship will, I trust, excuse my adding a few words of comment.

It can scarcely fail to strike the reader of these speeches that in most of them the Schleswig-Holstein question is merely ancillary to that of German unity.

The composition of the Committee is such that this theme might be expected to predominate; indeed the prevalent out-of-doors agitation in Germany, in which the Schleswig-Holstein cry is raised, has been adroitly seized upon by the leaders of the National Verein and democratic party to create an organization (of which this Frankfort Committee is the head) which will hereafter be used for other purposes, not yet avowed, but which are probably preparing more serious embarrassments for the Governments of the Confederation than any which they have yet had to encounter since the year 1848.

A. M.

Inclosure 1 in No. 888.

The Committee of thirty-six of the Representative Assembly to the German People.

(Translation.)

TWO Powers, claiming to be called the Great Powers of Germany, are engaged in open opposition to the right of the Germanic Confederation, of the Confederate States, and of the nation. They have arbitrarily sent their troops into the Confederate country of Holstein. They have violently forced their way over the frontier of an independent State, without the consent of the Diet; they continue this course under the pretence of compelling the fulfilment of those Treaties of 1851-52 which have been concluded in the name of the Confederation.

And this breach of right is being carried out not in over zeal for a good cause, but to serve the most reprehensible policy; the Treaties, a cloak of former ignominy, null from the commencement, and violated besides, frequently, by Denmark, are become void through the death of Frederick VII, and the revival of the Augustenburg Succession. For twelve years we allowed ourselves to be trodden under foot, and now that the execution of these Treaties would be fatal to the cause of the Duchies, armies are set in motion to enforce such execution. Prussia and Austria, in that they demand from the

Danish King the execution of those Treaties which his predecessor had concluded as Duke of Holstein, also acknowledge him in that capacity, taking for their illegal basis the London Protocol, and siding with the enemies of the Duchies and Germany.

A number of German Governments have protested against this violent breach of the Dietal ordinances. The people and the Duchies—the whole indignant nation, unite in this protest. If the 500 Deputies were assembled again to-day, not a single voice would be wanting to this protest, not one would refuse to concur in this condemnatory judgment. But nothing can be effected by a bare protest. The Governments who have retained the consciousness of their duty and their right must act and assist. They must act, if the faith in the much-vaunted importance of the secondary States ("Mittelstaaten") is not to be uprooted; if the monarchical system is not to be shaken from its foundation, and the people unrestrainably forced into a course of self-redress. As daring and inconsiderate as is the conduct of their adversaries, so bold and energetic theirs must be. On their side is right, and the will of the nation. They fight for the highest prizes—for the freedom from Austrian and Prussian bondage; the preservation of their very existence. Their opponents, surrounded by external and internal enemies, boast more of the appearance than the possession of preponderating force; they are only strong if the rest of Germany retreat, devoid both of counsel and courage.

Germany has waited much too long for the first step, for the recognition of the Duke whom his own people have loudly proclaimed. No subterfuge, no question of form, ought at a time of such momentous significance to delay the decision of Governments whether pronounced individually or at the Diet. With shame and bitterness the German people see the troops of Austria and Prussia push forward, see the authorities of a free town humbly accept the most derogatory ill-treatment, and the highest authority of the Confederation (the Diet) bow before the accomplished fact, whereas it was its most sacred duty to prevent such an accomplishment.

For the future no Government can claim the respect and confidence of the people which does not place its whole force without reserve at the disposal of the cause of the Duchies, which is the cause of Germany.

This is the longing which we have to express, not arbitrarily on our own account, but, we know it, in the name of the nation; an earnest and great longing, not arising from a trivial caprice but the fruit of a deep conviction, that the hour has come for Germany in which the determination honourably to risk all can alone avert the danger of disgracefully losing all. The German people is filled with this conviction; is it all filled with the power of action? Is it determined and ready on its part not only to protest but also to act? A similar duty calls upon all the Representative bodies, all parishes and societies. It calls upon every individual in every German country, it calls with the loudest voice upon the populations of the above-mentioned very powerful States, whom their Governments seek to condemn to be the tools of Austria and Prussia in the service of the most unworthy policy.

Shall your sons shed their blood? Shall the weight of taxes and debt which presses upon you again increase? The disgrace of the nation shall not be bartered with our property and blood. Germans in all countries! do not suffer the bad will of the one and the weakness of the other to bring misery upon Germany. Do not desist from supporting the good Governments, from inciting the weak ones and mercilessly combatting the bad ones. Do not listen to the pusillanimous insinuations that all is useless. You have not yet done everything. We do not speak of a violent overthrow as the only means of safety; it is the last extreme measure which a people ought only to have recourse to when it has exhausted all legitimate means.

Act in the exercise of your legitimate right instead of holding revolutionary language. Make it your daily duty to take up politics as the business of your hours of leisure; spread the movement in town and country amongst all classes of society; renew your demands without intermission; forcibly urge the indifferent Princes; overwhelm with accusations the Ministers who have forgotten their duty. The evilly-disposed Governments seek money for the furtherance of their plans, and refuse their persevering representative bodies what they demand. Let there be no doubt on the subject that a loan contracted for such a purpose will never receive the assent of the country, and that public contempt will be the portion of those accomplices in the scheme who make a business of it instead of capital and interest. Tax yourselves both from your riches and your poverty for the support of the Duchies. Give them, when the time shall have come, the arms and the men which they require. Be not discouraged by the first failure. Do not let yourselves be duped by diplomatic subtleties nor lulled into inaction by the lingering course of affairs. These are the duties imposed on us by the Fatherland; let every one do his own in a manly and steadfast manner.

Inclosure 2 in No. 888.

Report of Speeches made at a Popular Meeting held at Frankfort, February 1864.

(Translation.)

THE Assembly was opened at half-past 4.

Dr. Reinganum more especially addressed himself to the 187 Deputies from Schleswig-Holstein. He said:—"Just as Luther, the representative of the epoch of Religious Reform, was hailed by every people on his way to Worms, so has the German people hailed you, the Deputies of Schleswig-Holstein, during your passage to Frankfort. You have an enemy who can only be strong through foreign aid. The small kingdom of Denmark employs all the means at its disposal not to lose Schleswig-Holstein, as without the Duchies she would forfeit almost all importance. On her side are the foreign Powers who fear the rising of powerful Germany. It is the cowardice of the so-called principal Powers ('Vormachte')—it is the religious and political Jesuits who give open and secret assistance to Denmark. When Luther came to Worms, the principal Imperial Commissioner would not receive him; but the Reformation made its way, for the people carried the Princes with them in spite of resistance. The popular spirit will come to our assistance now as it did then. That opens when even palaces remain closed. The popular spirit has hitherto protected Germany. It will bring about political reform for Schleswig-Holstein—for our entire beloved Fatherland; and the truer Germany remains to itself the sooner this will take place. It is a clear conscience which animates the popular spirit, we are thankful to say, and not diplomacy."

The speaker closed with the words, "Deliverance for Schleswig-Holstein!" when the meeting stood up and betokened its concurrence.

Advocate Nitsch, from Kiel:—"German men, women, and maidens, we who have come from the northernmost province of Germany, thank you for your greetings, which apply to our country and to our cause, which is also yours. The greatest son of this town has once said, 'Rascals are modest.' We are not modest. We will not surrender our country and our right to the hereditary enemy. It has been asserted that there are few in Holstein who hold to Germany. Therefore are we come here, most of us peasants* from the plough, to declare three things:—We will not again sell or barter ourselves to Denmark. We will have our Duke Frederick, whose right is our right; and we will reap what we sow to our own advantage and that of Germany. We shall never forget the brotherly affection which we received during our journey here. We carry home the conviction that we are a part—and not the worst part—of the German body. (Sustained cheering.) You know our history—our sufferings. Our faith is in the German nation, which has been placed in this quarter of the globe in order that it may preserve everything connected with freedom and morality. Our hope is for the perfect union with the great Fatherland.

"The same Powers are going to Schleswig who in 1851 disarmed us. What they intend to do there, God—to whom they will have to answer for it—alone knows. But however that may be, our Schleswig brethren will, through the occupation, have the opportunity afforded them of speaking their minds freely, and no Austria and no Prussia shall deprive us of that. The future is in God's hands. We stand by Germany, and will not desist from doing so. If you stand by us our country and our cause can never be lost."

The address of the Committee of thirty-six was then read.

Dr. Völk, of Augsburg, supported the declaration just read. It is true that there is no good in speaking of revolution in the sense of nothing else availing; behind this are concealed avarice and cowardice. The people has not yet fulfilled its duty, least of all in Prussia, where the movement in favour of Schleswig-Holstein has but feebly re-echoed. Let the Prussians not say that they must first settle their own differences, for that it is only possible to do in the true German fashion. Nothing can be effected by speeches, addresses, and meetings alone. It is necessary obstinately to adhere to one and the same idea. That steadfast clinging to right and nationality is best preserved in Holstein. There is the genuine German love which alone can lead to a result. We will emulate our brethren in the north. An obstinate contest, full of sacrifices, is necessary in order to obtain the exalted object of the whole German people. I bid the Schleswig-Holsteiners welcome in the name of the Bavarian people, whom they will visit to-morrow. They address themselves to our King. We can assure them that he feels warmly for the Duchies. In Bavaria we correctly appreciate our connection with our northern brethren, and our sorrow for Schleswig is keen. When we are reproached with frequently following a policy of

* More properly yeomen.

sentiment, surely there is no fault in that. The great days for Germany are not to be prepared by calculating understanding, but by feeling. He who does not give himself up is never lost. As long as my heart beats I shall believe in the future greatness, power, and magnificence of our nation.

Burrenmeister, a yeoman from Hohenwestedt (Holstein), said:—As a plain country man I can only speak simply. For centuries Denmark has been sucking us dry; we were forced to look to the South, for from the North came only the cold hand of arbitrariness and oppression. With love to the Duchies the present contest will lead to the freedom and unity of the whole of Germany.

Herzog, from Hamburg:—The latest hour for action is come. We will not be disheartened, but confident and united. If the Princes do not choose to act with us, let the people act without the Princes. (Applause.)

Lübbe, yeoman from Pinneberg (Holstein):—It has been asserted in the "Kreuz Zeitung" that the Schleswig-Holstein population did not take part in the national movement with such sincerity as the inhabitants of the towns and larger villages. This falsehood can only have proceeded from dishonest squires or priests. An honest man would not have made such an assertion.

The whole country population holds to its Duke Frederick VIII. It is true the countryman is, perhaps, slower than the townsman, but he clings with all the greater tenacity to right, which is the same for the Schleswig-Holstein countryman as for Germany.

Dr. Lang, from Wiesbaden:—With the pleasure which we feel at the presence of the Holsteiners in Frankfort is mixed the sorrow that they should have come here as petitioners for assistance in a cause as to which no doubt is entertained by the German nation. Who shall carry out the assistance? The soldiers whom we provide. Who shall provide the means? We, the people. Whose is their cause? Ours. It is unity which is wanting to Germany. Above all a national representation. If we had that its word would have sufficed to prevent the mischievous acts of Denmark. We will therefore not rest until we have a united Germany.

Schadd, yeoman from Arneberg, in Holstein:—Thanks for the triumphal progress which had been prepared for the deputies to Frankfort. We have the confidence that not only Holstein, but all Schleswig will be free. There is no party in Holstein which thinks otherwise, and which has not a firm trust in the German people. Let us work together for the unity of the Fatherland.

Trabert, from Hanau:—Here it is said, Knock at the door of the popular spirit, and it shall be opened to you. We will not knock at the doors of the Governments. That I have the least right to recommend, being an Electoral Hessian (laughter). We will apply to the spirit of energy leading to vigorous actions (applause). Schleswig-Holstein will not be saved or Germany united if the enemies of Germany are not made to tremble. The people itself is chiefly to blame for what is bad in Germany. A people that has confidence in its future must not merely demand its right; it must also become surety for the same, as the men of Schleswig-Holstein also stand before us, whose hope is the German people. Let us urge the good Governments to action, and make the bad ones tremble (applause).

Metz, from Darmstadt (received with cheers):—Five weeks ago, at the Holstein popular meeting at Harsban, I told the Holsteiners how inspired in favour of their cause Germany was. How right I was, their reception from Hamburgh to Frankfort has shown. The power of the enemy is great, but right is above bayonets. Just as the cause of the son of a simple carpenter at Galilee was stronger than the countless legions of the Roman empire, so will the cause of Schleswig-Holstein be stronger than the power of all Rechbergs and Bismarcks. True it is that the German people has not done enough. The money-jobbers who will only open their purses to Governments, the numerous parishes who still silently hang back, must be roused to give their assistance. Join with me in the triple cry, Deliverance for Schleswig-Holstein, all hail to and blessings upon Germany, and a curse upon all treason and traitors!

The meeting closed at half-past six P.M.

No. 889.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 5.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, February 4*, 1864.

COUNT PLATEN says that if the Danes are left to themselves they will soon be driven out of Schleswig, that Austria and Prussia will then be ready to go into a Conference, and that an arrangement on the basis of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy by

means of a personal union between Denmark on the one side, and Holstein and Schleswig, or rather the southern portion of the latter Duchy, on the other, might in his opinion be attained; but that if Great Britain or any other Power were to render assistance to the Danes, the war would infallibly be extended, for the whole of Germany would take up arms in support of Austria and Prussia; and he expressed a high opinion of the power of Germany so united as opposed to any efforts of England.

I replied that after the promise which the Danish Government had made of convoking the Reichsrath with a view to the repeal of the Constitution of the 18th of November last, the invasion of Schleswig by Austria and Prussia—undertaken as I believed more with the view of occupying the public mind at home, and of having a pretext for collecting a large body of men under arms than from any real interest in the alleged grievances of the Schleswigers—was a most wanton aggression, and that I really did not see what confidence could be placed in the moderation of the views of the Powers who had been guilty of it, or of their firmness of purpose in carrying out, against a majority of the Diet, the restitution of Holstein to the Danish Crown. What had taken place in that Duchy was certainly not calculated to inspire confidence that any occupation by German Powers of a foreign territory would be confined to the objects assigned to it. The present invasion of Schleswig was ostensibly undertaken for the purpose of enforcing the execution of the agreements of 1851-52, but it was notorious from the declarations made by M. de Bismarck in the Prussian Chambers that the demands of the two Powers went far beyond those agreements.

No. 890.

*Earl Russell to Sir A. Buchanan.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 5, 1864.

YESTERDAY, the 4th of February, Count Bernstorff delivered to me a copy of a despatch which he had received from his Court.

I inclose a copy of this despatch for your Excellency's information.†

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 891.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, February* 4, 1864.

I HAVE had the honour to transmit to your Lordship two telegrams relative to the unsuccessful attack of the Prussians upon the Danish entrenchments at Missunde, before the River Schlei. The accounts received here to-day of the engagement are still confused, but it is clear that the Danes kept possession of their entrenchments, and that, having guns of much larger calibre than the Prussians, they were able to repulse the latter with a loss now stated at from 120 to 150, including several officers. Prince Frederick Charles is said to have received a ball on the scabbard of his sword. Had the attack succeeded, it would have given the Prussians the flank of the Dannewirke. It was supposed yesterday at Eckernförde that a renewed attack would be made to-day. The Prussians have boats ready to cross the Schlei.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 892.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 5, 1864.

I UNDERSTAND that verbal communications were made the day before yesterday by the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors to M. Drouyn de Lhuys in the sense of the

* A similar despatch was addressed to Lord Bloomfield.
† No. 881. For Austrian despatch, see No. 880.

note which was to be presented to your Lordship yesterday by their colleagues in London with reference to the Treaty of 1852. M. Drouyn de Lhuys has not spoken to me upon the subject, but I am informed that he considers the communication as implying the intention of the two Powers to regard the principle of the Treaty as binding, notwithstanding the outbreak of hostilities, and as containing a general declaration that the question of the Duchies cannot be settled without the participation of all the Powers who signed the Treaty of 1852.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 893.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 4, 1864.

THE Swedish Minister has made a communication to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the Danish Duchies question of the same nature as that made to your Lordship by the Swedish Minister in London, as recorded in your despatch of the 1st instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 894.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Vienna, January* 29, 1864.

WITH reference to the instruction contained in your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that being unable to see Count Rechberg to-day, who was engaged at the Reichsrath, I have had an interview at the Foreign Office with Baron Meysenburg, and stated to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government, in the hope of preventing the disturbance of the peace of Europe, and at the same time of procuring for Austria and Prussia a substantial security for the attainment of the revocation of the Danish Constitution, proposed that a Protocol should be signed in London by the Representatives of England, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Denmark; by which Denmark should engage to assemble her Parliament, and propose the revocation of the Constitution as regards Schleswig; and, on the other hand, Austria and Prussia should agree to postpone for a time their military operations.

Baron Meysenburg said he should inform Count Rechberg of the communication I had just made to him, an outline of which had already been received by telegraph from Count Apponyi; but that he did not think Count Rechberg would be able to give any opinion on this communication until the arrival of a messenger who was on his way from London, and who was the bearer of despatches connected with this subject.

He observed that though there might be no doubt as to the favourable disposition of the Danish Government to repeal the Constitution, there still was no security that Bishop Monrad would be able to carry his project through the Parliament.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 895.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Vienna, January* 31, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 29th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that at an interview which I have just had with Count Rechberg, his Excellency informed me that, as the Prussian Government had already declined the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to sign a Protocol in London, in order to give time to Denmark to revoke the Constitution, it was useless for him to express an opinion on a question that had been already decided elsewhere.

In regard to the proposition of retarding the advance of the armies into Schleswig, he said it was altogether too late to stop them; and he hoped they would not meet with

serious resistance, because all future negotiations would thereby become more complicated, and a final arrangement all the more difficult.

He referred to the question of establishing a Conference in London on Danish affairs, even during the military operations, and wished me to urge the subject on the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. He is evidently most desirous that negotiations should be commenced at the earliest possible moment, and that the war shall be localized and brought to a speedy conclusion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 896.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Vienna, January* 31, 1864.

WITH reference to an understanding supposed to exist between Austria and Prussia and the smaller States that the firing of the first cannon-shot in Schleswig would be the signal for uniting all Germany in a common policy with respect to the Danish question, I have received from Count Rechberg the positive assurance that no such understanding exists. His Excellency said Austria held to the principles she had all along declared on this subject, and that as to the smaller States their opinions on the Danish question were too much opposed to those entertained by the Austrian and Prussian Governments to allow at the present moment of any understanding with them. Baron Werther, the Prussian Minister, has also assured me that there is no foundation for the rumour to which I had called his attention.

The intention of Count Rechberg is clear and decided, but I am nevertheless informed that a great portion of the smaller States are under the conviction that Austria and Prussia will be compelled, by the movement that must follow the commencement of hostilities, to unite with them in supporting the national cause.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 897.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 3, 1864.

COUNT RECHBERG assured me that so completely does the Emperor desire the maintenance of the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and so clear were His Majesty's orders to him on the subject, that there was no necessity for him to ask for any further directions on a question respecting which the Emperor's opinion was settled.

No. 898.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 3, 1864.

I WROTE to Count Rechberg pressing him to return an answer to the note which, by your Lordship's instructions, I addressed to him on the 19th ultimo, asking for a formal declaration on the part of the Austrian Government that it adheres to the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and I called this morning on his Excellency to hear what had been the result of the numerous communications which have been passing on this question between Vienna and Berlin.

Count Rechberg told me that the two Governments were now agreed as to the answer to be addressed to Her Majesty's Government; that M. de Bismarck had sent instructions to Count Bernstorff on the subject which were approved of at Vienna, and that at an early hour this morning he had instructed Count Apponyi, after concerting with his Prussian colleague, to make the communication to your Lordship of which his Excellency has just sent me the substance.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of it herewith, and Count Rechberg hopes it will be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, as it contains a full recognition of the principles of the engagements of 1851 and 1852.

Inclosure in No. 898.

Austrian Answer to British Communication respecting Integrity of Danish Monarchy.

[See No. 881.]

No. 899.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 6, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 28th ultimo, I have the honour to forward herewith a report of the proceedings in the House of Deputies during the four days debate which took place upon the resolution of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Government demand for 10,000,000 of florins. As was expected, the proposal of the Committee to limit the grant to the sum of 5,343,950 florins was passed. The Government having stated in Committee all the motives which had induced the demand for the larger sum, did not make any strong objections on this point, and they propose hereafter to bring in a bill of indemnity for the extraordinary expenses that may be incurred.

The main interest of the debate turned upon the latter part of the resolution brought forward by the Committee, which was so strongly worded as to have implied, if it had passed, a vote of censure upon the Government for their policy in the Schleswig-Holstein question. It was to defeat this measure that the Government devoted their efforts, and they succeeded so well in securing the support of the House that the motion was thrown out by a majority of 44.

The Government used this opportunity for making a complete statement of the line of conduct hitherto pursued, and of the causes which had led to it, and the admissions made are of some importance. Thus at the opening of the debate, they showed the political reasons which prevent their repudiating the Treaty of London, and which demand the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish monarchy, and they recognized positively the present Succession in Schleswig, asserting as positively that the German Diet has no voice in the matter.

The Ministers in their last speeches made no special allusion to the Treaty of London, being anxious to avoid rousing the feelings against this Convention, to which expression had been given in the course of the debate by many members not of the Opposition. The question of a revision of the map of Europe was hinted at by Count Rechberg as a danger to Austria which must never be lost sight of, a hint that was calculated to make such an impression on the Opposition members as would stimulate them into leaving the guidance of foreign affairs in the hands of the Government. The latter asserted further the strictly constitutional course which had been pursued throughout, and what they said served to show that the most perfect unanimity, on this question at any rate, prevailed in the Cabinet.

It was in a great measure owing to the absence of unanimity amongst their opponents that so large a majority was finally obtained for the Government. The grounds of attack were so various that even had it come to a question of displacing the Ministry, no party strong enough to form a Government could have been formed. When, too, it was discovered that M. de Schmerling thoroughly concurred in the policy of his colleague at the head of the Foreign Department, many members who were strenuously hostile in their attacks upon Count Rechberg gave their support in the end to the Government, not wishing to do anything which might tend to weaken the position of M. de Schmerling, in whose honest intentions they so conscientiously believed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 899.

Summary of the Proceedings in the Lower House of the Reichsrath, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th January, and on the 1st February, 1864.

THE Government demand for a vote of 10,000,000 florins in defrayment of the expenses of the Schleswig-Holstein Expedition had been referred to a Select Committee of the Lower House. The Committee occupied some days in deliberating upon the question submitted to it, the arguments advanced by its various members being stated at almost as

great length as in the subsequent debate in the House. The result of its proceedings was finally presented to the House on the 28th January in the form of a voluminous Report, concluding in a Resolution which was moved on that day by Dr. Giskra, the Reporter ("Berichterstatter") of the Committee, and which was to the following effect:—

That the demand made by the Government for a supplementary Credit for the year 1864 of 10,000,000 florins to be given to the War Office in defrayment of expenses consequent upon the Federal Execution in Holstein and Lauenburg be not granted, but that instead, a supplementary credit of 5,343,950 florins be granted for the expenses incurred on Federal grounds:

That this extraordinary Credit be applied solely to the purposes for which it is granted:

That the House of Deputies does not admit the proceedings of the Imperial Government in regard to the occupation of Schleswig to be in accordance with the true interests of Austria, or with the preservation of general peace; that the House therefore feels itself bound to declare that it declines all responsibility for the consequences of those proceedings.

It had been urged in Committee by the Ministerial members that the sum of 10,000,000 florins was necessary, in consequence of the backwardness of the smaller States of Germany in furnishing their share of the expenses of the Federal expedition; but the reply was, that Austria had already enough to do with her own debts without contracting more for Germany. A suggestion was even made to restrict the vote to the sum of about 1,500,000 florins, as being the quota to which Austria, as a member of the Confederation, was strictly liable; but this was negatived. Nevertheless the Resolution, as it stood, amounted practically to a vote of want of confidence, and it furnished an opportunity to the Opposition to renew their attacks upon the policy of the Government in the Duchies question.

The Constitution allows of the Government instructing some person not belonging to either House to reply upon certain matters, and in this instance M. de Biegeleben, who is employed in a superior capacity in the Foreign Office, was selected to make a general statement of the views of the Imperial Cabinet.

In his speech, which followed immediately upon Dr. Giskra's motion, given above, he complained of the negative nature of the Report of the Committee, which passed censures without suggesting adequate remedies, and of the mysterious wording of the Resolution. The Report, he said, frequently blames the Government for not adhering unconditionally to the wishes of the majority at Frankfort, and on the other hand it reproaches the Government with not taking better measures for securing peace, and with quitting the defensive attitude imposed on it by regard for Austria's internal prosperity and financial position. It was impossible for the Government to suffer its own views and Austria's action as a Great Power to be guided by the feelings which prevailed for the moment in Germany, and found their expression in the language of the Federal Government. These feelings were notoriously carried to an extent which could not be borne out without a disturbance of the peace of Europe, and Austria therefore could not give in her adhesion to the majority at Frankfort, without being fully prepared to accept the extreme consequences of such a course.

The Government, he continued, had left the Succession question an open one, and was ready to test fairly the merits of the Augustenburg claim, but fairness demanded the absence of any previous admission of one right to the prejudice of another. As regarded Schleswig, Austria was bound to recognize the new Succession, whereas the Diet was incompetent to decide upon the matter.

Passing to the political reasons which prevent Austria from repudiating the London Treaty, M. de Biegeleben said so long as the German Powers strove to effect a proper Constitutional status for the Duchies, there would be no conflict with European interests, but the reverse would be the case if a question of Constitution were replaced by a question of the existence of the Danish Monarchy. A war in the North would be the result, but it was not the danger of war which was the sole motive for the conduct of the Government; the latter had also to be satisfied as to the principles on which war was to be waged. Legitimacy had always been respected in Austria, but when a violent desire was apparent to set a higher worth on a contested legitimacy than on the peace of the world, serious doubts arose as to whether the only thing thought of was respect for the birthright of a Prince. It was only necessary to throw out these hints in order to put an Austrian Parliament on its guard. There was a fatal resemblance between the cry of "Germany to the Königsau," and that of "Italy to the Adriatic."

The conclusion of M. de Biegeleben's speech was devoted to a defence of the concerted action with Prussia. Austria's position with regard to Prussia had, he said, for

the last fifteen years, been a defensive one; her position in Germany she would maintain even against Prussia. But when that position was not assailed, she would willingly and at all times go hand in hand with Prussia, and he must insist that it was not a matter of slight moment to see Austrian battalions marching peaceably along with Prussians. The Government could give no assurances, but it would hope its expectations would be answered, and that the present trial would establish the reputation of Austria as an honourable and truly German one; hence its desire to make the trial in common with Prussia.

A hot debate ensued upon this speech, in which most of the more prominent members had given notice of taking part, but as at the end of the third day there had been no speech made by any Minister, it was deemed advisable to close the discussion, which was being carried on among the independent members, and accordingly both opponents and supporters of the motion selected one out of their number to wind up the proceedings.

On each side there was necessarily much repetition of the same arguments, but various points of view were taken by the different speakers, for though amongst the movers of the Resolution the Government policy received very general condemnation, yet some of them wished for absolute adherence to the dicta of the Diet, whilst a few others of more advanced opinions, such as M. Grocholski, advocated a more vigorous action than was desired at Frankfort. On the other hand the opposers of the motion did not in all cases tender their approval of the conduct of the Government. By one (an ex-Minister, M. Pratobevera) the policy of the Government was termed unconstitutional, and by another the Prussian alliance was viewed with dislike and anxiety. Several amendments and counter resolutions were proposed, but they all remained in a minority. The one which was advanced with the most tenacity was made by Dr. Berger, who spoke immediately after M. de Biegeleben, and who suggested that should Austria adopt a thoroughly German policy, an extraordinary and unlimited credit should be supplied to the Government for carrying out the Federal view, but that if the Cabinet rejected the condition the minimum of 1,500,000 florins should alone be voted.

The first of these proposals was met with such universal opposition that it was subsequently withdrawn; and the second fell through from want of sufficient support. In the earliest part of his speech, Dr. Berger had expressed himself as agreeing with some of the views of the Committee, though he desired to amend their Resolution. With M. de Schmerling he was thoroughly satisfied; it was to the foreign policy of the Government that he was opposed, and more especially to the Prussian alliance: not that he considered Prussia as devoid of sympathy for Austria, but because the principles of the present representative of that kingdom, M. de Bismarck, were decidedly adverse to Austrian interests. He denied that the Government had left the Succession question an open one, since it maintained the London Treaty, which was contrary to the Final Act of Vienna and the Federal Pact, and which utterly put an end to all points in the Succession question. In this statement he was supported by Dr. Brinz, who refuted an imputed similarity between the London Treaty and the Pragmatic Sanction, by showing that the latter was a spontaneous action from within which subsequently received a foreign guarantee, whilst the former was confined to foreign action, and never received due approval from the parties immediately concerned. He repeated many of the remarks which he had made in December last about the policy of Germany being based upon legal rights, and stated finally that the stipulations of 1851 were the very minimum of what could be claimed for the Duchies.

The necessity of Austria maintaining a German policy formed the main theme of all the speeches made by the movers of the Resolution.

The dangerous precedent of not submitting to being outvoted was often alluded to, and the impossibility of either German or non-German members of the Empire approving the Government policy shown—the former because they recognized the authority of the Diet, the latter because they had no interest in a war undertaken in a far country with which they had nothing to do. It was urged that if Austria had gone with the Diet on this question she would have secured the latter's support in the event of an attack upon her Italian possessions.

Much was said about the nobleness of affording genuine assistance to an oppressed brotherhood, whilst Austria's present plan of commencing hostilities from fear of a general war was finally compared to the action of a man killing himself from fear of death.

The speakers on the Government side confined themselves in a great measure to insisting on the incompetency of the House to decide on the Succession question, and on the Government not being obliged to explain itself as to events actually occurring. They however declared that the Government had in the present instance chosen the lesser of two evils, that the integrity of Denmark was in the interest of Austria, and that Govern-

ment cannot always proceed on abstract principles of right, but must often act up to what they believe to be politically expedient.

The proceedings of the third day were terminated by Dr. Giskra's making a final defence of the Resolution. He warned the House that a further grant would be demanded of it. That armaments were being increased in the South and in Galicia, and that the House must set some limit to the rapacity of the Government. For the strengthening of the forces in Galicia he was sure that a supplementary credit would be required, whilst he believed that a loan of 150,000,000 florins would be necessary to cover the deficit. He concluded by saying that if the House did not now make head against the arbitrary action of the Government, the time might come when any protest it might make would be disregarded.

On the fourth day the debate was closed by the statements of the Ministers of Finance, Foreign Affairs, and State.

M. Plener (Minister of Finance) explained to the House the reasons of the Government for fixing the sum demanded at 10,000,000 florins. They had calculated that the arming of the Executionary Corps and its maintenance during twelve months would amount to that sum. The occupation of Schleswig by Austria and Prussia did not in any way release the former Power from her Federal obligations as regards Holstein, and the only consequence of a reduction of the sum demanded to the amount of 5,343,950 florins, recommended by the Committee, would be that Government would be obliged to apply to the House for Supplementary credits.

Count Rechberg said, that before replying to the argument of the Opposition, he must declare that the Government were deeply interested in the maintenance of the German Confederation and its principles. The members of that Confederation ought, however, to take into consideration the peculiar position of the Great Powers, who, in case of war, had to bear all the sacrifices it entailed; the latter consideration had determined the course pursued by the Government on this question. He must further remark, in answer to the Reporter of the Committee, that the Government had refused to entertain the proposal made by Denmark, and recommended to their acceptance by England, France, Russia, and Sweden, that Denmark should convoke the Rigsraad on the basis of the Constitution of November 18, and propose to it the repeal of that Constitution.

Coming to the accusations made against the Government, he said they might be reduced to two classes, which were in flagrant contradiction to each other. On one side they were accused of not going far enough; on the other of going too far. They were reproached with not having followed the policy of the smaller States—a policy which aimed at bringing about a change in the map of Europe. Such a change, he must remark, could not be carried out by Germany alone; the other Great Powers of Europe had a word to say in this matter, and if the Government had pursued that policy it must have demanded an unlimited credit instead of ten millions. On the other hand they were told they had gone too far. Now, in deciding on the course to be pursued in this question the Government had considered the wants of the empire at home and abroad. Peace was the first necessity for its interior development, but at the same time it was the duty of the Austrian Government to stand up for the injured rights of the Confederation. Their policy he hoped would obtain these ends. Count Rechberg then gave a detailed account of the manner in which Denmark had neglected these obligations.

With reference to the proceedings of the Diet at Frankfort, he said that Austria had supported the motion for an Execution in Holstein instead of an occupation of that Duchy, because the former alone was the exercise of a right acknowledged by all as belonging to the Bund. He had voted against the occupation of Schleswig because such a measure would have brought the Confederation into collision with the Western Powers, who by the Treaty of 1720 had guaranteed the connection of Schleswig with Denmark. No one, on the contrary, could dispute the right of Austria and Prussia to compel Denmark to fulfil her engagements to them. By thus averting the above-mentioned collision they were told the disruption of the Confederation and a civil war in Germany would result. He hoped not. He defended the common action of Austria and Prussia in this question, by reminding the House that without it the Bund could do nothing, and that in external questions Germany can only obtain its ends and objects by the union of the two Powers.

M. Schmerling (Minister of State) called the attention of the House to the different grounds for this motion against the Government. So varied are they, that an Opposition Cabinet could scarcely be supported by a majority.

Four principal accusations were made against the Government:—

1. They had caused a schism in Germany. A schism existed only because the smaller States seemed to have forgotten that the map of Europe was founded upon Treaties. Whenever the States shall be convinced that Austria and Prussia are seeking only to

obtain a guarantee for the rights of the Duchies, and to forward the interests of Germany, he felt sure that friendly relations would be again re-established between them and Austria.

2. Austria's alliance with Prussia menaced the constitutional development of the Empire. To this he must answer that it was only in pursuance of the intentions of his Imperial Master that he was now using all his power to develop the Constitution in Austria, and that he had lately received the most gratifying assurances in this respect from the Emperor.

3. The policy of the Government is not an Austrian policy. This assertion he entirely denied. The object they had in view was the independence, as far as possible, of the Duchies. This object could only be attained by arms. Such being the case, and war being necessary, operations must be commenced at once. Promptitude was the best earnest of success. The policy pursued by the Government was not only Austrian but likewise German, inasmuch as it was best calculated to attain the object in view.

4. The Government are accused of not clearly knowing the ultimate object of their measures.

He would ask the House if the ultimate object of any war could be foreseen. The immediate object of this war was quite clear. It was to obtain the fulfilment by Denmark of the stipulations she had entered into with Germany with respect to the Duchies; and he believed that, this object obtained, they would receive the thanks of the whole of Germany.

M. Schmerling concluded a long speech by saying that the Government were animated by the most ardent desire to enter into and maintain friendly relations with Germany, and that nothing could be further from their intentions than to take any measure which might obstruct the working of the Constitution.

On division the motion was negatived by 103 to 59, the vote of 5,343,950 florins passed.

No. 900.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 4, 1864.

AT an interview which I had yesterday with Count Rechberg, I stated to his Excellency that it appeared to Her Majesty's Government difficult to have any Conference on the affairs between Germany and Denmark unless there is an armistice, as the terms put forward by Austria and Prussia would vary from day to day, according to the events of the war.

Count Rechberg persisted in his original opinion on the subject, and is evidently most desirous that the thread of a negotiation connected with the Dano-German difficulty shall not be interrupted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 901.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 4, 1864.

WITH reference to the explanations requested by Count Rechberg, as reported in my despatch of the 21st ultimo, respecting the meaning in which the words "concert" and "co-operation" had been employed in your Lordship's despatch to me of the 18th ultimo, on the affairs of Denmark, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have taken an opportunity of reading to his Excellency some passages of your Lordship's despatch to Earl Cowley of the 24th ultimo. Count Rechberg was pleased with your Lordship's observation that Her Majesty's Government desire to maintain the integrity of the Danish Monarchy by peaceable negotiation, and he fully acknowledged the justice of the distinction which you had drawn between the objects of the national party in Germany and that of the two great Monarchies, and he regretted the extreme views of the former. He would not, however, admit that your Lordship's observation was well founded, that if the German troops left Holstein the authority of King Christian IX would be easily restored: he seemed apprehensive, on the contrary,

that the democratic agents at work there had rendered a restoration far more difficult than would otherwise have been the case.

But I gave his Excellency to understand that Her Majesty's Government considered Austria bound by the Treaty of London to maintain the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and that any departure from the principles of that Treaty would oblige them to consider by what combinations they could best assist Denmark.

No. 902.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, February* 6, 1864.

AFTER the entrance of the Austro-Prussian army into Schleswig, the inhabitants of that Duchy began immediately to give indications of their desire to separate themselves from the Danish Crown. At Gettorf, the first town which the Prussians reached on Monday, the Duke of Augustenburg was proclaimed as Frederick VIII during the passage of the troops, by the Count Baudissin of Knoop, a large landed proprietor in the neighbourhood, amidst popular acclamations. At the larger town of Eckernförde, which the Danes also evacuated on Monday, the Duke Frederick VIII was also proclaimed on that day to an assembled multitude by M. Stegemann, a member of the Corporation, on the market-place, after a procession round the town with Schleswig-Holstein flags and other banners. The Burgomaster, M. Leissner (a Dane), was dismissed by the members of the Corporation, and having appealed in vain for protection to the Prussian commanding-officer, was obliged to quit the town, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants. The Duke is said to have been likewise proclaimed in the town of Holm and some smaller localities in the Duchy, and it is expected that whenever the Danish troops shall have evacuated Schleswig and Flensburg, and the other more important towns, similar proclamations will take place in them also. Field-Marshal Wrangel has warned the inhabitants against party demonstrations, but he does not appear disposed to take any active measures to prevent the people openly expressing their feelings in favour of the Augustenburg Succession.

The German inhabitants of Schleswig do not probably care much about Duke Frederick personally, but as they see that the Duke has been generally recognized by the Holsteiners, they would gladly acknowledge him also, in order to the restoration of the ancient union between the Duchies, and to their being completely severed from the Danish Monarchy. Even among those Schleswigers who speak Danish, the party really attached to the Danish system is represented to me as very small; the rest of them would prefer remaining Danish-Schleswigers to being separated from the general concerns of the Duchy. I have been further assured that an anti-Danish feeling prevails at Hadersleben, Apenrade, Sonderburg, and other places in the northern part of the Duchy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 903.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, February* 6, 1864.

IT will be known to your Lordship that the Bavarian Government, acting in concert, as I understand, with those of Saxony, Wurtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Nassau, have been desirous of setting on foot Conferences of Ministers, for the purpose of deciding upon the course they should adopt in view of what they consider the violence imposed upon the Confederation by Austria and Prussia in taking the treatment of the Schleswig question into their own hands.

I learn from Count Platen that the Hanoverian Government received from the Bavarian Government an invitation to take part in these Conferences, but that he declined it on their part, on the grounds that the proceedings of Austria and Prussia did not furnish any motive for distrusting their intentions, that the proposed Conferences would be no doubt viewed by them as a hostile step, and were in themselves inopportune, and that if an understanding amongst the Middle States in respect to their future course in the Schleswig-Holstein question were desired, it could be negotiated by means of diplomatic correspondence.

The Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that he had hardly expected a different answer from Hanover, and Count Platen hopes and thinks that Baron Schrenk may very likely be induced by it to drop the idea of the Conferences.

The views of Count Platen on this question having been communicated to the Government of Hesse-Cassel, the latter have, as I learn from another source, likewise declined the invitation of the Bavarian Government.

No. 904.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 6, 1864.

THE Diet transacted no business of public interest in the ordinary sitting of Thursday the 4th.

Reports from the Civil Commissioners in Holstein and from General Hake were laid before the Assembly and instructions sent to them.

General Hake, it appears, had demanded from Marshal Wrangel the surrender of Rendsburg, and of an adjoining district containing six villages north of the Eider, which had for some time been administratively united with Holstein.

Marshal Wrangel refused to allow the Federal troops to occupy either Rendsburg or the district in question, on the plea that strategical reasons required their being held by the troops under his orders, and I am informed that the Diet have instructed General Hake not to attempt to interfere with the Prussian military dispositions. It is expected that the Diet will remain nearly inactive during the progress of military events in Schleswig.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 905.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 6, 1864.

A TELEGRAM received to-day by the Austrian Legation from the Commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops in Schleswig reports that the Danes evacuated the Dannewerke last night, and were in full retreat this morning for Flensburg.

No. 906.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 6, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, a report drawn up by Mr. Morier, on the proceedings of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, during the last fortnight of their session.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 906.

Extract from Report on Proceedings of Chamber of Deputies.

THE LOAN FOR FEDERAL EXECUTION IN HOLSTEIN.—The Committee on the Loan having interrupted its labours immediately before the Christmas recess in order to enable the House to vote the address which it was hoped would move the King to some definite declaration of policy in the sense desired by the Liberal party, resumed them on the re-assembling of the House, and finished its report immediately before the vote of the 14th of January at Frankfort, in which the Great Powers declared it to be their intention to take the management of the Schleswig-Holstein question into their own hands.

The Committee in this Report recommend the refusal of the Loan, the motives adduced being that the system for the carrying out of which the loan is asked is calculated

to sacrifice the just rights of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, to prejudice the security of Prussia in an important quarter, and to place her in opposition to the great majority of the Governments of Germany and to the convictions of the German nation, without in exchange for these disadvantages affording any guarantee for the maintenance of European peace.

This report is principally interesting from the account it gives of the statements made by M. de Bismark to the Committee. According to the reporter the Minister President stated that he considered it his duty as Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs primarily to study the interests of Prussia, and not to trouble himself with those of any other dynasty or with the interests of any other nationality. It could never be admitted that a Federal majority, which possibly might represent only two and a-half millions of inhabitants, should be allowed to dispose of the forces of Prussia and Austria, those two Powers which protected the glass house of the German State edifice against the cold draughts of European politics. As long as Germany was divided into separate territories there might indeed be a question of German commercial interests and the like, but not of German political interests, and therefore only of Austrian interests, or Prussian, or Bavarian, &c. He looked upon the question of a withdrawal from the London Treaty as one of opportunity rather than of right. Only those deductions from right which one had the power to carry through had any binding character. The mistake was often made to suppose that the rights of States were discovered by lawyers instead of being created by Treaties. To guage Treaties by the mere standard of justice was a doubtful undertaking. If according to the view of the Committee, the German arguments in favour of the Prince of Augustenburg's claims were clear and irrefutable, whilst those of such men as Pernice (who maintains that neither the House of Augustenburg nor the House of Glücksburg has a right to succeed in Holstein) resolved themselves into hair-splitting sophistries and pettifogging argumentations, he would not enter into the merits of the question, but would only observe that where pettifogging argumentations had a majority of European bayonets on their side they were wont to get the best of it. The question of opportunity was an important one in the present case. For if the Treaty of London was now to be withdrawn from, the arrangements of 1851-52 would fall with it; Germany would no longer have a hold upon Schleswig, and the two Duchies would go separate ways. As the question whether the German Confederation, which was a mere Insurance Society, could claim the right of securing to a German Prince a non-German territory must plainly be answered in the negative. Such a theory of Federal obligations would lay upon the Confederation the duty of recovering Neufchatel for Prussia, and her *secundo genitures* in Italy for Austria.

To the question put by a member of the Committee as to how the Minister President reconciled his present statements with the passage in the King's reply, "the question of Succession shall be tested, with my co-operation, by the Diet," M. de Bismarck, according to the Report, answered that this passage merely said that the Diet would test the question, but made no mention of its deciding on the question. And that he considered the right of the Diet to decide such a question a very doubtful one. It was the duty of Prussia as a Great Power to pass an independent judgment on every decision to which the Diet might come, and not blindly submit to such decisions. He concluded his remarks by saying that it was his wish to compass the objects of the Government with means legally voted by the House, but if these were refused he would take money where he could find it.

The Report of the Committee observes in regard to these statements of the Minister President that the House would run the risk of seeing the money voted by it for the purpose of fulfilling a Federal obligation used for the purpose of thwarting Federal Resolutions. To conclude from his remarks the Minister disregarded German nationality and the common interests of Germany as much as considerations of right and justice. The binding character of a Treaty, according to this view, did not depend on its contents or on the question as to whether the other contracting party had fulfilled his part of the contract, but on the question as to how many bayonets could be set in motion. According to this theory it would be perfectly logical for the Ministry to disregard the most just decision of the Diet on account of the military weakness of the Powers who might bring it about, or for the Confederation patiently to submit to the most unjust measures of the Great Powers because the latter had the military preponderance. It was difficult to understand how, if such were the views of the Government, they had given as their motive for asking for a loan the necessity of fulfilling their Federal obligations.

As regards the argument of M. de Bismarck, that by a withdrawal from the Treaty of London the entire hold of Germany upon Schleswig would be lost, the Report observes that the Minister seemed to be ignorant that a departure from the arrangements of 1851-52 would restore to Germany the basis of 1846, viz., the union of the Duchies and the rights of the Agnates.

Notwithstanding the recommendation of the Committee to refuse the loan, it is

considered certain that had the vote at Frankfort of the 14th January, and the Declaration of Austria and Prussia to carry out their Schleswig-Holstein policy independently of the Diet not taken place, the House would have voted sufficient money to cover the actual expenses imposed upon the Government by the Federal Execution, and such sums as might have been required for *bonâ fide* coastal defences.

The vote at Frankfort, however, having altered the entire basis on which the Government had asked for the loan, the question entered upon a new phase, to which expression was given by the following Resolutions proposed by MM. Schultze and Carlowitz.

"The House resolves:—

"1st. That whereas Prussia together with Austria has declared at the Diet that she would, in spite of the Federal Decree of the 14th instant, proceed as European Great Power to the occupation of Schleswig; and 2ndly, that whereas the King's Government by taking such a step, will practically separate Prussia from the German Confederation at a moment when the majority of the Governments of Germany are endeavouring to secure the rights and interests of Germany; and 3rdly, that whereas the King's Government, by treating a purely German question as an European one, invites the intervention of foreign countries; and 4thly, that whereas the threatened use of violence would evoke a just resistance on the part of the other States of Germany, and give rise to civil war,—

"The House of Deputies enters a solemn protest against these proceedings of the Government, and declares that it will oppose them with every means at its disposal."

The general debate on the loan began on the 21st of January, and it was determined that the recommendation of the Committee to reject the loan should be discussed simultaneously with the above Resolutions.

M. Assmann, as reporter of the Committee, opened the debate, observing that it was the first time a Prussian House of Deputies had found itself in the painful position of having to refuse a loan to the Government. To refuse money to the Executive at a moment when the Prussian and German people unanimously desired that military measures should be taken against Denmark was a step that required strong reasons to justify it. The motive which had led the Committee to its decision was the impossibility in which it had found itself to discover whether it was the purpose of the Government to employ the money in the sense desired by the House. The Minister of War had said that it was a breach of the Constitution to make a grant of money dependent upon conditions laid down by the granters, as this was an inroad upon the prerogative of the Crown. It was clear, however, that if a Government asked for money it was, as far as that money was concerned, dependent upon the will of the donors. Now the Committee had not only been unable to discover that the Government intended to spend the money asked for as the House desired, but had had good grounds for apprehension that it was their intention to use it in a diametrically opposite manner, and this apprehension had since the Report was concluded been fully realized by the Declaration of the two Great Powers at Frankfort. As long as the House was without positive information as to the objects of the Government, a simple refusal of the loan was the policy the Committee had recommended. Now that these objects were known it was right that this refusal should be accompanied by Resolutions of the nature of those before the House. If the policy of M. de Bismarck, the speaker concluded, is to force Prussia out of her position as German Great Power, to make her the tool of Austria, and to array her against Germany, if the Prussian army is to be employed against its German brethren, in order ultimately to hand Holstein back to Denmark, then at least Germany shall know that these results are not obtained by money which we have given, and that in this crisis we stand on the side of Germany and not on that of M. de Bismarck. Under the present Ministry Prussia has to choose between impotence and suicide. She must choose the former, and the first practical result of this choice is that we refuse the loan.

M. de Bismarck, after correcting several inaccuracies in the Reports given of his statements before the Committee, went on to say that it was the desire of the Government to give to the House all the information which they could conscientiously afford, and that for this purpose he would communicate the substance of a despatch addressed two days previously to the Governments of Germany, and which contained an outline of the views of the Prussian Cabinet upon the present question. (A translation of this portion of M. de Bismarck's speech was inclosed in Sir Andrew Buchanan's despatch of the 28th ultimo.) The principal feature of interest contained in this despatch is the indication it gives of the ultimate object of the present measures taken by Prussia against Denmark, which would seem to be to establish a united Schleswig-Holstein State, self-governed, and identified with the German Confederation, and only bound to the Crown of Denmark by a personal "nexus." The Minister President concluded his speech by an examination of that portion of the Committee's Report which touches upon the arrange-

ments of 1846, and expressed a strong doubt as to whether the deductions made in the Report could be established, or the European Powers be brought to recognize the right of the German Confederation to intervene in regard to Schleswig upon such a basis.

M. de Gottberg, a Member of the Conservative section and supporter of the Government, spoke against the recommendation of the Committee, and advised the House to grant the loan. The entrance into Schleswig, as proposed by the Government, would not bring about a war; but even if it did, Prussia would have nothing to fear, as she now had two powerful allies, Austria and Russia. He was no opponent of the Holy Alliance; on the contrary, such an alliance was requisite against France and against revolution. The Great Powers who had signed the London Treaty would all be on the side of Prussia; and as the German Diet had not signed the London Treaty, it had no right to enter into Schleswig.

Dr. Virchow spoke in favour of the Resolutions. He considered what had fallen from M. de Bismarck as a decided advance on the former declarations of the Government. The plan of the personal union of the united Duchies and Denmark was a departure from the basis of 1851-52. This advance was perhaps owing to the attitude taken up by the House, and possibly the Government might at last come to a just appreciation of the situation. For the present, however, the Government stood isolated. They had no allies either in Prussia or in Germany, or amongst the Great Powers, Austria excepted. The speaker then went on to show how radically the interests of Austria differed from those of Prussia in this question, and added that the only object which M. de Bismarck seemed to have was to carry out a kind of general mission to put down democracy wherever he found it, beginning with Denmark, and ending up with the National Verein. When this was accomplished, nothing would be left standing but the Junker party, to whom, as to the Evil One, the Minister President seemed to have sold himself, after having, on his first entering office, apparently wished to keep aloof from it. He could not understand what was meant by putting the position of Prussia as a Great Power perpetually in the foreground with such a policy as that followed by the Government. When the German Diet outvotes us at Frankfort, we are told Prussia cannot submit to a majority because she is a Great Power. When we say, "then take up an independent national line as a Great Power," we are told this will not do, because Europe will not allow of it. In other words, Prussia is not to submit to be "majorized" by small States, but is always to be ready to be "majorized" by the Great Powers. The Minister-President has afforded us the prospect of a European Congress, in which we shall have to submit to such a majority. Our troops are to enter Schleswig, battles are to be fought, a victorious general crowned with laurels is to maintain the military honour of Prussia, and when all this shall have been done we are to ask Europe, What do you wish shall be done with Schleswig? and the majority of a Congress is to decide to what our victories are to be applied.

To the above speaker *M. de Bismarck* replied that he had given to his statements an interpretation they did not bear. What he had desired to show was, that the state of things such as it had existed in the Danish Monarchy since 1852 was untenable, and that no return to it could be tolerated. If the stipulations agreed upon then, but not acted up to, did not admit of being executed, it would in the first place be the business of Denmark to state what she proposed to substitute in their place. As regards the statement that on coming into office he had refused to identify himself with any party, but had since fallen into the hands of the "Evil One," he would remark that he had been disappointed in the hopes he had cherished of finding others, equally with himself, ready to give up their party interests to the public welfare. He had therefore acted—to follow out the idea of the Speaker—on the principle of "flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo." With regard to Prussia having to submit to a majority of a Congress, he would observe that at Congresses the mode of procedure was not by majority but by unanimity.

Count Wartensleben, a supporter of the Government, rose and said, "I am a Pomeranian, and when a Pomeranian goes to Bavaria no one understands him, and when a Suabian comes to Pomerania no one understands him. I see in this God's Providence, which has determined that there shall be such a thing as national egotism. I can only look at the Holstein question from this point of view. I ask myself what are our interests, that is, the interests of Prussia; and in reply to this question I answer, quite irrespectively of whether the Augustenburg claims are good or not, why should we give to another territories which we have a chance of getting for ourselves? What has our Government done? If they had broken Treaties, what good could come to us out of a war if we had previously bound our hands by votes at the Diet and such like? Your resolutions, gentlemen, are unconstitutional, for they are an attempt to encroach upon the right of the Crown to determine the policy of the country. You seem to fear a civil war in Germany. For my part I would look at such a war in the interests of humanity as a thing

to be deprecated, but in the interest of Prussia I should consider it a great advantage (strong marks of disapprobation). Such a war would give the Prussian Eagle an opportunity of stretching out her wings and grasping at what lies round her (laughter.) It is the interest of Prussia to get as much territory as possible in Germany, and to stretch herself out as far as she can. German unity will never be attained by words, but only by deeds (cheers from the Conservative benches.)

After speeches by MM. Moller, Von Blankenburg, and Carlowitz, the debate was adjourned until next day.

Sitting of the 22nd of January.

The second day's debate was principally taken up by speeches which had more to do with the general policy of the Government than with the question of the Duchies; the object of the Opposition speakers being to stamp in the strongest manner possible upon the votes about to be given the character of votes of want of confidence, whilst the Ministers and their defenders sought to impress upon the conduct of the Opposition the character of factiousness and want of patriotism.

Count Schwerin took M. de Bismarck to task for the principles he had given expression to in his statements before the Committee, which amounted to this, that right and justice were synonymous terms with a preponderance of bayonets. This was not the foundation on which States should be based. Right and justice were moral powers, which for the time would be kept down by European bayonets, but which would always reassert themselves. The Government seemed to him to be guided in their policy by two motives, the fear of democracy and the fear of foreign Powers. It was not the way to meet the perils that might arise from the growth of democracy to withhold from the people their just rights, nor did he think that the policy of the Government had tended to keep Prussia out of the groove of foreign complications. If Prussia had stood fast to what was right and justice in this case, viz., to the legitimate right of Succession of the Prince of Augustenburg, and the right of Germany not to have German territories disposed of against her interests by foreign Powers, she need not have feared the odds against her. No one would accuse him (Count Schwerin) of not being a good Prussian or a staunch friend of a Monarchical Prussia, but he nevertheless could never subscribe to M. de Bismarck's theory, that there was no such thing as German political interests, but only Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, and the like. There were such things as German interests, and the strength of Prussia lay in this, that her own interests were inseparable from these and that she could therefore always identify herself with Germany, which Austria could not do. It went sorely against him to vote against the granting of the loan, but the policy of the Government left him no choice but to do so.

M. de Bismarck, in reply, said he would not deny to Count Schwerin the right to call himself a Monarchical Prussian, but he could only say in regard to his manner of serving his Sovereign what Mephistopheles says of Faust to the King of Kings, "In truth he serves thee in a wondrous fashion." He (Count Schwerin) ought to know him better than to suppose that he had any fear of democracy. "Had I any such fears," the Minister went on to say, "I should not be standing where I am, but would long since have given up the game. I have no fear of this enemy, I feel certain of being able to conquer him, and I believe that you are yourselves, gentlemen, not far from partaking of this feeling." As regards the fear of foreign countries that is another matter. Prudence might be called fear, and temerity might be termed courage. In the speaker's eyes it would be an act of temerity, on the part of a Ministry which was responsible for the safety of the country confided to its care, to expose it to be crushed by an overwhelming combination of foreign enemies. He did not say that such would be necessarily the case. All he meant was to keep his hands free and unfettered *vis-à-vis* of the House.

After M. Waldeck, General von Roon, and others had spoken, the debate was brought to a close, and the House passed by very large majorities both the recommendation of the Committee to refuse the loan and the Resolutions of MM. Schultze and Carlowitz.

No. 907.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 8, 1864.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 31st ultimo,* reporting a conversation you had held with Count Rechberg on the present state of the Danish question;

* No. 895.

and with reference to his Excellency's wish that a Conference should be opened in London upon the subject, I have to request that you will inquire if the Prussian Government has expressed a similar wish, and if the two Governments, in order to put a stop to the present effusion of blood, would at once consent to grant an armistice on the condition that the Danish army should retire to the Island of Alsen.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 908.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, January* 27, 1864.

I WAITED on Prince Gortchakoff this forenoon and placed in his Excellency's hands your Lordship's proposal, of yesterday's date, for the signature of a Protocol in London by the Representatives of the Powers parties to the engagements of 1852, by which Denmark should consent to convoke her Parliament and use her best endeavours to obtain the repeal of the Fundamental Law of 1863 as regards Schleswig, and on the other hand that Austria and Prussia should consent to defer the invasion of Schleswig till the result of this course, to be pursued by Denmark, should be ascertained.

The Vice-Chancellor stated to me in reply, that the Imperial Cabinet would willingly take part in the measure suggested by your Lordship, and that Baron Brunnow would receive orders to join the Representatives of the other Governments in signing such a Protocol; he feared however that Austria and Prussia would be found unwilling to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in this respect.

No. 909.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 1, 1864.

I TOOK the liberty of showing your Lordship's despatch of January the 21st to Prince Gortchakoff this morning, in order that his Excellency might have an opportunity of stating whether he had or had not advised the Danish Government to submit to the occupation of Schleswig by the Austrian and Prussian troops. The Vice-Chancellor told me that he had not advised the Danish Cabinet to take any course whatever; he had merely placed their position plainly before them, pointing out that if they should resist, the two German Governments would not consider the stipulations of 1852 as any longer binding.

No. 910.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 1, 1864.

IN conformity with your Lordship's instructions, conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 26th January, I have this forenoon brought under the consideration of Prince Gortchakoff the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, already conveyed to the Imperial Cabinet by telegraph on the 26th instant, that the non-German Powers, parties to the engagements of 1852, should invite Austria and Prussia to join in signing a Protocol in London to the following effect:—

The Danish Government should engage to convoke the Rigsraad and use its best endeavours to obtain the revocation of the Constitution of November last, in so far as regards Schleswig.

Austria and Prussia on their part should declare that they accept this diplomatic engagement contracted by Denmark, and should agree to delay the passage of the Eider until the result of the measure contemplated be ascertained.

I placed your Lordship's despatch in the hands of the Vice-Chancellor, who read it aloud, and remarked that he would request to be furnished with a copy of it. His Excellency then stated that he had already informed Her Majesty's Government, through Her Majesty's Embassy and through Baron Brunnow, that he would join in the signature of such a Protocol

if the other parties interested should consent to do so likewise. He understood that the Governments of France and Sweden had returned the same reply, but the Governments of Austria and Prussia had, he believed, declined the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, which had thus, it was to be feared, fallen to the ground.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 911.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 1, 1864.

I AM directed by your Lordship's instruction of the 22nd January, to ascertain whether the Russian Government would be prepared to offer their good offices at Vienna and Berlin, with the view of obtaining a suspension of military operations for six weeks, in order that the Rigsraad may have time to meet and deliberate on the proposition of the Danish Cabinet for the revocation of the Fundamental Law.

Your Lordship has been informed by telegraph of the reply returned by the Imperial Cabinet to this overture,* which has since been frustrated by the indifference of some parties and by the resistance of others.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 912.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 4, 1864.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF informed me this forenoon that the Danish Cabinet had consented to renew its overture for the intervention of the Powers signataries of the engagements of 1852 in the specific form recommended by Russia, in that, namely, of a Conference of the Seven Powers, with the addition of a Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Diet. It appears that the Cabinet of Bishop Monrad have adopted this course with some hesitation, from an apprehension that this proposal might not be acceptable to the Government of France.

To my inquiry whether the Vice-Chancellor believed that the Conference would continue its labours during the progress of hostilities, his Excellency answered that he thought it could do so, though no doubt under increased difficulties. We might, however, expect that the speedy success of the arms of Austria and Prussia in an unequal struggle would produce a cessation of active operations, and that the deliberations of the Conference might be pursued in comparative peace.

No. 913.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 4, 1864.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF informed me this forenoon that a joint communication would be made by the Governments of Austria and Prussia in London to the following effect:—

The two German Cabinets declared that in entering Schleswig they did not abandon the political basis of the engagements of 1851-52, and that if in consequence of the prosecution of the war and the intervention of a third party it became necessary to have recourse to new combinations, these would not be negotiated apart, but would be embraced by a common consent of all the Powers interested.

The Vice-Chancellor added that the two German Governments had not distinctly pronounced the words "Treaty of London of 1852," or the terms the "integrity of the Danish Monarchy," but in citing the engagements of 1851-52 they implied the principle of that integrity.

I asked the Vice-Chancellor whether the declaration alluded to on the part of

* That so soon as Prince Gortchakoff was informed that the British Representatives at Berlin and Vienna had received orders to advise a suspension of hostile operations for six weeks, the Russian Ministers at those capitals would be instructed to support them, whether Her Majesty's Government should act in conjunction with France and Sweden or apart from those Powers.

Austria and Prussia had reference to their intentions only at the moment of entering Schleswig before an armed opposition had been offered to them, or whether they intended to adhere to the same views notwithstanding the armed resistance of Denmark. I feared the two Governments were already preparing the way for an eventual avowal and execution of their real design, which was the separation of Schleswig from Denmark, its incorporation with Holstein, and the union of both to the Danish Monarchy by the personal tie of a common Sovereign.

Prince Gortchakoff replied that it was no use speculating on future contingencies, we must deal with them as they arose. In the meantime he must accept and record the assurance of the German Cabinets in the sense most conformable to his views and wishes. He recognised in this declaration the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy and that of a Conference, both of which he had at heart. The meeting of a Conference was the object at which our common efforts should be directed.

No. 914.

Mr. Jerningham to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *Stockholm, January 29, 1864.*

I HAVE the honour to state that, having given a copy of your Lordship's despatch of the 13th instant (which reached me on the 26th) to Count Manderström, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions, his Excellency has informed me that he had no objection to offer to the bases proposed for any Conference to be held for settling the differences between Germany and Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. S. S. JERNINGHAM.

No. 915.

Mr. Jerningham to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *Stockholm, January 29, 1864.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of Count Manderström's joint and satisfactory reply to my note embodying your Lordship's despatch of the 18th instant, and to my communication of the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 26th instant, the former relating to co-operation for maintaining the Treaty of 1852, and the latter proposing a Protocol with a view to the convocation of the Danish Parliament for the purpose of modifying the Constitution of November.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. S. S. JERNINGHAM.

Inclosure in No. 915.

Count Manderström to Mr. Jerningham.

Monsieur, *Stockholm, le 28 Janvier, 1864.*

JE m'empresse de vous accuser réception de l'office que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date d'hier et de la connaissance que vous avez bien voulu me donner en même temps d'une dépêche de Lord Russell du 13 de ce mois.

Vous avez eu l'occasion de vous convaincre parfaitement, Monsieur, par les entretiens fréquents que j'ai eu l'honneur d'avoir avec vous, que le Gouvernement du Roi partage entièrement les vues de celui de Sa Majesté Britannique, par rapport au maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et qu'il a le dessin bien arrêté de rester de même fidèle aux engagements contractés par le Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852. Il a donc éprouvé à l'égal du Gouvernement Britannique le plus vif regret de voir ce Traité, dont les stipulations avaient pour but de prévenir l'état de choses que nous voyons maintenant se produire, répudié par des Etats de l'Allemagne, dont la grande majorité y avait cependant adhéré d'une manière plus ou moins explicite, et de voir même les grandes Puissances Allemandes, tout en déclarant vouloir respecter ce Traité, suivre une marche qui dans ses conséquences pourrait facilement aboutir à le voir également desavoué par elles. Je vous ai communiqué déjà que le Gouvernement du Roi avait cru de son devoir de protester contre la voie adoptée par l'Autriche et la Prusse, et toute mesure sagement

combinée qui pourrait assurer le maintien du Traité de 1852, est donc sûr d'avance d'obtenir son concours.

Par la note que d'ordre de votre Gouvernement vous m'avez maintenant adressée, vous demandez d'être informé si le Gouvernement du Roi voudrait se concerter et coopérer avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, ainsi qu'avec ceux d'Autriche, de France, de Prusse, et de Russie, dans le but de maintenir les engagements du Traité du 8 Mai, 1852, et spécialement dans celui de conserver intacte l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, en m'informant qu'une communication identique avait été faite également à tous les Gouvernements susmentionnés.

Prévenu télégraphiquement d'avance du sens principal de cette communication, je vous ai fait connaître déjà, Monsieur, tout comme j'en ai informé le Ministre du Roi à Londres, que le Roi mon auguste Souverain acceptait volontiers cette proposition.

A celle-ci se rattache absolument une autre, au sujet de laquelle vous avez reçu un télégramme daté du 26, dont vous avez eu l'obligeance de me communiquer de même hier la substance. M. le Comte Russell y propose qu'un Protocole soit signé à Londres, par les Représentants des sept Puissances signataires du Traité de 1852, par lequel le Danemark contracterait l'engagement de convoquer dans le plus bref délai possible, le Rigsraad de ce Royaume, dans le but de revoquer la Constitution du 18 Novembre, en tant qu'elle concerne le Slesvig, et d'user de toute son influence pour obtenir que la dite Assemblée consente à cette abrogation; tandisque l'Autriche et la Prusse, pour le cas qu'elles acceptassent cet engagement, consentiraient à ajourner tout passage militaire de l'Eider, jusqu'à ce que le résultat de la marche ci-dessus indiquée eût été obtenu.

Je n'ai point manqué de placer immédiatement cette dernière communication sous les yeux du Roi, et de prendre ses ordres à ce sujet, et je suis autorisé à vous déclarer officiellement, Monsieur, que Sa Majesté, bien qu'elle n'ait jamais pu prendre sur elle de conseiller l'abrogation d'une loi votée si récemment par la représentation nationale et revêtue de la sanction de Sa Majesté Danoise, ne veut toutefois pas refuser son concours à une mesure tendant à la conservation de la paix, sous la condition que le Gouvernement Danois y donne son assentiment, et que les autres Gouvernements concernés, et en particulier l'Autriche et la Prusse, y adhèrent, puisque le concert de toutes les Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres parait absolument indispensable, si le résultat qui a dicté cette nouvelle et généreuse démarche du Cabinet de Londres devra pouvoir être amené.

J'ecris à M. le Comte de Wachtmeister en ce sens, en lui transmettant l'autorisation essentielle de signer, de la part du Gouvernement du Roi, le Protocole en question, et afin de ne point occasionner, dans les circonstances ardues de l'époque actuelle, un retard qui pût être préjudiciable aux intérêts généraux qui se rattachent au maintien de la paix, je lui ai expédié dès ce matin, par le télégraphe, ces mêmes instructions.

Veuillez, Monsieur, en prévenir votre Gouvernement, de même que du contenu de cette réponse, et permettez, &c.

(Signé) MANDERSTROM.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Stockholm, January* 28, 1864.

I HASTEN to acknowledge the receipt of the note which you did me the honour to address to me, under date of yesterday, and of the communication of a despatch from Lord Russell of the 13th instant, which you were pleased at the same time to make to me.

You have had the opportunity of perfectly convincing youself, Sir, by the frequent interviews I have had the honour of holding with you, that the Government of the King entirely share the views of that of Her Britannic Majesty, as regards the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and that they hold the firm intention to remain alike faithful to the engagements contracted by the Treaty of London of the 8th May, 1852. They have therefore equally with the British Government experienced the deepest regret at seeing that Treaty, the stipulations of which had for their object to prevent the state of things which we now see produced, repudiated by the States of Germany, the great majority of which had nevertheless more or less explicitly adhered to them, and at seeing even the Great German Powers, while they declare their intention to respect that Treaty, following a course which from its results might easily end equally in a disavowal of it on their part. I have already communicated to you that the King's Government had considered it to be their duty to protest against the course adopted by Austria and Prussia, and every measure wisely devised which could assure the maintenance of the Treaty of 1852, is therefore sure beforehand to obtain their concurrence.

In the note which by order of your Government you have now addressed to me, you

request to be informed if the King's Government would concert and co-operate with the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, as well as those of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, with the object of maintaining the engagements of the Treaty of the 8th May, 1852, and specially with that of preserving intact the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and you inform me that an identic communication has been made also to all the above-mentioned Governments.

Having been previously made acquainted by telegraph with the principal object of that communication, I have already informed you, Sir, as I have also informed the King's Minister in London, that the King my august Sovereign willingly accepted this proposal.

To this latter another is absolutely attached, on the subject of which you received a telegram dated the 26th, of which also you were so obliging as to communicate to me the substance yesterday. Earl Russell therein proposes that a Protocol should be signed in London by the Representatives of the seven Powers who signed the Treaty of 1852, by which Denmark would enter into an engagement to convoke with as little delay as possible the Rigsraad of that Kingdom, with the object of revoking the Constitution of the 18th November in so far as it concerns Schleswig, and to use all her influence to obtain the consent of that Assembly to the abrogation in question; whilst Austria and Prussia, in the event of their accepting this engagement, would consent to postpone any military passage of the Eider until the result of the above-mentioned step shall have been obtained.

I did not fail immediately to lay this last communication before the King, and to take his orders on this subject, and I am authorized to declare to you officially, Sir, that His Majesty, although he never ventured to take upon himself to advise the abrogation of a law voted so recently by the national representation, and to which the sanction of His Danish Majesty has been given, will nevertheless not refuse his concurrence to a measure which tends to the preservation of peace, on condition that the Danish Government give their consent thereto, and that the other Governments concerned, and especially Austria and Prussia, adhere to it, since it appears absolutely indispensable that all the Powers who signed the Treaty of London should act in concert, if the result which is the object of this new and generous step on the part of the Cabinet of London is to be brought about.

I write to Count Wachtmeister in this sense, and I transmit to him the necessary authorization to sign, on the part of the King's Government, the Protocol in question; and in order not to occasion, under the difficult circumstances of the present time, a delay which might be prejudicial to the general interests which are concerned in the maintenance of peace, I have forwarded to him this morning by telegraph the same instructions.

Please to inform your Government of this, as well as of the contents of this reply; and allow, &c.

(Signed) MANDERSTROM.

No. 916.

Mr. Jerningham to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *Stockholm, January* 30, 1864.

YOUR Lordship is already aware of the convocation of an extraordinary Norwegian Storthing for the 14th of March, in consequence of the existing state of the differences between Denmark and Genmany.

I have reason to believe that it is also in the contemplation of this Government to summon an extraordinary meeting of the Swedish Diet for about the same period, in the event of its appearing advisable on account of the differences in question.

No. 917.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, January* 29, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that preparatory measures for the elections have already taken place by the publication of the places where the electors are to inscribe themselves in Schleswig.

In consequence of your Lordship's instructions I have written to M. Quaade,

begging him to let me have an answer to-morrow. His Excellency told me yesterday that he thought it would be impossible, under any circumstances, to assemble the Rigsraad before the month of April.

No. 918.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, January* 30, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that M. Quaade has just called on me to say that the Danish Government will take the necessary steps for having the elections as soon as possible, and they will take some means of manifesting their intention in a public manner. They will, however, be obliged to have recourse to some extraordinary step for this purpose, as under ordinary circumstances the first public notice of the intended convocation of the Rigsraad appears only after the elections have taken place, by the publication of a Royal Patent, desiring the members to attend at Copenhagen. The polling-places, as I had the honour of reporting to your Lordship yesterday, have already been fixed for the Duchy of Schleswig; but M. Quaade informs me that this preliminary is not required in the Kingdom Proper, where the electors vote in their respective parishes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 919.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, January* 31, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Danish Government have received information from the Commander-in-chief of the Danish army that Marshal Wrangel wrote to him this morning to say that he had received orders to take possession of Schleswig, and to administer it. He inquired of General Meza whether he was ready to evacuate it, giving him till 5 o'clock this afternoon to return an answer.

General Meza replied that he had orders to defend Schleswig.

The King leaves this evening at 11, with the President of the Council, for the head-quarters of the army.

The Austrian and Prussian Ministers left Copenhagen to-day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 920.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 1, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Danish outposts have been withdrawn and the bridges blown up. All communication, both by post and telegraph, across the Eider has been cut off.

General De Meza says he has received reports from Eckernförde stating that the enemy has passed the frontier at different places. This news is not given as official.

It was decided in the Council of State last night to convoke the Rigsraad as soon as possible, and a Royal Patent will probably appear in a few days for this purpose.

No. 921.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 2, 1863.

THE Danish forces have withdrawn behind the Dannewerke; but a serious attack on this position is not expected to take place for some days. It seems, however, that

two Danish war-steamers have been forced to leave the Bay of Eckernförde by some Prussian guns placed on the heights, but out of reach of the ships' fire.

I have also the honour to state that a Royal Patent was published last night, announcing the elections for the Folkething on the 5th of March, and for the Landsthing on the 29th of the same month.

No. 922.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 3, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to state that General De Meza has sent to the Danish Minister of War the following Report, dated February 2nd, at 5·52 P.M.:—

"The enemy began an attack on Missunde at 10 A.M.; at 4 P.M. he withdrew. Missunde is burnt. One Danish officer killed, and four officers wounded."

No. 923.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 3, 1864.

I INFORMED M. Quaade that Her Majesty's Government were very sensible of the important step already taken by Denmark in favour of peace, but that your Lordship was of opinion that the Danish Government would place themselves in a still better position by immediately ordering the elections. If this step, which I was instructed urgently to recommend, was taken, I stated that your Lordship was of opinion that Austria and Prussia would put themselves much in the wrong by allowing their troops to advance; and I concluded with the suggestion that if the electoral lists for the kingdom were not sufficiently advanced, while those for Schleswig were more so (a supposition which I founded on the fact of the electoral offices having been published for Schleswig), the elections for Schleswig might be ordered to take place in the first instance. I begged M. Quaade to let me have an answer the following day.

His Excellency accordingly called upon me in the evening, and informed me that in compliance with the advice of Her Majesty's Government, orders for the elections would immediately be given.

I said I did not in the least doubt the intentions of the Government to act as he said, but I thought it most desirable that there should be some public act to manifest their intentions.

M. Quaade replied that he quite agreed with this, but he did not know exactly what could be done for this purpose. It would be necessary, he said, to have recourse to some extraordinary measure, as in the ordinary course of things the first intimation of an intention to convoke the Rigsraad would only be made, after the elections had taken place, by issuing a Royal Patent calling on the members to assemble at Copenhagen.

I pressed on M. Quaade how desirable it was that the term for the elections should be abridged as much as possible, so that the meeting of the Rigsraad should not be unnecessarily delayed.

His Excellency promised that this should be attended to, and in informing me of the decision taken in the Council of State on Sunday evening to convoke the Rigsraad, he added that the 5th of March for the Folkething, and the 29th of that month for the Landsthing was, after every curtailment of time had been made, the very earliest period at which the elections could take place.

A translation, by Mr. Kirkpatrick, of the Royal Patent ordering the elections for the periods above mentioned is herewith inclosed.

The Austrian and Prussian troops being already in possession of part of Schleswig, it is evident that the elections for that Duchy cannot be effected.

It was expressly understood by the Danish Government in making known their intention of convoking the Rigsraad for the repeal of the November Constitution, that Austria and Prussia should be consenting parties to this arrangement; and they moreover stipulated that the intervening time should be employed in drawing up another organization for the Monarchy, to be substituted for the Constitution. In deference, however, to the further advice of Her Majesty's Government, they waived these two conditions, and were about taking the preliminary measures for giving effect to their intentions when the summons of Marshal Wrangel to General de Meza on the 31st ultimo arrived.

Inclosure in No. 923.

Royal Patent, dated January 31, 1864.

(Translation.)

WE, Christian IX, by God's grace King of Denmark, &c., make known:

That we have decreed that the elections for the Rigsraad shall take place in the Electoral districts on the 5th March next for the Folkething, and on the 29th March for the Landsthing.

In publishing the above, in conformity with the Electoral Law of the 4th December of last year, section 20, we likewise decree, in conformity with section 8 of the same law, the drawing up of the lists of those entitled to the electoral franchise for the Landsthing.

To which Decree all those concerned are to conform.

Given at our Town of Copenhagen, January 31, 1864.

Under our Royal hand and seal,

(Signed) CHRISTIAN R.

(Signed) D. G. MONRAD.

No. 924.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 3, 1864.

THE intelligence of a summons having been addressed by Marshal Wrangel to General de Meza to evacuate Schleswig was received at Copenhagen on Sunday afternoon, the 31st of January.

A Council of Ministers was immediately called, and there was subsequently a Council of State presided by His Majesty.

His Majesty left Copenhagen in the evening, at 11 o'clock, for the army, accompanied by the President of the Council, Bishop Monrad. His Majesty arrived the following day at head-quarters in the town of Schleswig, and was enthusiastically received by the troops.

The opening of hostilities has been decidedly favourably to the Danish arms. The attack at Missunde, as already reported by telegraph, began at 10 o'clock in the morning and lasted till 4 in the afternoon of yesterday, when the Prussians were forced to retire.

I have the honour to inclose an extract from the official paper of this evening, containing further particulars of this engagement, from which it appears that the Prussians attacked with 9,000 men and that the Danes had three battalions and two squadrons engaged, and that the loss of the latter amounts to between 150 and 200 men killed and wounded.

Missunde is an entrenched position on the south bank of the Schlei, and if the Prussians had been successful in carrying it and afterwards in crossing the river, it would, no doubt, have facilitated the further operations they may have contemplated against the Dannewerke.

Inclosure in No. 924.

Newspaper Extract.

(Translation.) *Schleswig, February* 3, 1864.

THE Prussians attacked yesterday at Missunde with 9,000 men and two batteries. We had nine companies of the 3rd and 18th Infantry regiments, and two squadrons of the 4th Dragoon regiment under fire.

Twice the enemy attempted to storm, but were repulsed.

At first they left their dead and wounded on the field, not knowing probably that we had advanced towards Flekkeby. Later they removed most of them.

The fighting took place in thick fog and mist. Our loss cannot be estimated correctly. It is supposed to be from 150 to 200 men.

No. 925.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, February* 7, 1864.

THE complete success of the Austro-Prussian operations can be no longer doubtful, and it is thought here that the campaign is now virtually at an end, since the Danes have abandoned their stronghold on the Dannewerke, and there seems no likelihood of their giving battle. The work has been mainly done by the Austrians, but the accomplishment of the passage of the Schlei at a distant point by the Prussians under Prince Frederick Charles was likewise an important operation, as it would have been the means of intercepting the Danish army if it had not retired in time.

The Austrian Field-Marshal Gablenz is reported to have told the citizens of Schleswig they might do as they pleased about proclaiming the Duke, as it was no affair of his, but of the Germanic Confederation; also, that they might deal as they pleased with the Danish Burgomaster and other officials.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 926.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 7, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a letter from M. de Quaade to M. de Bismarck, which was forwarded to his Excellency this day by M. Guldencrone, lately Danish Secretary of Legation at this Court, referring to the proposal made by M. Monrad on the 6th ultimo, that a negotiation for the settlement of their differences should be opened between Denmark and Germany, with the co-operation of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London, and stating that the Danish Government would prefer, if the Prussian Government should be of the same opinion, that the proposed negotiation should take the form of a Conference to be held in London.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 926.

M. Quaade to M. de Bismarck (and Count Rechberg).

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a l'honneur, par ordre du Roi son auguste Souverain, de faire parvenir la communication suivante à son Excellence M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen, &c. (M. le Comte Rechberg, &c.)

Par sa note du 6 du courant M. Monrad, Président du Conseil de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a porté l'attention de son Excellence M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen (*mutatis mutandis*) sur les motifs qui font désirer au Gouvernement Danois que d'autres Puissances que celles directement intéressées au différend Dano-Allemand concourent, moyennant d'une co-opération plus formelle, à l'aplanissement de ce différend, et il s'est flatté de l'espoir que les deux Cabinets de Berlin et de Vienne ne se refuseraient pas à porter la main à une combinaison si propre à détourner un conflit sérieux. Si, à cette occasion, M. Monrad ne s'est pas prononcé avec précision sur la forme de la négociation que le Gouvernement Danois avait en vue, c'est qu'il croyait en devoir laisser la décision aux Puissances dont il réclamait le concours au maintien de la paix. Cependant le temps presse, et il est de la dernière importance qu'une négociation sérieuse intervienne avant que l'explosion d'une guerre ait relégué la possibilité d'un accommodement à l'amiable dans un avenir incertain, et pourtant rien n'a pu encore être décidé sur la question préliminaire dont il s'agit.

Jusqu'à présent le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg seul s'est énoncé d'une manière plus déterminée à l'egard de cette question, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie ayant déclaré à l'Envoyé de Danemark à St. Pétersbourg que partant du principe que le Gouvernement Danois avait désiré une réunion des Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres—auxquelles serait adjoint, s'il y a lieu, un représentant de la Diète Germanique—pour aviser aux moyens d'aplanir le différend existant, le Gouvernement

Impérial acceptait cette combinaison tout comme il était prêt à s'y associer, dans tel endroit qui serait convenu d'un commun accord.

En présence de cette déclaration et de l'acceptation dans ces termes par un des Cabinets auxquels la proposition Danoise avait été adressée, tout en maintenant pour sa part l'attitude de réserve que lui imposent les égards dûs aux autres Gouvernements, le Gouvernement Danois a cru ne devoir plus hésiter à se prononcer lui-même, afin de contribuer ainsi, autant qu'il dépend de lui, à provoquer sans délai une entente sur la question préalable, et, en conséquence, le Soussigné a l'honneur de faire savoir à son Excellence M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen (*mutatis mutandis*) que la forme d'une Conférence est celle que le Gouvernement Danois préfererait donner à la négociation qu'il a en vue, pourvu toutefois que le Cabinet de Berlin (*mutatis mutandis*) soit également disposé à l'adopter.

En priant son Excellence M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen (*mutatis mutandis*) de vouloir bien lui faire savoir si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse (*mutatis mutandis*) croit pouvoir entrer sur la proposition qu'il vient ainsi de soumettre à la bienveillante considération de son Excellence, le Soussigné ajoute que quant à la ville où la Conférence se réunirait, le Gouvernement Danois s'en rapporte entièrement aux convenances des autres Gouvernements ; mais si le choix lui était laissée, il n'hésiterait pas à donner la préférence à la ville de Londres, où le Traité du 8 Mai, 1852, ainsi que les Protocoles qui ont abouti à la conclusion de ce Traité, ont été signés.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) G. QUAADE.

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned, Minister of Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the King of Denmark, has the honour, by order of the King his august Sovereign, to make the following communication to his Excellency M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen, &c. (Count Rechberg, &c.)

By his note of the 6th instant, M. Monrad, President of the Council of His Majesty the King of Denmark, called the attention of his Excellency M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen (*mutatis mutandis*) to the motives which make the Danish Government desire that other Powers than those directly interested in the Dano-German dispute should join, by means of a more formal co-operation, in the arrangement of this dispute, and they indulged in the hope that the two Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna would not refuse to assist in a combination so well adapted for obviating a serious conflict. If on this occasion M. Monrad did not pronounce himself with precision on the form of the negotiation which the Danish Government had in view, it was because he thought it right to leave the decision of it to the Powers whose assistance he claimed for the maintenance of peace. Meanwhile time presses, and it is of the utmost importance that serious negotiations should take place before the explosion of a war defers the possibility of an amicable settlement for an indefinite period, and still nothing has yet been decided on the preliminary question under consideration.

Until now the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh alone has declared itself in a more determined manner with regard to this question, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia having declared to the Envoy of Denmark at St. Petersburgh that starting from the principle that the Danish Government had desired a meeting of the Powers signatary of the Treaty of London—to which should be associated, if possible, a Representative of the Germanic Diet—to consider the means of settling the present dispute, the Imperial Government accepted this combination and were ready to join in it in any place which might be generally agreed upon.

In presence of this declaration, and of the acceptance in these terms of one of the Cabinets to which the Danish proposal had been addressed, the Danish Government whilst maintaining on their part the attitude of reserve which the regard due to other Governments imposes on them, think it right to hesitate no longer to pronounce themselves, in order thus to contribute, as far as depends on them, to promoting without delay an understanding on the preliminary question; and in consequence the Undersigned has the honour to acquaint his Excellency M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen (*mutatis mutandis*) that the form of a Conference is that which the Danish Government would prefer to give to the negotiation which they have in view, provided always that the Cabinet of Berlin (*mutatis mutandis*) is equally disposed to adopt it.

Whilst begging his Excellency M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen (*mutatis mutandis*) to be so good as to inform him if the Government of His Majesty the King of Prussia (*mutatis mutandis*) can enter on the proposal which he thus submits to the favourable consideration of his Excellency, the Undersigned adds that as to the town in which the Conference should meet, the Danish Government leave it entirely to the decision of the

other Governments; but if the choice were left to them, they would not hesitate to give the preference to the city of London, where the Treaty of May 8, 1852, as well as the Protocols which resulted in the conclusion of that Treaty, were signed.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) G. QUAADE.

No. 927.

Earl Russell to Lord Napier.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 9, 1864.

HER Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen has prepared me for an application which the Danish Government have addressed to the British, French, Russian, and Swedish Governments for assistance in the contest in which they are engaged with Austria and Prussia.*

The accounts which arrive from the seat of war represent the Danish troops to be evacuating the Duchy of Schleswig; and as the Austrian Government profess that it is not intended to extend military operations beyond the frontier of that Duchy into other parts of the Danish Monarchy, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the time has arrived when the terms on which peace may be restored should be taken into consideration.

Your Excellency is therefore instructed to ascertain from Prince Gortchakoff whether the attention of the Russian Government has been directed to this point, and if so you will state to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government would be glad to be made acquainted with his views on the matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 928.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 10.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 8, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, translations by Mr. Grosvenor:—

1st. Of an Address presented at Rendsburg by a deputation of that town to the Crown Prince of Prussia, and of His Royal Highness' reply.

2nd. Of a Proclamation of Field-Marshal Wrangel to the inhabitants of Schleswig.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 928.

Address of the Deputation from the Town of Rendsburg to the Crown Prince of Prussia, and His Royal Highness' answer.

(Translation.)

"Your Royal Highness!

"BEFORE you are Representatives of every class in Rendsburg, come most respectfully to welcome your Royal Highness, and to express their joy at your presence in our town, and at the head of that army in whose strength we are justified in seeking the most powerful protection for the interests of our country. The reports of your Royal Highness' goodwill towards our country and our cause, and the presence of your Royal Highness, justify us in the belief that now our rights will be brought to the only end which we wish and pray for, namely, that we shall at last obtain a position in which we shall be able to lead a quiet and peaceable life under the rule of our rightful Sovereign, Duke Frederick VIII.

"We hope that your Royal Highness may consider our cause worthy, as indeed it is, of your turning the whole weight of your personal influence to its prosperous advancement."

* See No. 938.

The Crown Prince replied:—

"I thank you for your hearty welcome. I am glad to be able to take part with our troops in a cause which I have very much at heart. You will not expect any further specific explanation from me, and I could not give any. I cannot yet concur in the denomination of the Prince whom you have just mentioned; I am only here as a soldier, and beg that you will only welcome me as such, and as your compatriot. I will, with you, trust to Providence, in whose guidance the salvation of your cause lies. You know that I have long been on the most friendly terms and connected by family ties with my cousin."

"I will tell my Royal father the warm reception you have given me. You may rest assured that he has a warm heart for your cause."

The Deputation took leave in the following words:—

"We thank your Royal Highness for your friendly expressions, more especially that one in which you say 'we may look upon you as a compatriot.' We accept it with pleasure as a guarantee for our trust that you have our cause at heart and will aid it."

Inclosure 2 in No. 928.

Proclamation of Field-Marshal von Wrangel to the Inhabitants of Schleswig.

(Translation.)

Inhabitants of the Duchy of Schleswig!

HAVING received the orders of the King of Prussia, my august Sovereign, to occupy this Duchy with the Prussian and other troops which the Emperor of Austria has been likewise pleased to place under my orders for the same purpose, I request you to receive them with amity and hospitality.

We are here to protect your rights.

These rights have been prejudiced by the common Constitution for Denmark and Schleswig of the 18th of November, sanctioned by the King of Denmark, by which the Duchy is incorporated into the Monarchy in contravention to the engagements of 1852.

The request made to the King of Denmark to change this state of affairs has been in vain. The Governments of Austria and Prussia have consequently determined to make use of the means in their power practically to set aside the incorporation, and to secure to the Duchy its rights based upon Treaties, by occupying it with their united troops and assuming provisional administration.

The administration will be undertaken by the Civil Commissioners of the two Powers. I request you to obey their orders and to assist them in the maintenance of a legal and orderly state of things. The laws of the land remain in force in so far as the safety of the troops does not require any immediate and provisional exceptions.

I expect from the orderly and good sense of the inhabitants of the Duchy that they will refrain from any demonstrations, whatever be their party-colouring.

You will be convinced that party agitation can only be injurious to your good cause and that in your interests I cannot permit it.

Our troops come as friends. You will receive them as such.

No. 929.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 10.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 8, 1864.

M. DE ZEDLITZ, who was Minister of Police under Baron Manteuffel, and retained the appointment for some time afterwards under the Ministry of M. Anerswald, has been sent to Schleswig as Prussian Commissioner for the Civil Administration of the Duchy.

M. de Zedlitz's appointment has been most unpopular among the Liberal and National party.

No. 930.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 10, 1864.

HER Majesty's Government being anxious to omit no opportunity for bringing to an early settlement the differences between Denmark and Germany which have led to the hostilities now unhappily in progress, and being of opinion that the time has arrived when an armistice may reasonably be agreed to by the contending parties; and Her Majesty's Government having been moreover informed by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna that the Cabinet of Vienna has made a communication to the Prussian Government on the subject, and by Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh that the Russian Government are prepared to advocate at Berlin the establishment of such armistice; I have to instruct you at once to place yourself in communication with the Representatives of Austria and Russia at Berlin, and ascertain from them whether they have received instructions from their respective Courts to support a proposal for an armistice, the bases of such armistice to be that the Danes should be left in possession of the Island of Alsen, and should on the other hand be required to withdraw their military forces from the mainland of Schleswig.

If the two Ministers should reply that they are authorized by their instructions to take this course, you will at once make verbally to Count Bismarck the proposal on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and, acquainting the Austrian and Russian Ministers that you have done so, you will invite them to support your proposal in conformity with their instructions.

You will also acquaint the French Ambassador with the communication you have made to the Prussian Government, and with the invitation you have addressed to the Austrian and Russian Representatives, and you will request his Excellency to lend his assistance to induce the Prussian Government to accede to the proposed armistice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 931.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 10, 1864.

HER Majesty's Government have learnt from Lord Napier that instructions were prepared by the Emperor's direction for the Russian Minister at Berlin, directing him to support the proposal for an armistice on the conditions stated by the Austrian Government, which Lord Bloomfield has reported by telegraph to be the withdrawal of the Danish army into the Island of Alsen.

Under these circumstances I have to authorize your Excellency to make to the Prussian Government the proposal mentioned in my previous despatch of this date, even if you should find that the Austrian Ambassador is not prepared to support you in making it.

Your Excellency will see by the inclosed copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Lord Cowley,* that he is instructed to request the French Government to authorize their Ambassador at Berlin, to co-operate with you in this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 932.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 10, 1864.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, copies of two despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin,† authorizing him to propose to the Prussian Government the establishment of an armistice on the basis of the evacuation of the mainland of Schleswig by the Danish forces, and their withdrawal into the Island of Alsen.

* No. 932. † Nos. 930 and 932.

Your Excellency will observe that Sir A. Buchanan is directed to invite the co-operation of his French colleague; and I have to instruct your Excellency at once to communicate with M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the subject, and to request him to authorize the French Ambassador at Berlin to press the Prussian Government to agree to the proposed armistice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 933.

Earl Russell to Lord Napier.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 10, 1864.

WITH respect to the two questions put by Prince Gortchakoff, and reported in your despatch of the 26th ultimo, in regard to "concert" and "co-operation," the Prince must see that it would be premature to pretend to answer them at present. The very object of the "concert" proposed would be to settle the nature and extent of the material assistance to be afforded in order to maintain the integrity of Denmark.

With regard to the second question, likewise, it must result from the communications received whether Her Majesty's Government would only act with all the other Powers, or with some of them, or alone.

If the Russian Government will assent to the principle of giving material aid to preserve the integrity of Denmark, the answers to these questions and all others must be the result and not the preliminary of the concert to be established.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 934.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 10, 1864.

IN reply to the passage in my despatch of the 20th ultimo, in which I say that "war in Schleswig would not relieve Austria and Prussia from the obligations contracted towards England, France, Russia, Sweden, and other Powers in Europe by the Treaty of London," Count Rechberg says that "war with Denmark would naturally put an end to all Treaties and engagements with her, and that he might observe that the ratification of this Treaty had only been exchanged with Denmark."

Count Rechberg would therefore seem to contend that the engagements of that Treaty were not engagements between all the Powers who signed it, but only between the individual Powers and Denmark, and to rely upon the fact of ratifications being exchanged, not between all the Powers, but only between each of the Powers and Denmark, in support of his view that the Treaty of 1852 does not involve any engagement on the part of Austria and Prussia towards Great Britain, France, Russia, and Sweden.

I have to instruct your Excellency to call Count Rechberg's attention to the note which Baron Koller, by order of his Government, addressed to Viscount Palmerston on the 4th of December, 1849, on the occasion of the entrance of the British fleet under Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker into the Dardanelles, while certain questions were under discussion between the Governments of Austria and Prussia on the one hand, and that of Turkey on the other.

I must observe in the first place that the Convention of July 13, 1841, by which the entrance of ships of war into the Dardanelles and Bosphorus during peace was prohibited, was signed and ratified precisely in the same form as the Treaty of London of May 1852. As the latter Treaty was signed between Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden on the one part and by Denmark on the other, and each of the first named Powers only exchanged ratifications with Denmark and not with each other, so also was the Convention of July 13, 1841, signed by Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia on the one part, and by the Porte on the other, and so also were the ratifications of it only exchanged by each of the Powers with the Porte and not with each other, and specifically ratifications of that Convention were not exchanged between Great Britain and Austria.

Nevertheless, on the occasion of the entrance of the British fleet into the Dardanelles

in the year 1849, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires was instructed formally to protest against that proceeding as a violation of the Convention of 1841.

The note dated December 4, 1849, in which that protest was conveyed, states :—

"Que l'entrée de l'escadre Anglaise dans les Dardanelles constitue une infraction évidente au Traité du 13 Juillet, 1841, qui a eu principalement pour but de donner à Sa Hautesse le Sultan une preuve manifeste du respect que les Puissances signataires portent à l'inviolabilité de ses droits souverains, aussi que de leur désir sincère de voir se consolider le repos de son empire.

"La gravité de ces intérêts, que l'apparition de l'escadre Anglais dans le Détroit des Dardanelles est de nature à compromettre, impose au Gouvernement de l'Empire le devoir de se prémunir, en sa qualité de cosignataire du Traité de Londres du 13 Juillet, 1841, contre le fait ci-dessus mentionné, et de protester solennellement contre les conséquences qui pourraient en être tirées."

The same course as that observed in regard to the Convention of July 13, 1841, was observed in regard to the signature and ratification of the Convention of March 30, 1856, on the same subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 935.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 11.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, February* 9, 1864.

A COMMUNICATION having been made by the Prussian Envoy at the Ha Towns to the Senate of Hamburgh of the intention of the Prussian Government to seize all Danish ships in the Prussian ports by way of retaliation for the embargo laid by Denmark upon all German ships in the Danish ports, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy in translation of the note of the Prussian Envoy, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARD.

Inclosure in No. 935.

M. de Richthofen to the Senate of Hamburgh.

(Translation.)

WHEREAS the Royal Danish Government has by an Ordinance issued on the 3rd of this month laid an embargo upon all Prussian, Austrian, and other German ships in the Danish ports, the Royal Prussian Government has in consequence determined on its part to seize all Danish ships in the ports of Prussia. The Undersigned has received instructions to inform the High Senate thereof, and in fulfilling those instructions gladly embraces, &c.

Hamburgh, February 7, 1864.

(Signed) VON RICHTHOFEN,
Prussian Envoy Extraordinary, &c., to the Hans Towns.

No. 936.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February* 11, 1864.

THE reports which have been received by telegraph from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh represent the Russian Government to be prepared to support at Berlin a proposal to be made by Her Majesty's Government for the establishment of an armistice between Denmark and Austria and Prussia, provided that the bases thereof were such as had been put forward by Austria. Those bases were, as reported by your Excellency, the evacuation by the Danish forces of the mainland of Schleswig, and their withdrawal into the Island of Alsen.

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin has made the proposal to the Prussian Government.

Your Excellency will state to Count Rechberg that Her Majesty's Government highly appreciate the humane spirit which has influenced the Emperor of Austria on this occasion and induced His Imperial Majesty to be satisfied with the material guarantee which the superiority of the Austrian and Prussian forces have admitted of their obtaining up to the present time, and to shrink from the continuance of a contest which would lead to a still greater effusion of blood.

No. 937.

M. de Bille to Earl Russell.—(Received February 11.)

Légation de Danemark, le 11 *Février,* 1864.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a reçu l'ordre de son Gouvernement d'adresser à son Excellence M. le Comte Russell, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, la communication suivante.

Le Gouvernement Anglais aura déjà eu connaissance de l'entrée d'une armée Austro-Prussienne dans le Slesvig, des attaques qui ont été dirigées contre tous les points de la position tenue par les troupes Danoises et des combats sanglants qui en ont été la suite. Le but avoué de ces opérations militaires est de se mettre en possession du Duché de Slesvig, que ce soit pour l'arracher définitivement à la Couronne Danoise ou pour en arriver à se poser en arbitre unique de l'organisation de la Monarchie Danoise.

Le Gouvernement Danois a fait tout ce qui dépendait de lui pour éviter cette rupture de la paix. Il aime à croire que son Excellence M. le Comte Russell apprécie les démarches qu'il a faites dans le but de faire entrer le différend dans la voie efficace et pacifique des négociations; car ces démarches, le Gouvernement Danois les a faites sur les conseils pressants du Cabinet de Londres. Et toutes les Puissances Européennes avec l'Angleterre ont applaudi aux efforts du Danemark pour conserver la paix. Si la Prusse et l'Autriche seules n'ont pas partagé ce vœu universel, c'est qu'elles semblent vouloir établir un fait accompli qui réponde mieux aux aspirations ambitieuses de l'Allemagne que ne le ferait une décision juste et équitable, telle qu'on était en droit de l'attendre d'une Conférence des Puissances impartiales.

Contre cette aggression le Gouvernement Danois est fermement décidé à mettre en œuvre toutes les ressources dont il dispose. Mais malgré l'énergie de ses troupes qui disputent vigoureusement le sol natal à l'ennemi, le Gouvernement Danois prévoit que, reduit à ses propres forces, le Danemark finira par être écrasé sous la supériorité numérique de ses adversaires. Pendant qu'il en est temps encore, il faut donc que les Puissances amies du Danemark lui viennent en aide, et parmi ces Puissances il n'y en a pas à qui le Gouvernement Danois s'adresse avec plus de confiance qu'à l'Angleterre.

Par le Traité du 23 Juillet, 1720, la Grande Bretagne a garanti "à Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, ses héritiers et successeurs, la possession paisible" du Slesvig, en promettant de "les y maintenir *contra quoscunque* qui voudraient les y troubler, soit directement ou indirectement." Cette garantie est encore de nos jours en pleine vigueur, ce dont fait foi la note que Lord Westmorland adressa sous la date du 18 Avril, 1848, au Cabinet de Berlin.

Mais le Gouvernement Danois n'a pas besoin de remonter si haut dans le passé pour gagner l'assurance que l'assistance active de l'Angleterre ne lui fera pas défaut dans les circonstances actuelles. Le Traité de Londres, au mépris duquel les Puissances Allemandes envahissent, à l'heure qu'il est, un pays Danois, est surtout dû à l'intérêt invariable que l'Angleterre porte au maintien de la Monarchie Danoise. Et de toutes les Grandes Puissances l'Angleterre a toujours été celle qui s'est attachée avec le plus de persévérance à éloigner la perspective d'une collision. Dernièrement encore le Cabinet de Londres a fait entendre à Francfort que dans le cas d'une attaque du Slesvig, le Danemark ne serait point laissé seul dans la lutte. L'Allemagne a cru pouvoir passer outre, en ne tenant pas compte de ces paroles; mais le Gouvernement Danois a dû y voir l'expression d'une détermination à laquelle le Gouvernement Britannique donnera suite avec toute l'énergie qui caractérise la nation Anglaise.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) TORBEN BILLE.

(Translation.)

Danish Legation, February 11, 1864.

THE Undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Denmark, has received the order of his Government to address to his

Excellency Earl Russell, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the following communication :—

The English Government are already aware of the entry of an Austro-Prussian army into Schleswig, of the attacks which have been directed against all the points of the position held by the Danish troops, and of the sanguinary combats which have resulted therefrom. The avowed object of these military operations is to place themselves in possession of the Duchy of Schleswig, whether in order to wrest it definitively from the Danish Crown, or in order to make themselves sole arbiters of the organization of the Danish Monarchy.

The Danish Government have done all that depended on them to avoid the rupture of peace. They indulge in the hope that his Excellency Earl Russell appreciates the steps which they have taken with the object of directing this dispute into the efficacious and pacific course of negotiations; for these steps have been taken by the Danish Government on the pressing advice of the Cabinet of London, and all the European Powers, together with England, have applauded the efforts of Denmark to preserve peace. If Austria and Prussia alone have not shared in this universal wish it is because they seem to desire to establish an accomplished fact which coincides better with the ambitious aspirations of Germany than would a just and equitable decision, such as was to be expected from a Conference of the impartial Powers.

Against this aggression the Danish Government are firmly determined to make use of all the resources at their disposal. But notwithstanding the energy of their troops, which vigorously dispute their native soil with the enemy, the Danish Government foresee that, if reduced to her own strength, Denmark will end by being crushed under the numerical superiority of her adversaries. It is therefore necessary, whilst there is yet time, that the Powers friendly to Denmark should come to her help, and among those Powers there is none which the Danish Government address with more confidence than England.

By the Treaty of July 23, 1720, Great Britain has guaranteed "to His Majesty the King of Denmark, his heirs and successors, the peaceable possession" of Schleswig, promising "to maintain them therein *contra quoscunque* who might attempt to disturb them directly or indirectly." This guarantee is still in full vigour at the present moment, as is proved by the note which Lord Westmorland addressed on the 18th of April, 1848, to the Cabinet of Berlin.

But the Danish Government need not look so far back in the past to gain the assurance that the active assistance of England will not fail them under the present circumstances. The Treaty of London, in contempt of which the German Powers are at the present moment invading a Danish country, is especially due to the invariable interest which England takes in the maintenance of the Danish Monarchy. And of all the great Powers, England has always been that which has endeavoured with most perseverance to remove the prospects of a collision. Recently, too, the Cabinet of London gave it to be understood at Frankfort that in the case of an attack of Schleswig, Denmark would not be left alone in the contest. Germany has thought she could continue her course, and pay no attention to these words, but the Danish Government have not failed to see in them the expression of a determination which the British Government will put in execution with all the energy which characterizes the English nation.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) TORBEN BILLE.

No. 938.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February 7, 1864.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Danish Government sent despatches yesterday to London, Paris, St. Petersburgh, and Stockholm, asking the assistance of the four Powers in the present war. The application to the three first-named Courts is founded on the Acts of Guarantee of the Duchy of Schleswig signed in the last century. The Danish Government now consider themselves more bound to a war policy than ever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 939.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February 7, 1864.*

ANY description I might attempt would utterly fail to give your Lordship a correct idea of the consternation and indignation with which the news of the evacuation of the Dannewerke was received in this capital yesterday morning.

Incredulous of the bare possibility of such an event people flocked by hundreds to the Ministry of War, and when they received a confirmation of the intelligence without any one being able to assign a reason for the movement which had taken place, the public mind was not long in jumping to the conclusion that the country had been betrayed. This impression gained force from the fact, which likewise became generally known, that although the evacuation had been decided at a Council of War held on the night of Thursday to Friday, it was not announced to the Minister of War until the night of Friday to Saturday; and although it was said that the decision had been taken without the participation of the King and M. Monrad, little faith was attached to this assertion, and the invectives against His Majesty were loud and numerous. The people had indeed been taught to believe that the Dannewerke was the bulwark at which a supreme effort of resistance was to be made: large sums of money, as they were aware, had been lavished in its construction, it had been provided with a numerous artillery and material, and 50,000 fighting men were known to be concentrated behind the ramparts. There had been no previous intimation that a retreat might be considered advisable before risking the chances of an assault, the partial attacks which had been made on the works had been successfully repulsed, a general engagement had been expected, but no attack had taken place immediately before the retreat.

These were the considerations which rankled in men's minds.

In the afternoon His Majesty's Proclamation to the army, of which I have the honour to inclose a translation by Mr. Kirkpatrick, appeared. It only served to fan the flame, and to give an impulse to the excitement which had been growing since the morning. The abrupt announcement that the cannon were in the possession of the enemy, and that the country was now open to him, was criticized in a tone of great severity. Attentively perused, there is sufficient to show that the responsibility of the measure is attributable to the military Commander.

Popular excitement, however, does not reason or wait for further information, and consequently between 6 and 7 in the evening a large crowd assembled before the Palace, where the Queen and the Royal children are residing, and commenced yelling and shouting the most seditious cries—"Death to the King" being frequently heard. Later in the evening a more numerous mob collected, and their proceedings having become still more riotous, the streets were cleared by a troop of the horse guards, aided by policemen, but the town continued in a state of agitation during the whole night, and so far from its having subsided this morning the reverse appears to be the case, and unless the explanation to be given this afternoon in the Rigsdag should have the effect of calming the public mind, serious disturbances appear to be expected this evening.

Some of the newspapers have called upon the people to be quiet, and placards to the same purpose from some of the influential members of the Rigsdag have been affixed in the streets.

Inclosure in No. 939.

Proclamation to the Army.

(Translation.)

Soldiers!

IT is not alone by bravery on the field of battle, but by patiently enduring want of rest, cold, every kind of privation and fatigue, that a soldier proves his loyalty to his King and his love to his country. Only a few of you have been permitted to prove in battle, against a superior force, that you have not degenerated since Fredericia and Istedt. All of you, on the contrary, have had constant opportunities of giving brilliant proofs of contented endurance, together with dauntless courage under great and continued hardships.

Soldiers! Receive the thanks of your King for this! The Dannewerke is abandoned. In the hands of the enemy are the cannons that should have tamed his arrogance.

The country lies open to the enemy. Deeply do I feel with you what we have lost. But, friends! I have only this one army for the defence of the country, and your experienced

military leaders have decided that unless you are withdrawn, I should no longer have any army at all. They have therefore decided to retreat.

Soldiers! I stand alone in the world with my people. Hitherto, no Power has shown by acts its readiness to stand by us. I rely upon you and upon my fleet. You are prepared to shed your blood, but we are few against many, and therefore it must be dearly sold.

God Almighty grant that the hour of retribution may soon strike for the violence and injustice which has been done to me and to my people.

Sonderburg, February 6, 1864. (Signed) CHRISTIAN R.

(Countersigned) D. G. MONRAD.

No. 940.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 8, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a short account of the statement made yesterday afternoon to the Rigsdag by Bishop Monrad relative to the abandonment of the Dannewerke. Nothing can be more explicit than the terms in which his Excellency disclaims both for the King and himself any previous knowledge of an intention to give up this work.

This declaration has probably been considered satisfactory by the people of Copenhagen, in so far as His Majesty and the President of the Council are concerned, for the night has passed off without any disturbance.

It appears that notwithstanding what is said in His Majesty's proclamation the Danish army were enabled to carry off from the Dannewerke a great portion of their cannon and material; but in an engagement which took place with the Prussians on Saturday, near Flensburg, the Danes appear to have suffered considerable losses both in artillery and waggons, and particularly in officers. The army is reported to be now arrived at Sonderburg, in the immediate vicinity of Duppel.

It is said in a paper this morning that the soldiers were completely worn out at the Dannewerke by the enormous extent of fortifications they had to defend, having been constantly under arms for five days and five nights.

It is confidently asserted that Duppel is a much better place for both offensive and defensive purposes than the Dannewerke.

I have only time for these few hurried lines before the departure of the steamer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 940.

Newspaper Extract.

FROM the address of the President of the Council in the two Houses of the Rigsdag there are certain considerations of essential importance in forming a judgment of the last sad events.

From Bishop Monrad's solemn declaration His Majesty and himself were as ignorant as the Ministry of War of the resolution taken by the Commander-in-chief; they had received the news of it at the same time as the Ministry, and were quite as much astounded as the Ministry could be. When Bishop Monrad, in the night between Wednesday and Thursday, set off from Schleswig for Flensburg it was the determination of the Chief of the Staff not to yield before the storming was attempted. But Thursday afternoon or evening a Council of War [was held?], and amongst eleven superior officers who took part in it there were ten votes against one (Lüttichau) for abandoning the Dannewerke.

A Protocol of the discussion was drawn up but has not yet arrived here, nor are the seven points known on which the Commander-in-chief grounded his resolution. But one thing can be guessed at, both from the expressions of the President of the Council and the statements of the wounded who arrived here yesterday. The army was extremely worn by most fatiguing duty five days and nights in succession. The soldiers had had long and, at this season of the year, most trying watches, constantly prepared for an expected attack, had not been off duty to seek shelter for the night, but could only rest under the open sky. Wherever the fault lay it appears certain that the exhaustion of the army was extreme, and, from what we learn, the soldiers, on their arrival at Flensburg, expressed themselves without bitterness of the necessity of the step that had been taken, and the wounded who have just arrived here have also expressed their general opinion that the position was untenable.

No. 941.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 8, 1864.

IT was stated in the papers that the Prussians on arriving at Eckernförde arrested the Mayor and proclaimed the Prince of Augustenburg, but I would not report the assertion until I had been able to ascertain officially if it were correct.

M. Quaade informs me that it is perfectly true that the Mayor (Leisaer) was arrested and sent under escort to the Prussian head-quarters, and afterwards to Hamburgh, two hours only being allowed to him and his wife for leaving their home; and his Excellency has strong grounds for believing that the Prince of Augustenburg was proclaimed in the presence of the Prussian troops, although in consequence of all communication with the Danish Government from Eckernförde having been cut off the fact has not been officially reported.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 942.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, February* 10, 1864.

COUNT PLATEN told me this morning, that according to a report which he had received from the Hanoverian Consul at Elsinore, the Danish Government had laid an embargo on two Hanoverian vessels in that port.

His Excellency stated that he was about to write to M. Monrad, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, to ask for explanations concerning this extraordinary proceeding, and to request its revocation, and that he should say that he could only view it in the light of a mistake, as he was not aware that Hanover was at war with Denmark, but that if it should not be a mistake he protests against such a breach of the law of nations.

His Excellency remarked to me that if Denmark did not observe her international obligations towards Hanover it could not be expected that Hanover should observe hers towards Denmark, and that Denmark must take the consequences. He added, however, that it was not his intention to take reprisals against Danish ships, although the Prussian Government had invited him to do so.

In reply, I reminded Count Platen that the King of Hanover had not as yet officially recognized King Christian IX, as I had at the time strongly urged should be done by His Majesty, and that Hanover had voted at the Diet against the admission of the Danish Envoy, even as Representative for Lauenburg, and moreover that the Federal Execution had been carried out in such a manner by the Federal Commissioners that it could hardly be viewed by Denmark in any other light than that of a hostile step.

His Excellency was, however, unwilling to admit that the circumstances to which I had referred furnished Denmark with any ground for the measure adopted by her against Hanover.

No. 943.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—Received February 12.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 10, 1864.

SEVERAL German papers, amongst others the "Dresden Journal," have been publishing notices of M. Von der Pfordten's labours on the question of the Augustenburg Succession.

These notices will probably find their way into the English papers, and though I am as yet unable to give your Lordship precise information as to the document drawn up by M. Von der Pfordten, I can state that the "Dresden Journal" is in error in two essential particulars.

1st. The considerations as to the validity of the London Treaty which, that paper states, form the introduction to the memorandum on the Succession, do in fact form a separate document, which I have already had the honour of acquainting your Lordship was prepared some time since, in my despatch of 5th December.

Its presentation has been delayed because the President of the Diet, supported by Prussia and by some other Representatives, objects to the question of the Treaty being at all discussed in the Diet, on the ground that no one has ever contended that the Treaty is binding on the German Confederation.

2nd. The "Dresden Journal" styles M. Von der Pfordten's paper the Report of the majority of the Commission.

It does not at present bear that character, though it may eventually be adopted as their Report. In its present form it is the separate vote of the Bavarian Government, and as such is being confidentially circulated among the several Governments for their examination and approval.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 944.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 10, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an extract from the "Kreuz Zeitung" of last night, with a translation by Mr. Grosvenor, which, after animadverting on the pretension of the Federal military authorities in Holstein, observes that, under present circumstances, it is impossible to leave a country lying between Prussia and the seat of war in ill-disposed hands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 944.

Extract from the "Kreuz Zeitung" of February 9, 1864.

(Translation.)

THE "Dresden Journal" has received a telegram stating that the announcement of the "Hamburger Nachrichten" that, by order of Field-Marshal Wrangel, an attempt was made by Prussian officials to seize the telegraph station at Rendsburg, which failed on account of the intervention of the Saxon General De Hake, is confirmed. This interference of the Saxon General, together with his famous demand that Marshal Wrangel should give up to him the Kronwerk, and the Holstein villages on the further side of the Eider—which he had not taken—shows plainly enough that there is an inclination to put difficulties in the way of the Great Powers. Under such circumstances it is almost impossible to leave a country situated between Prussia and the seat of war in the hands of the ill-disposed, and we recommend that this should be seriously thought upon.

No. 945.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February* 11, 1864.

THE Danish Minister here has not as yet made any communication to the French Government, asking for assistance on the ground of a guarantee given by France, Great Britain, and Russia, to Denmark in the course of the last century; but M. Drouyn de Lhuys informed me this afternoon, that in anticipation of this demand, which had been announced to him by telegraph as about to be made, he had desired the matter to be inquired into, and had found that the guarantee in question had been given in 1720 by France, for what was then termed the Royal part of Schleswig only.

No. 946.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 11, 1864.

I THOUGHT it very desirable to communicate to M. Drouyn de Lhuys your Lordship's despatch to Lord Bloomfield of yesterday's date, on the subject of the

doctrine put forward by the Austrian Government that the Treaty of 1852 was no longer binding on Austria and Prussia in consequence of those two Powers being at war with Denmark.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that your Lordship's reasoning was unanswerable, and that you might have cited the Convention respecting the Islands of Aland, as well as that concerning the entrance of ships of war into the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 947.

M. Quaade to M. de Bille.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by M. de Bille, February 12.)

Monsieur, *Copenhague, le* 30 *Janvier*, 1864.

PAR la dépêche que M. le Président du Conseil vous a adressée en date du 5 de ce mois, son Excellence a principalement eu pour but d'obtenir que la situation actuelle si dangéreusement tendue fît place aussitôt que possible à une négociation régulière poursuivie sous les auspices des Puissances intéressées au maintien de la paix.

Vous aurez vu pourquoi nous ne nous sommes pas, à cette occasion, prononcés avec précision sur la forme que nous désirions voir donner à la négociation : cette question, qui dans l'état actuel des choses devait pour nous être d'une importance secondaire, nous avons cru devoir en laisser la décision aux convenances des Puissances dont nous réclamions les bons offices.

Cependant le temps presse ; je suis sûr que les Puissances ne se dissimulent pas l'importance qu'il y a à amener une négociation sérieuse avant que l'explosion d'une guerre n'ait relégué la possibilité d'un accommodement à l'amiable dans un avenir incertain, et pourtant il n'a rien pu être décidé encore sur la question préalable dont il s'agit. Jusqu'à présent le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg seul s'est énoncé d'une manière plus déterminée à cet égard, le Prince Gortchacoff ayant déclaré au Baron de Plessen que partant du principe que le Gouvernement du Roi avait désiré une réunion des Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres, auxquelles serait adjoint, s'il y a lieu, un représentant de la Diète Germanique, pour aviser aux moyens d'aplanir le différend existant, le Gouvernement Impérial acceptait cette combinaison tout comme il était prêt à s'y associer dans tel endroit qui serait convenu d'un commun accord.

En présence de cette déclaration et de l'acceptation annoncée dans ces termes par un des Cabinets auxquels notre proposition avait été adressée, tout en maintenant pour notre part l'attitude de réserve que nous imposent les égards dûs aux convenances des autres Gouvernements, nous avons cru ne devoir plus hésiter à nous prononcer nous-mêmes afin de contribuer ainsi, autant qu'il dépend de nous, à provoquer sans délai une entente sur la question préalable, et je vous prie donc, Monsieur, de vouloir bien, en informant M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'acceptation de notre proposition par le Gouvernement Impérial de Russie, faire savoir à son Excellence que la forme d'une Conférence—forme dans laquelle il ne serait fait aucune distinction entre les Puissances qui concourront à l'œuvre salutaire que nous nous proposons—est celle qui nous conviendrait le plus, pourvu toutefois que le Cabinet de St. James fût également disposé à l'adopter.

Vous voudrez bien, Monsieur, me faire savoir aussitôt que possible si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique croit pouvoir entrer sur les propositions que nous nous permettons ainsi de lui faire, et en cas de réponse négative, quelle autre forme il préférerait donner à la négociation.

Il ne me reste qu'à ajouter que quant à la ville où la Conférence se réunirait, le Gouvernement du Roi s'en rapporte entièrement aux convenances des autres Gouvernements ; mais si le choix lui était laissé, il n'hésiterait pas à donner la préférence à la ville de Londres, où le Traité du 8 Mai, 1852, ainsi que les Protocoles qui ont abouti à la conclusion de ce Traité, ont été signés.

Veuillez lire cette dépêche à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, et lui en laisser copie.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) QUAADE.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Copenhagen, January* 30, 1864.

IN the despatch which the President of the Council addressed to you, dated the 5th instant, his Excellency's principal object was to substitute as soon as possible for

the actual situation, which was in such a dangerous state of tension, a regular negotiation carried on under the auspices of the Powers interested in the preservation of peace.

You will have perceived why we did not on this occasion express ourselves with precision as to the form which we wished to be given to the negotiation. We thought it right to leave the decision of this question, which in the actual state of affairs was of secondary importance to us, to the desires of the Powers whose good offices we claimed.

Meanwhile time presses. I am sure that the Powers do not conceal from themselves the importance of bringing about a serious negotiation before the explosion of a war defers the possibility of an amicable solution for an indefinite period, and still nothing has been decided as yet on the preliminary question under consideration. Until now, the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh alone has pronounced itself in a more decided manner on this subject, Prince Gortchakoff having declared to Baron de Plessen that starting from the principle that the Government of the King had desired a meeting of the Powers signatary of the Treaty of London, to which should be associated, if possible, a Representative of the Germanic Diet, to consider the means of settling the existing dispute, the Imperial Government accepted this combination, and was ready to join in it in any place which might be generally agreed upon.

In presence of this declaration and of the acceptance announced in these terms by one of the Cabinets to which our proposal had been addressed, while maintaining on our part the attitude of reserve which the regard due to the desires of other Governments imposes on us, we have thought it right no longer to hesitate in pronouncing ourselves, in order thus to contribute, as far as depends upon us, to the promotion without delay of an understanding on the preliminary question, and I therefore beg you, Sir, while informing the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the acceptance of our proposal by the Imperial Government of Russia, to be so good as to acquaint his Excellency that the form of a Conference—a form in which no distinction will be made between the Powers which join in the salutary work which we propose—is that which would be most agreeable to us, provided that the Cabinet of St. James' were equally disposed to adopt it.

You will be so good, Sir, as to inform me as soon as possible if the Government of Her Britannic Majesty can enter on the proposals which we thus submit to them, and in case of a negative answer what other form they would prefer to give to the negotiation.

I have only to add that as to the town in which the Conference should meet, the King's Government leave it entirely to the decision of the other Governments; but if the choice were left to them they would not hesitate to give the preference to the city of London, in which the Treaty of May 1852, as well as the Protocols which resulted in the conclusion of that Treaty were signed.

Be so good as to read this despatch to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to leave him a copy of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) QUAADE.

No. 948.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 13.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 11, 1864.

YOUR Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date, informing me that you had instructed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin to propose an armistice between the belligerents in the Duchy of Schleswig, on the condition of the Danes evacuating the mainland and retiring to the Island of Alsen, and desiring me to ask the support of the Imperial Government to this proposal, reached me this morning, and I called this afternoon on M. Drouyn de Lhuys for the purpose of executing your Lordship's instruction. I found that his Excellency had already received notice from the French Ambassador at Berlin that the assistance of the latter had been applied for by Sir Andrew Buchanan, and that M. de Talleyrand had been instructed to give his energetic support to his British colleague; M. Drouyn de Lhuys observing that the concurrence of the Imperial Government in any measure tending to stop the effusion of more blood, and to put an end to hostilities, was assured beforehand.

The value of this declaration depends so much on the belief in its efficacy, that in the course of conversation I considered it right to inquire of M. Drouyn de Lhuys whether he thought that the proposal of Her Majesty's Government would be acquiesced in. His Excellency replied that in the present state of excitement which he had reason to believe

animated the Austrian and Prussian troops, he had no hope of an armistice being agreed to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 949.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 13.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 12, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date,* I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that Count Moltke, the Danish Minister, received his instructions yesterday to ask assistance of the French Government. He saw M. Drouyn de Lhuys late in the afternoon, and was informed that an official answer would be returned to the Danish Government as soon as the Emperor's orders should have been taken, but M. Drouyn de Lhuys gave no hopes that the request would meet with a favourable reception.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 950.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, February* 13, 1864.

M. BISMARCK appears from your telegram to have intimated to your Excellency that the King of Prussia was not indisposed (with a view to an armistice being entered into) to allow the Danish army to retire to the Island of Fünen, under such conditions as might be arranged by the military authorities; and with reference to this communication you ask me whether it might not be arranged that the military forces of neither party should occupy the Island of Alsen.

It does not appear to me, however, that Her Majesty's Government can at present interfere further to bring about an armistice.

No. 951.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 8, 1864.

I FOUND Count Rechberg quite willing to entertain the proposal contained in your Lordship's telegram of this day, respecting the conclusion of an armistice upon the condition that the Danish army should retire to the Island of Alsen. His Excellency evidently considers it desirable to bring the military operations to an end as soon as practicable, and observed to me that it would be utterly impossible to make any calculation as to their termination if the Danish army were to be dislodged from the strong position in Alsen.

As far as Count Rechberg himself was concerned, he approved of your Lordship's project, but could give no definitive answer without consulting M. de Bismarck, and said that he would immediately take the Emperor's pleasure on the subject, and telegraph to Berlin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

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* No. 945.

No. 952.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 10, 1864.

WITH reference to the inquiry in your Lordship's telegram as to the truth of the report which had just appeared in Reuter's telegram that the Emperor of Austria had decided in a Council of Ministers that the London Treaty could no longer be considered by Austria as a basis of negotiation between the Great Powers, I can now inform your Lordship that Count Rechberg has just declared to me that the rumour is without the least foundation. The identic despatches of Austria and Prussia, communicated to your Lordship on the 4th instant, are to be taken as the basis of the policy of the two Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 953.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 10, 1864.

WHEN I called to-day on Count Rechberg, his Excellency told me that he had received an answer from Berlin, on your Lordship's proposal respecting an armistice, to the effect that M. de Bismarck was willing to enter into a Conference on the Dano-German conflict, but considered that so long as the Island of Alsen is occupied by a Danish force military operations must not be suspended.

Count Rechberg observed that the Emperor his Imperial master cannot separate from Prussia or take a step at this moment except in union with her, and therefore, though His Imperial Majesty ardently desires an end of the war, he could not but admit the justice of M. de Bismarck's reasoning on the proposal which had been submitted to him. Count Rechberg then said there was, he thought, but one means of stopping the effusion of blood—the evacuation of Alsen by the Danish forces. I told him that I was sorry to find the advices which he had received from Berlin had produced such a change in the personal opinions he had expressed to me, which appeared at first to have been favourable to your Lordship's project.

He reiterated his desire that the war should be concluded as soon as possible; and observed that, judging from the large number of prisoners who had surrendered in the course of the last few days, there appeared to be considerable demoralization in the Danish army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 954.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 11, 1864.

COUNT REVERTERA, who has been employed for some years in the Austrian Diplomatic service, and last as Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburgh, has been appointed Commissioner of the Imperial Government in Schleswig to act conjointly with Baron Zedlitz, who has been selected by the Prussian Government for the like duties.

Count Revertera and Baron Zedlitz will be charged with the civil administration of the Duchy during its military occupation. The former left Vienna two days ago.

I have expressed to Count Rechberg the expectation of Her Majesty's Government that the Austrian authorities would discountenance the systematic proclamation of the Prince of Augustenburg, which appeared to take place almost as a matter of course in the different towns and villages of Schleswig as soon as the allied troops had passed through them.

His Excellency replied that Count Revertera had received special instructions on this subject, and that these proclamations would no longer be tolerated; that up to the present time the Generals in command of the troops had no time to devote to such matters, their whole attention being absorbed by the military operations, but that it would soon be otherwise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 955.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 11, 1864.

GENERAL DE BULOW, the Minister of Denmark at this Court, left Vienna for Copenhagen two days ago. He was detained here much longer than he had expected by the state of his health.

Previously to his departure he called on Count Rechberg, who received him with great kindness and attention, and expressed the hope that the interruption of the diplomatic relations of the two Courts would not be of long duration, and that he should soon see him again at Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 956.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 11, 1864.

WHEN I was with Count Rechberg to-day, I inquired whether he had heard anything further from Berlin, connected with the proposal for an armistice, conditionally on the retreat of the Danish forces to the Island of Alsen, and I expressed my regret that the impression he had apparently received on my first communication with his Excellency on the subject had been overruled by the decision of the Prussian Government not to entertain the question of an armistice so long as any part of Schleswig was occupied by the forces of Denmark.

Count Rechberg said, that after an examination of the reasons put forward by the Prussian Government for declining the proposal he could not do otherwise than agree to them, and that the Emperor had fully admitted their justice and cogency. He added that he had just informed Count Apponyi by telegraph that the Austrian Government could not consent to the proposed arrangement, but earnestly desired that a Conference should be opened as soon as possible; a desire which he said was felt equally by the Cabinet of Berlin.

His Excellency alluded also to a communication he had received from M. de Quaade, of an old date it was true, the 30th ultimo, in which the Danish Government proposes the meeting of a Conference in London, and he said that he should reply to it by expressing his entire acquiescence in this opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 957.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 9, 1864.

IN conformity with the sense of your Lordship's telegraphic instructions of yesterday's date, I waited on Prince Gortchakoff this forenoon and stated to his Excellency that the Danish Government had resolved to apply to the Governments of England, France, Russia, and Sweden, for assistance, and that Her Majesty's Government were anxious to learn what course the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh was disposed to embrace with a view to the preservation of the general peace.

The Vice-Chancellor informed me in reply that our first aim ought to be the assembly of the Conference of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London with the least possible delay. The official proposal of the Danish Government to that effect had been retarded, but would shortly be received by the parties interested. He had already supported that overture by anticipation at Vienna, Paris, and Berlin. He would continue to do so, and he hoped that Her Majesty's Government would act in the same sense.

I asked Prince Gortchakoff whether he insisted on the co-operation of the German Diet.

The Prince answered that he had not thought it necessary to address the Diet on the subject, and he did not contemplate doing so. If the Germanic Confederation, however,

chose to name a Representative to the Conference, such a step would not meet with any opposition on his part.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 958.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 9, 1864.

I COMMUNICATED to Prince Gortchakoff the substance of your Lordship's telegram, which informs me that Her Majesty's Government have proposed an armistice between the Austro-Prussian forces and the Danes, that Count Rechberg has accepted this overture on the condition that the Danish forces be removed to the Island of Alsen, and that if the Russian Cabinet will support this suggestion at Berlin, Her Majesty's Government are confident that it will obtain the adhesion of the Prussian Government.

Prince Gortchakoff remarked that the Emperor was absent from town, and would not return till to-morrow evening; he would, however, give his support at Berlin to your Lordship's overture for an armistice on the condition stated by Count Rechberg.

The Vice-Chancellor then drew up a telegram to M. de Mohrenheim, authorizing him to co-operate with Her Majesty's Representative in advising an armistice, provided the Danish forces should evacuate the mainland of the Duchy of Schleswig and retire to the Island of Alsen. Prince Gortchakoff asked me whether I saw any inconvenience in the introduction of the terms "evacuation of the mainland of Schleswig." I said that I did not, for I presumed that the withdrawal of the Danish forces to the Island involved the evacuation of the whole of the continental portion of the Duchy. If there was, however, any particular fortified point which the Danes insisted in retaining, they would probably stipulate to do so in the Convention of Armistice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 959.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 10, 1864.

I CALLED on Prince Gortchakoff this forenoon in consequence of his Excellency's invitation. The Prince told me that after I had left him last night he had telegraphed to the Emperor for orders to support the proposal for an armistice at Berlin with the full weight of His Majesty's personal authority. The Emperor replied immediately, enjoining him to do so. The telegraphic instructions had therefore been forwarded to M. de Mohrenheim in the sense which I reported yesterday, but with the distinct sanction of the Emperor. In the same telegram Prince Gortchakoff represents to the Prussian Cabinet in pressing terms the expediency of joining in a Conference, without delay, of the Powers signataries of the Treaty of 1852.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 960.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 11, 1864.

THE report of M. Von der Pfordten, the Bavarian Envoy to the Diet, on the Holstein Succession question, proposing the recognition of the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Holstein, and the admission of his Envoy, M. de Mohl, to a seat in the Assembly, having been published in the newspapers, I turned the conversation upon it at an interview which I had with Count Platen yesterday.

I reminded his Excellency that some time ago, when I had urged him to fulfil the obligations contracted by Hanover under the Treaty of London of the 8th of May, 1852, by effecting the official recognition by His Hanoverian Majesty of the Succession of His

Majesty King Christian IX, he had stated that he would carry out those engagements by giving the vote of Hanover, when the proper moment arrived, against the pretensions of the Prince of Augustenburg.

I said that, with reference to this statement, I now claimed the vote of Hanover against the proposals contained in M. Von der Pfordten's report.

Count Platen replied that he would not commit himself by pronouncing himself at present on the question I had mooted, but that he would take care that every point of M. Von der Pfordten's Report should be well sifted in the Committee of the Diet. In a previous conversation which I had with his Excellency he had stated that he would not fail to express at Frankfort the opinion that both parties should be heard before a decision was taken by the Diet.

In broaching this subject I had not expected to obtain any positive answer from Count Platen concerning the course which may be adopted by the Hanoverian Government, considering the peculiar difficulties of his own position, and of the uncertainty whether war may not break out between the Confederation and Denmark before the Succession question is decided at the Diet, but I thought it my duty to recall to his recollection the assurances I had formerly received from him in the hopes that he may see the necessity of acting up to them.

I should observe that his Excellency characterized the embargo which had been laid by the Danish Government, according to the information he has just received, upon two Hanoverian vessels at Elsinore as a hostile act, and contended that war would release Hanover from the Treaty of 1852—a doctrine which I did not fail to contest on the grounds put forward by your Lordship and by Viscount Palmerston in Parliament.

It will, I understand, be the endeavour of Austria and Prussia to postpone as long as possible a vote by the Diet on the Succession question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 961.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 13, 1864.

THE newspapers brought this morning the intelligence that Field-Marshal von Wrangel had announced his intention of occupying Altona, Kiel, and Neuminster, in Holstein; that the Federal Commissioners and the Saxon Commander-in-chief of the Federal troops, General von Hake, had protested against this proceeding; that General von Hake had threatened to resist by force the entrance of the Prussian troops into Altona, but that nevertheless a Prussian battalion had entered that city.

I saw Count Platen as early as possible to-day, and inquired of him what truth there was in these statements. His Excellency confirmed them generally, but said that no conflict had taken place between the Federal and Prussian troops, and that none was to be apprehended. as the Federal Commissioners had agreed to prevent one. He added that he had remonstrated with the Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs against the Prussian Government having taken such a step without having given due notice of their intentions; and that M. de Bismarck had replied that it had been resorted to in consequence of the necessity there was for the Prussian army in Schleswig to secure the freedom of its communications in its rear, in order that it might receive its reinforcements without impediment, but that it was not intended to interfere with the Federal Execution in Holstein. The affair, Count Platen further told me, was to be brought under discussion in the German Diet this day.

I then asked Count Platen what course he intended taking in the matter; whether he proposed writing on the subject to M. Nieper, the Hanoverian Government officer acting as Federal Commissioner, or to the Commander of the Hanoverian troops in Holstein, in order to avoid a conflict, and what instructions he had forwarded to the Hanoverian Envoy at Frankfort.

His Excellency replied that he would not, by sending instructions to the Hanoverian authorities in Holstein, fall into the fault committed by Baron Beust, the Saxon Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had instructed the Saxon Commander-in-chief to oppose force to the Prussian troops; but that the Hanoverian Commissioner was fully acquainted with his wish to see a conflict avoided, and that none would take place.

His Excellency said that he had instructed the Hanoverian Envoy at Frankfort to protest at the Diet, in moderate terms, against the proceeding of the Prussian Govern-

ment, but that he would not associate himself to any intemperate Resolutions proposed by the South German States, and that he would, on the contrary, do everything in his power to prevent the outbreak of civil war in Germany.

I should observe that Count Platen is too much alive to the danger there would be for Hanover in a conflict with Prussia not to do everything in his power to prevent one.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 962.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

(Extract.) *Hamburgh, February* 12, 1864.

SINCE the 9th instant very little has been heard either of the Danish army in North Schleswig, or of the movements of the allied forces, except that the Austro-Prussian army stood north of Flensburg, and was expected to pursue the Danish army in the direction of Düppel and the Island of Alsen. Yesterday afternoon information was received here purporting to have come from the Prussian head-quarters, and generally believed, that the Danes had evacuated their entrenchments at Düppel, and shipped their ammunition and baggage to Alsen. But later in the night this report was contradicted as premature, and all that is now known is, that the outposts of the Prussian army are very near Düppel. In fact, the communications between this city and Northern Schleswig are at present so irregular that it is not easy to obtain any authentic particulars of the military operations going on north of Flensburg.

The Proclamations of Field-Marshal Wrangel, and of the Prussian Civil Commissioner for Schleswig, Baron de Zedlitz, dated at Flensburg respectively on the 7th and 8th, will doubtless have been already made known to your Lordship through the Prussian Government. The Field-Marshal confirms until further order all the officials employed in Schleswig, and places them under the superintendence of the Prussian Civil Commissioner jointly with the Austrian Commissioner when appointed. He declares the German language to be that of public business, and forbids all political demonstrations contrary to the objects of the allied Governments, or tending to establish any other authority than that of the Civil Commissioner, and threatens with dismissal any officials taking part in such demonstrations. The Baron de Zedlitz's Proclamation is in accordance with that of the Field-Marshal, but prescribes more particularly what is to be done. During the suspension of the Royal authority in Schleswig, all the Royal arms, seals, uniforms, and other insignia are to be disused. All the officials are to signify in writing their willingness to submit to the jurisdiction of the Civil Commissioners. Political unions are forbidden, and also public demonstrations, especially such as are calculated to anticipate the decision of the question of the Succession. The inhabitants of the Duchy are appealed to to support the civil administrators in the interest of peace and order.

Whatever may have been the motives of these notifications, one thing is evident, that they came too late to prevent the proclamation of the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke Frederick VIII in the principal towns and villages of Southern and Central Schleswig. The Duke has been so proclaimed in the towns of Flensburg, Tönning, Husum, Bünstorf, Garding, Friedrichstadt, Bredstedt, Cappeln, Schleswig, Eckernförde and Gettorf; also at Norder-brarup in the district of Angeln, and in Büdelsdorf, Tetenhausen, Hohn, Hamdorf, and a number of other villages. Many deputations from Schleswig are reported to have arrived at Kiel with addresses of homage to the Duke from places above-mentioned, and from other localities. Among these some stress is laid upon an address from a number of large landed proprietors in the district of Schwansen.

The strong dislike entertained by the German inhabitants of Schleswig of the Danish officials hitherto employed in that Duchy is notorious. In several instances these Danish functionaries appear to have thought it useless to contend with the hostility of the population, and to have voluntarily taken flight. However, the Prussian Field-Marshal and Civil Commissioner have declared their intention not to dismiss any Danish official out of mere deference to public opinion, but to wait until some charge of misconduct should be substantiated against them.

No. 963.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 13, 1864.

UNDER the title of "Provincial Correspondenz" the Government print and distribute a circular to the local official organs known as Gazettes of the Circle ("Kreis Blätter"), the object of which is to acquaint the latter with the views of the Government upon the political events of the day, and to furnish them, as it were, with authorized texts upon which provincial editors are at liberty to enlarge.

Drawn up under immediate ministerial supervision, with a view to their reproduction throughout the country, the articles emanating from this source are looked to by the public with considerable interest, as indicating, if not the policy of the Government, at least the light in which they desire that their policy should appear in the eyes of the nation.

Under these circumstances the following paragraph, extracted from the "Provincial Correspondenz" into this morning's papers, is calculated to excite attention, as giving Ministerial sanction to the views put forward by the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," reported in my despatch of the 9th instant:—"As regards the attitude taken up by foreign countries in the Dano-German war, the English Government has up to the last moment done its utmost by means of the strongest representation, and even by direct threats, to prevent the Great Powers from any serious onward movement in their just enterprise. These efforts having led to no results, a declaration was asked for from Prussia to the effect that she held fast to the London Protocol, and therefore maintained the principle of the indivisibility of the Danish Monarchy. It is, however, self-evident that when one's antagonist has by his obstinacy once driven one into war, Treaties are no longer binding, and consequently that nothing can be promised for the future, but that everything then depends upon the issue of the contest. This is the sense in which our Government has expressed itself towards England."

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 964.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 13, 1864.

ON my calling upon M. de Bismarck this morning his Excellency referred to the proposal for an armistice between the allied forces of Austria and Prussia and the Danish army, and he repeated his objections to leaving the Island of Alsen in the possession of the Danish army, which might cut asunder the forces of the allies. I replied that the present force in Alsen could not be dangerous to the allied army, and that if the armistice was accepted by Denmark a stipulation might be made against reinforcements being introduced into the Island. His Excellency said the military authorities were the best judges of that question, and they had already decided against the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, but he had spoken to the King of my suggestion that time and facilities should be afforded to the Danes to evacuate the Island, and he believed His Majesty would not object to such an arrangement, though it would be necessary to leave the details of it to the Commanders of the two armies.

I replied that he must be aware that I had made no proposal whatever to him, except that which I had told him I was instructed to do, and that I had merely suggested that he might perhaps mitigate the effect which his refusal of that proposal was likely to produce on the opinions of Her Majesty's Government, if it were accompanied by an offer to allow the Danish army a certain time to effect the evacuation of Alsen, which the Prussian military authorities considered necessary for the security of the allied army.

As M. de Bismarck also said he had spoken to the Austrian Minister of my suggestion, I have taken an opportunity of explaining to Count Karolyi the nature of the observations which I made to his Excellency, and I have stated to both of them that I thought it very improbable that the Danish Government would agree to surrender Alsen to the allies if they have the means of defending it, which I believe them to possess.

Her Majesty's Government will doubtless learn from Sir Augustus Paget how far these means may be adequate; but as the Prussian Government have rested their refusal to accept the armistice on the ground that the presence of Danish troops in Alsen would be

a danger for the allied army, might not a compromise be come to, according to which the Island should be held by neither party during the proposed Conferences, and that a Danish force equal to that removed should be allowed to re-occupy it, and the entrenchments of Duppel be restored to the Danish army in their present state, if the proposed Conferences should not end in a pacific arrangement?

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 965.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—Received February 15.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 13, 1864.

WHEN I saw M. de Bismarck this morning I spoke to him of your Lordshlp's reference in the House of Lords to the doctrine of the Austrian Government in 1849, as to the engagements which several Powers entering together into Treaty engagements with another Power contract towards each other, independently of those by which they bind themselves to the other contracting party, and I said I would read to him, if he wished it, a despatch which your Lordship had addressed to the Cabinet of Vienna* on that subject.

His Excelleney said he would prefer my leaving the despatch with him as he was much hurried, being about to proceed to the Palace to wait upon the King; and I agreed to leave it with him, on the understanding that he should consider it as a confidential communication, which I had not been instructed by your Lordship to make to him.

No. 966.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 13, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a translation, by Mr. Grosvenor, of the proclamation with which Baron Zedlitz. the Prussian Commissioner, has inaugurated his administration of the Duchy of Schleswig.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 966.

Proclamation of M. de Zedlitz.

(Translation.)

WITH reference to the Proclamation of the 1st instant of Field-Marshal de Wrangel, Commander-in-chief of the allied armies of Austria and Prussia, and to his published declaration of the 1st placarded in Flensburg and made known by special opportunities, I now inform all the civil authorities and officials and the entire population of the Duchy of Schleswig that I this day enter upon my office, which, in consequence of the Government of the King of Denmark having been suspended by the result of the operations of the allied troops, consists in the exercise of the highest powers of government in the land, in as far as it concerns all branches of the administration.

I shall share this office with an Imperial Austrian Commissioner as soon as the latter arrives, till then alone, and shall take up my residence in the town of Schleswig for the present.

It corresponds with the intentions directed at securing the rights and interests of the Duchy of Schleswig. that for the present the existing laws of the land should remain in force for the Civil administration, in so far as the necessary measures for the safety of the military operations do not involve exceptions, and in so far as the suspension of the Government of the King of Denmark does not evidently annul certain clauses of these laws.

Of the evident consequences of the above, I will only for the present allude to the following: *i. e.*, that all civil officers are everywhere and without exception to cease from assuming the title of Royal officials, the use of the Royal seal, the wearing of Royal

* No. 934.

uniforms or other distinguishing official marks. Likewise Royal arms or insignia which are placed on official public or other buildings are to be immediately removed. I will refer also to the Proclamation of Marshal Wrangel of the 7th, wherein it is stated that all transaction of business with the Committee convoked for the management of the administration, as well as with all the military authorities of the allied armies of occupation, must be carried on only in the German language.

The Commander-in-chief of the allied armies, who is entrusted with the highest authority in the land during the continuance of the occupation of the Duchy of Schleswig, has already confirmed the position of all the officials in the country by the Proclamation of the 7th instant, under the supposition that they will submit entirely to his authority and to that of the Civil Commissioners, and that their dismissal will not be rendered necessary by very particular circumstances.

I therefore request all superior officials and independent officials of the Duchy of Schleswig and all the Presidents of Boards, to make a written declaration on their own account, that they are ready to submit to the supreme authority of the Commander-in-chief of the allied armies and to that of the Civil Commissioners during the duration of the occupation of Schleswig, and to demand similar declarations from those officials who constituted the Boards over which they preside and all officials under them, and to deliver them to me within eight days. All officials who are willing to do this duty, so long as they remain true to it, and do not by their conduct in or out of office give occasion for their removal, can most certainly reckon on assistance and support in the execution of their office, and measures have been taken so that pressure upon officials by misguided multitudes, which in some cases have caused the former to abandon their office, shall not occur again. The instigators of and participators in such excessss will be punished with the utmost rigour of the law.

The simultaneous occurrence of the political demonstrations made in an illegal manner in various localities in the southern part of Schleswig, and the similarity of their tendency, increases in the momentary position of affairs, both military and political, the necessity of the following decrees:—

1. Political societies, more especially those which are united amongst each other, or with foreign societies, are not tolerated.

2. Public demonstrations and announcements of a political nature, from whatever party they may proceed, must be put a stop to; the question of the Succession, in particular, must not in any manner be practically anticipated.

Special measures are in reserve for decreeing any particular steps which it may become necessary to take on account of the state of affairs.

The officials of towns and communes are made personally responsible for the exact and rapid execution of these decrees, and are with firm determination to withstand opposition to them where precept and warning are not sufficient.

In requesting the superior officials of towns and communes to cause this Proclamation to be circulated in the regular manner without any delay, I address, at the same time, a request to the entire population of the Duchy of Schleswig to place that full confidence in all affairs of civil administration in those authorities called upon to direct it, which find good grounds in the well-meaning intentions of the Powers allied for occupation which have been made public by the most evident facts.

(Signed) G. von ZEDLITZ.

Civil Commission for the Duchy of Schleswig,
Flensburg, February 8, 1864.

No. 967.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 13, 1864.

THE Report drawn up by M. von der Pfordten recommending the Diet to pronounce the nullity of the London Treaty of 8th of May, 1852, which has been so repeatedly in question of late, was laid before the Diet in the sitting of Thursday the 11th instant.

It has now been decided to bring this proposition to a vote of the Diet in fourteen days.

I have already had the honour of acquainting your Lordship that the bringing up of this report has been strenuously opposed by the minority of the Committee on Holstein affairs. M. von der Pfordten is the reporter of the majority, and has at last succeeded in laying his opinions on this question before the Diet.

The minority, headed by the President, contend that the Diet is not called upon to pronounce upon the question, the Diet's adherence to the Treaty not having been invited.

As far as I can discover, the leading motive which induces the Bavarian Minister and the majority which supports him to provoke an adverse vote of the Diet upon the Treaty, is to prepare a way for the decision they will be called upon to give in the Succession question.

The Diet's decision on the Treaty will also form the basis for instructions to the representative of that Body in the proposed Conferences on the Danish question, should they ever take place.

The other business transacted in Thursday's sitting was of no public importance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 968.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February* 13, 1864.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS made some remarks respecting the composition of the Conference, which he supposed, he said, would consist of Plenipotentiaries of the Powers who signed the Treaty of 1852, and of a Plenipotentiary from the Germanic Confederation. I asked his Excellency whether he insisted on this latter point, observing that although Her Majesty's Government included a Plenipotentiary from the Diet when proposing a Conference some weeks ago, I did not know what their opinion might be at the present moment.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied that he thought that no arrangement would be satisfactory or lasting which should not be accepted by the Diet; that no doubt a Plenipotentiary from that Body would cause a great deal of trouble, still he should be loath to enter into a Conference from which the Diet would be excluded. He requested me to represent this to your Lordship.

No. 969.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February* 13, 1864.

WHEN I was with M. Drouyn de Lhuys this afternoon, his Excellency said that since he had seen me two days ago he had received a communication from the Danish Government which he had been led to expect would be made to him respecting the guarantee given by France to Denmark in 1720 with reference to the Duchy of Schleswig. He had in consequence caused a statement to be drawn up of the part which France had taken both at the time when the guarantee was given and subsequently when the guarantee was invoked by Denmark in 1848. He found the case to stand thus :—

It appeared that previous to 1720 the sovereignty over the Duchy of Schleswig had been divided between the elder and the younger branches of the House of Gottorp, the parts which acknowledged allegiance to Frederick IV, King of Denmark, being called Royal and the remaining parts belonging to the Duke of Gottorp being denominated Ducal. The Peace of 1720 putting an end to the war which had been waging between Denmark and Sweden, with the latter of which Powers the Duke of Gottorp had taken part, implied rather than acknowledged the transfer of sovereignty over the Ducal part of Schleswig from the Duke of Gottorp to the King of Denmark, though certain equivalents in the possession of the King of Denmark had been conceded to Sweden. Great Britain in the first instance, France a few months afterwards, and Russia at a still later period, guaranteed to Denmark the quiet possession of the parts of Schleswig thus obtained. The guarantee remained in abeyance until 1848, when, during the troubles which at that period agitated the Danish Monarchy, a claim for assistance founded on the guarantee was made on the guaranteeing Powers. M. Bastide, who was then the Minister for Foreign Affairs under the French Republic, took up the cause of Denmark very warmly, and there had been a question of sending 10,000 men to aid the Danes, when he (M. Drouyn de Lhuys) having replaced M. Bastide in the direction of Foreign Affairs, thought the matter too grave to be so lightly handled, and took time for a further consideration of the whole question. The British

Government having, at the same time, declined to act upon the guarantee the matter fell to the ground.

It hardly seemed to him, M. Drouyn de Lhuys continued, that the guarantee invoked by Denmark could be said to apply to the present state of affairs. At all events, France was only bound to maintain the King of Denmark in the possession of what had been, previous to 1720, the Ducal (not Royal, as he had said on a previous occasion) parts of the Duchy of Schleswig. But when he came to inquire what these parts were, he found that the Royal and Ducal parts had been so much mixed together that it would be next to impossible to come to any arrangement with the Governments of Austria and Prussia, founded upon the guarantee in question; that is, an arrangement which would exclude the troops of those Powers from the Ducal, but leave them in possession of the Royal parts.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys proceeded to show me a map, which professed to give the divisions of Schleswig as they existed prior to the year 1720, and it must be admitted that if the map is correct, and if the guarantee of France is confined to what were the Ducal parts only, the guarantee would be exceedingly difficult of execution.

I expressed my regret at being unable to discuss this intricate question with M. Drouyn de Lhuys; but I had been unable, I said, to find any papers bearing on so distant a period in the archives of Her Majesty's Embassy. I would, however, report his observations to your Lordship.

The answer which the French Government will return to that of Denmark will, I have no doubt, be in the sense in which M. Drouyn de Lhuys has spoken to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 970.

*Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 15, 1864.

THE Austrian Ambassador called upon me this morning in order to communicate to me some despatches which he had just received from Vienna.

In one of these despatches reference was made to the instructions given by the Danish Government to their cruizers to capture Austrian and Prussian vessels, and Count Apponyi was directed to represent to me that the probable result of such a proceeding would be the invasion of Jutland by the Austrian and Prussian armies. With the view, therefore, of preventing such an extension being given to the existing hostilities, the Cabinet of Vienna requested that Her Majesty's Government would interpose, and dissuade the Danish Government from molesting Austrian and Prussian vessels.

Count Apponyi further called my attention to the fact that the Danish instructions to their cruizers were not limited to the capture of Austrian and Prussian vessels, but applied also to the vessels of Hanover and of other German States.

I stated to Count Apponyi in reply, that Her Majesty's Government considered the attack made by Austria and Prussia upon the Duchy of Schleswig to be a most unjustifiable proceeding, and that the Austrian Government might rely upon it that Her Majesty's Government would not interfere in order to dissuade the Danish Government from having recourse to whatever measures they might deem most effectual and proper for the defence of their own territories against the invaders.

I said I did not know on what grounds the Danish Government had determined to capture the vessels of Hanover and Bremen as well as those of Austria and Prussia. Such a measure, unexplained as it now was, appeared to me to be ill-advised; but at all events I saw no grounds on which Her Majesty's Government could at present interfere with the discretion of the Danish Government in this respect.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 971.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Russell.—(Received February 16.)

(Extract.) *Munich, February* 12, 1864.

IT has been reported generally here, as also by the German Press, that the Bavarian Government have taken steps to convoke a meeting of the Ministers of the several German

* Similar despatches were addressed to Sir A. Buchanan, Sir A. Paget, and Sir H. Howard.

States which have hitherto acted together in favour of the independence of Holstein, with a view to concert collective measures for the support of the cause they have espoused.

I have inquired of Baron Schrenk how far these rumours were authentic and for what special object the projected Conference was to be invited. His Excellency replied that he had certainly entertained the idea in question, and with this view had sounded the respective Governments on its practicability. It appears, however, that the Hanoverian Government has declined to take part in the proposed Conference, alleging that the moment was not opportune for such a meeting. In consequence, therefore, of the refusal of Hanover, no decision had been yet taken, and no formal invitations had been addressed, but his Excelleny, did not state that the idea had been entirely abandoned. He is of opinion that it is desirable that the Governments who compose the majority at the Diet should be agreed as to the policy to be pursued by that Body, and he considers that there is no better mode to arrive at that agreement than by a Meeting or Conference of the several Ministers at some central point. For the moment, however, the Conference appears to be in abeyance, as if the Governments in question were desirous of awaiting the result of the campaign in Schleswig, and of learning what will be the policy of the two German Powers with referen e to the future position of the two Duchies.

Baron Edelshein, the Baden Minister at Vienna, was lately charged by Baron Roggenbach to confer with Baron Schrenk on his passage to his post through Munich, and to express the opinions and views of his Government on the Schleswig-Holstein question.

As far as I could gather from Baron Schrenk, Baron Edelshein's language was anything but pacific or conciliatory as regarded the two German Powers, and the suggestions he threw out were wild, impracticable, and unsupported by facts. For instance, he stated that the Federal troops in Holstein should have opposed at all and any risk the passage of the Austrian and Prussian army into Schleswig. He affirmed that the Austro-Prussian policy was not sincere, and that their armies would never cross the Eider, or come into collision with the Danes. He urged the Convocation of a Conference of the Ministers of the Minor States with a view to the immediate recognition of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg as Duke of Holstein, and to his instalment in the Government of that Duchy by the Diet, observing that no Government in Germany in face of the public opinion could dare to decline it.

In conversation with Baron Schrenk, I referred to the embarrassment which might be caused to the Diet if it were to recognize the validity of the claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg in opposition to the two German Powers.

I observed that no such precipitation was required; the decision might be well deferred until the whole question could be treated in a general Conference, and that it would be unwise as well as unsafe for the Diet to bind itself by a previous vote.

I further stated that the Diet had no competency to decide the question of Succession. The territorial arrangements of Europe had been laid down by the European Powers before ever the Diet was called into existence, and consequently no change of those arrangements could be effected except by the consent of Europe. I believed also that even Prince Frederick of Augustenburg had denied the competency of the Diet in the question of the Succession, resting his claims on the grounds of legitimacy.

Baron Schrenk could not admit my arguments, and expressed himself as anxious for an immediate decision of the Diet on the question of the Succession.

It is a question of "right," he remarked, and not of "expediency." With regard to deferring the decision of the Diet, his Excellency said that however great was the urgency for the settlement of the Succession question, some weeks would probably elapse before it would be brought before the Diet.

The successes of the Austro-Prussian army in Schleswig have been received here with great satisfaction by the public, and have in some degree moderated the intense bitterness felt against Austria. But they have not apparently produced any change of opinion on the part of the Bavarian Government towards the Austrian policy, for Baron Schrenk stated that as far as he was informed Austria still held firm to the Treaty of 1852.

For the present the Bavarian Government maintain their previous attitude, and will remain passive until the decision of the Diet on the question of the Succession is pronounced.

No. 972.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 15, 1864.

COMPLAINTS from General Hake, Commander of the Federal forces in Holstein, against the occupation of Altona, and some other points in Holstein, caused an extraordinary sitting of the Diet to be held on Saturday, the result of which was, that the matter was referred to the Committee on Holstein affairs, with instructions to report thereon as speedily as possible.

The public and private accounts which have reached Frankfort represent the affair as having some gravity, and that a collision between the troops under General Hake and the Prussians had very nearly taken place at Altona, the Saxon General contesting the right of the Prussians to maintain any force in that or any other place in Holstein, and threatening to repel force by force.

The cause of occupation by the Prussians is stated to have been because the passage of supplies for the army in Schleswig was wilfully impeded, and it was therefore necessary that the line of communication should be held by the troops of the combined force acting in that Duchy.

The telegraph, though leaving the matter in dispute to be settled in the Diet, prevented, it is said, the threatened collision; orders having been sent from Berlin for the Prussian troops to quit Altona.

The complaints of bad commissariat and hospital arrangements, from both Austrian and Prussian troops acting in Schleswig, are great. It is, therefore, easy to understand that any stoppage of their supplies would give serious ground of complaint, and if maliciously caused, as seems to have been suspected, would naturally lead to great irritation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 973.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.) *Paris, February* 16, 1864.

I ASKED M. Drouyn de Lhuys this afternoon whether he had replied to the Danish despatch requesting the guarantee of 1720.

His Excellency replied that he had not done so, as he wished to give the subject further consideration. He added that he was not in a hurry to reply, that he had told the Danish Envoy that unless he was pressed he should take his time, observing that if the answer was to be in the negative, it was for the advantage of Denmark that it should be delayed, and that even should a favourable view be taken of the Danish demand the moment was hardly come for putting the guarantee into execution.

For, continued M. Drouyn de Lhuys, there is a great difference between a guarantee of possession and a guarantee of neutrality. We have no right under the guarantee we have given, which is a guarantee of possession only, to prevent Germany or any other Power from waging war with Denmark either in the Duchy of Schleswig or elsewhere. All that the guarantee, supposing it to be capable of execution, imposes upon us is, to take care that what in 1720 was called the Ducal part of the Duchy of Schleswig shall not be violently wrested from Denmark. In the present instance the belligerent German Powers have declared that they have no intention of separating Schleswig from the Danish Crown. Unless, therefore, they shall hereafter depart from that declaration, there does not appear any reason for interference.

I told M. Drouyn de Lhuys that I did not as yet know the view taken by Her Majesty's Government respecting the guarantee given by Great Britain, which differed somewhat from that given by France. But might it not be possible, I asked, that the two Governments should make an answer to Denmark stating that inasmuch as the Austrian and Prussian Governments had made a solemn declaration that they had no intention of disturbing the arrangements of 1852, it did not appear necessary at the present moment to examine the question of principle, that is, the value of the guarantee itself?

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that he thought an answer of this kind might be productive of good.

I said that I had no authority to make any proposal of this nature, that the idea had presented itself while conversing with his Excellency, and that I should refer it to your Lordship.

No. 974.

Earl Russell to Sir H. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 17, 1864.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 11th instant, relative to the embargo laid on two Hanoverian vessels at Elsinore, I have to observe to you that the detention of those vessels in a Danish port must have been owing to a mistake.

Her Majesty's Government have been informed that six weeks are allowed to all Prussian and Austrian vessels to depart from Danish ports, and it of course follows that Hanoverian vessels will not be detained.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 975.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 16, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation made by Mr. Mitford of another appeal issued by the self-elected body of thirty-six members sitting in Frankfort, and calling itself the Central Commission for Schleswig-Holstein, in reference to late proceedings in those Duchies, provoking to armed resistance against the encroachments of Austria and Prussia.

Your Lordship will see that this Body assume more and more an authoritative tone, and bold in the immunity given to their first appeal (inclosed in my despatch of the 2nd instant) are now doing their best to excite to armed resistance against Austria and Prussia.

There is danger in repeated provocations of this sort; and it is an undoubted fact that the Governments which are menaced by them do not abstain from repression because they despise such menaces, but from fear of an outbreak if they attempted anything of the kind.

They also hesitate to appeal to the tribunals, as in the present excited state of public feeling no conviction could be reckoned upon, though the offence of exciting to hatred among citizens, and stirring to civil strife and disturbance, is a clearly defined and punishable crime by the code of every State in Germany.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 975.

The Executive Commission of the German Assembly of Delegates to the Schleswig-Holstein Societies and Relief Committees.

(Translation.)

THE reinforcement of the Austro-Prussian forces in the Duchies has been announced, and is in course of being carried out. As no reinforcements are necessary to cope with the Danish army, there can be no doubt as to the real object of this measure.

As if, however, to open the eyes of the blindest, Prussian troops have been directed to occupy the principal places of Holstein, which order was begun to be executed without authority from the Diet, without respect for the protest of the Federal Commissioners.

Though the execution of this new act of violence has been momentarily suspended, yet its very commencement has revealed the designs, the carrying out of which each day may bring about.

What will the Federal Governments do? Will the majority again accept with resignation the most contemptuous disregard for their authority?

Let us tell them that the last stage of debasement has been reached, that the last moment is come for blotting out the sins of the past and assuring the future. Let us tell them that there is but one way of saving the honour of the nation and their own at the same time. Let us loudly remind them once more of the duties of love for the Fatherland, of right and of self-preservation. They all lead to the same resolution.

The German people expect that at any rate, within the shortest delay, a Federal

army shall appear on Holstein territory strong enough to hold its own against illegal force.

For the Commission,
(Signed) DR. S. MULLER, *President.*
BRATER, *Director.*

No. 976.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 10, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report, in answer to your Lordship's inquiry, that the Danish Government will certainly allow a period of six weeks for the departure of German ships now lying in Danish harbours, and M. Quaade thinks that this period may perhaps be extended till the 1st of April; but they will immediately make captures at sea. It has, however, happened, through a misapprehension of orders, that some German vessels have been already seized in Danish harbours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 977.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 11, 1864.

I HAVE heard, on reliable authority, that the Danish Government are led, by information received from their Secretary of Legation at Berlin, to expect a proposal to negotiate the conditions of peace without a previous cessation of hostilities. In a Council of Ministers held this morning it has been decided, if such a proposal is really made to Denmark, to state, in reply, that the Danish Government are ready to enter into negotiations as soon as Schleswig has been evacuated by the German troops. But I have reason to believe that, if pressed to do so by other Powers, the Danish Government will be prepared to carry on negotiations for peace even while hostilities continue; but they will not treat on any other basis but that of the arrangements of 1851-52.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 978.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 12, 1864.

IN reply to your Lordship's inquiry I have the honour to report that the Danish Government have already given orders for the capture of Prussian vessels at sea.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 979.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 12, 1864.

I HAVE seen M. Quaade to-day, but his Excellency gives me no hopes that the Danish Government will treat at present on any basis whatever. He says that the only answer which will be given to any proposal for negotiation or Conference will be that Denmark will not treat as long as Schleswig is in possession of the enemy. He also informed me that it had been decided to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

No. 980.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 12, 1864.

ALTHOUGH I cannot say that all traces of discontent with reference to the abandonment of the Dannewerke have disappeared, the public mind has undoubtedly become much more tranquil, and the majority of the population now begin to look upon that measure as having been an inevitable necessity.

Bishop Monrad has made a further statement in the Folkething, in which he reiterated his first declaration that the retreat was previously unknown to His Majesty and him. He stated that the Proclamation to the army published at Copenhagen on the 6th instant, of which a translation was inclosed in my despatch of the 7th instant, had never been issued by the King, signed by His Majesty, or countersigned by himself. It was simply the draft of a proposed Proclamation which he (Bishop Monrad) had communicated by telegraph to the Minister of War for his consideration, and which the Minister of War approving, and thinking it might tend to calm the public excitement in Copenhagen, had published under the false impression that it had already received the Royal signature. The King, Bishop Monrad stated, had objected to some of the phrases, and your Lordship will perceive by the translation I have the honour herewith to inclose, of the Proclamation issued to the army by His Majesty, and which was published in the official paper of the 9th instant, that the sentence respecting the loss of the cannon is modified in accordance with the facts of the case, that that respecting the whole country being now open to the enemy is omitted, as well as that invoking vengeance on the enemies of Denmark, and that there are some other verbal alterations of the text published on the 6th instant.

The King returned to Copenhagen the day before yesterday, and held a Council yesterday, in which it was decided that the war should be prosecuted with the utmost vigour. M. Monrad, indeed, spoke entirely in this sense in the declaration he made to the Rigsdag on the 7th instant, and in confirmation of it I may state that a further reserve has been called in.

General de Meza arrived in Copenhagen three days ago. Whatever explanations he may have given for his leaving the Dannewerke, or for his not having informed the Minister of War of his intention to do so, everything appears to be now satisfactorily arranged. The Minister of War, whose resignation was spoken of, retains his portfolio, and General de Meza and Colonel Kaufmann, the Chief of the Staff, are, I understand, to return to the army.

The real fact is, I take it, that a great deal too much had been said about the Dannewerke. People had been allowed to imagine that it was a position of such a formidable character that even a small army might hold out against very superior odds. The defence of Schleswig at that point had been the favourite idea of the late King, who had caused large sums to be expended upon it; the works having been begun, it was thought necessary to go on with them. The position was undoubtedly a strong one, but from its extreme length it required at least 100,000 instead of 50,000 men to defend it. The truth is now beginning to be known, and it seems to be the universal opinion of military men that the decision of the council of war was the only possible one.

I have been informed that the army lost nearly 2,000 men on the retreat, but that both officers and men are now in good spirits, and are most anxious for further operations.

The engagement at Bustrup, which I reported to your Lordship by telegraph, appears to have been much more serious than was at first supposed. The loss of one of the Danish regiments was terrific, but they inflicted also immense losses on the Austrian troops who attacked them. According to the Danish account, the enemy, who was in far superior numbers, only obtained possession of the exterior works, and were unable to force the line of defence.

No military events of importance have been reported since the Danish army has taken up its position in Dybböl and Sönderborg. The other wing of the army has arrived without molestation at Fredericia in Jutland.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 980.

Proclamation to the Army.

Soldiers!

IT is not alone by bravery on the field of battle, but also by enduring patiently absence of rest, cold, and every kind of want and hardship, that a soldier proves his loyalty to his King, his love for his country. This you have proved, and although it has not been granted to all of you to show in open fight against a superior enemy that you are animated by the same spirit and bravery that your former comrades evinced at Fredericia and Isted, you have all, on the other hand, had frequent opportunity of giving brilliant proofs of endurance united with undaunted courage, which enabled you to repulse firmly a determined attack by a superior force both when in position and under pursuit.

Soldiers! accept for this your King's warmest thanks. The Dannewerke is abandoned; in the enemy's hands are the greatest number of those cannons which should have defended the position; deeply do I feel with you what we have lost. But, comrades, we have only this one army for the defence of the country, and your experienced leaders have stated that we should no longer have any army if we did not withdraw. They therefore took the resolution to fall back.

Soldiers! we stand now alone with our people. We rely upon you and upon our fleet. You are ready to pour out your blood; but we are few against many, and therefore it must be dearly bought. God Almighty grant that victory may speedily crown the righteous cause.

Sonderborg, February 8, 1864. (Signed) CHRISTIAN R.

No. 981.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 12, 1864.

THE Danish Government, as I have already reported to your Lordship, lay an embargo upon not only Prussian but all German ships; giving them, however, on the understanding of reciprocity, at least six weeks, probably to the 1st of April, to leave Danish ports. They have given orders to their cruizers to seize German vessels at sea, and some captures have already been made.

Denmark considers herself at war not only with Austria and Prussia, but with the whole of Germany.

The Danish Government having adhered to the Treaty of Paris will not issue letters of marque, but will employ every legal means of inflicting injury upon the enemy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 982.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 12, 1864.

THE Danish Secretaries of Legation at Berlin and Vienna, and the Austrian and Prussian Secretaries at Copenhagen, have hitherto been kept in the respective capitals in a semi-official character; but I have learnt from M. Quaade to-day that it is his intention to recall the Danish Secretaries from their posts, and this will, of course, be followed by the recall of the Austrian and Prussian Secretaries from here.

The continued residence of these gentlemen at Copenhagen has, I may add, given rise already to some unfavourable animadversions on the sincerity with which the Danish Government has engaged in the war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 983.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 12, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation, by Mr. Kirkpatrick, of a paragraph in the "Dagblad" of this day detailing the proceedings connected with the proclamation of the Prince of Augustenburg in the town of Schleswig, in the presence of Baron Gablenz, the Austrian Commander-in-chief. The reply which this General is reported to have made to the Deputation would appear to be but little in accordance with the professed policy of Austria with regard to the question of Succession, even in Holstein; but the assertion that the Diet is the competent authority for deciding the question of Succession in Schleswig is certainly a new feature in the case.

The proclamation of the Prince of Augustenburg under similar circumstances has likewise, as your Lordship will perceive from the extract inclosed, been permitted in several other towns of Schleswig.

In short, if the accounts which reach Copenhagen are correct, there would appear to be little doubt that, notwithstanding the assurance of the Austrian and Prussian Governments, revolution is as much connived at by the Austrian and Prussian military authorities in Schleswig as it was by those of the Diet in Holstein.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 983.

Extract from the "Dagblad" of February 12, 1864.

(Translation.)

Recognition of the Prince of Augustenburg at Schleswig.—*February* 6. The Duke Frederick VIII was solemnly proclaimed at noon as Sovereign of the country at the Town Hall in the town of Schleswig, the church bells ringing during the ceremony. Dr. Sager delivered a speech, the Municipal Body being present. When this body on the following day waited on Baron Gablenz to greet him as the liberator of their country, the General answered that neither the proclaiming of the Duke nor the removal of the Danish officials concerned him. The former was the affair of the Diet, the latter that of the citizens of Schleswig. All the citizens have decided not to suffer one single Danish official to retain office. A deputy of the States of Schleswig, M. Petersen, and a few other citizens have already gone to Kiel to greet Prince Frederick in the name of the town. From Tönning, Husum, Hohn, Nörre, Brarup, in Angeln, and several other places, it is likewise announced the Prince of Augustenburg has been proclaimed. The ceremonies are everywhere the same.

No. 984.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, February* 17, 1864.

COUNT REISET, the French Minister at this Court, has received and read this morning to Count Platen a despatch of the 12th instant addressed to him by M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the question of the differences between Denmark and Germany.

In this despatch the French Minister for Foreign Affairs enumerates all the steps which the Government of the Emperor had either taken, or to which, on the initiative of Great Britain, they had associated themselves in the first instance to prevent the outbreak of hostilities between the German Powers and Denmark, and afterwards to put an end to them, including the proposal of an armistice, which it did not, however, appear was likely to be accepted by Austria and Prussia.

In the course of this despatch M. Drouyn de Lhuys expresses the earnest wish of France for the restoration of peace, for were the war prolonged she could not remain indifferent to a struggle between a weak Power of 2,000,000 with two of the greatest Powers of Europe. In conclusion his Excellency, after observing that the French Government will continue their efforts for the restoration of peace, says that their task, after as before the war, would be to reconcile whatever may be legitimate in the wishes of Germany with the condition of the balance of power in Europe.

No. 985.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 17, 1864.

THE Prussian Minister at this Court communicated on the 15th instant to Count Platen a despatch of the 13th instant, addressed to him by M. de Bismarck on the subject of the dispute which had arisen between the Federal authorities in Holstein and Field-Marshal von Wrangel, relative to the question of the occupation by Prussian troops of certain towns in that Duchy.

In this despatch M. de Bismarck explains, as I am informed, that the object of the proposed measure was to secure the communications of the Prussian army, and the reception of its supplies and reinforcements: that it was not contemplated by it to interfere with the Federal Execution, that the intention of the Prussian Government to send more troops into the Duchies had been announced to the Committee of the Diet at Frankfort, that the latter had written to the Federal Commissioners to afford all facilities for the provisioning and billeting of these troops, and that the Prussian Government were therefore not prepared for the resistance which had been offered by those authorities to Field-Marshal von Wrangel's occupation of the strategical points in question.

M. de Bismarck, it appears, likewise points out that Austria and Prussia were entitled under the former resolutions of the Diet to replace by other troops of theirs the reserves which they had furnished for Holstein, and which had been marched into Schleswig.

Count Platen took these explanations apparently in good part, although he did not admit that the form in which the measure had been carried out had been correct.

He observed to me to-day that it was the passage through Holstein, and not the occupation of certain towns, which had been announced by the Prussian Government to the Diet, and that if the Prussian troops which had thus entered the Duchy were to remain there permanently they ought, properly speaking, to be placed under the orders of the Federal Commander-in-chief, but to this the Prussian Government were not likely to agree.

His Excellency said, however, that he would not vote for the Saxon proposal at the Diet, to send Federal reserves into Holstein composed of Bavarian, Wurtemberg, and Baden troops, and repeated that he would do everything in his power to prevent a conflict between Austria and Prussia on the one side, and the States of the Confederation on the other.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 986.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, February* 17, 1864.

BARON HUGEL went yesterday to Würzburg to attend the Ministerial Conferences which are to be held there this week on the invitation of Bavaria, between the Ministers of several of the middle and smaller German States, to concert the course to be followed by them with respect to the Schleswig-Holstein Succession.

The Prussian Minister here has made every effort to prevent this Government from taking part in these Conferences, but without success. Baron Hügel, however, informed me that he anticipated that it would be found at these Conferences that the more moderate party had gained strength, which means, I presume, that the two Great Powers had regained a large portion of their previously preponderating influence amongst the smaller Confederate Powers; at all events, it may, I imagine, be concluded that no extreme step will be adopted by the Würzburg Governments before the result and consequences of the Austro-Prussian invasion of Denmark shall have been decided.

When I saw Baron Roggenbach at Carlsruhe about ten days ago, he appeared inclined to advocate the organization of a large collective military force by the middle and smaller States, to be placed at the disposal of the Diet for all eventualities. But he expressed no positive opinion on this point. I have since received the inclosed despatches from Mr. Baillie on the subject of the Würzburg Conference, and the present policy of the Baden Government, which prove that more moderate counsels have prevailed there likewise.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. J. R. GORDON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 986.

Mr. Baillie to Mr. Gordon.

Sir, *Carlsruhe, February* 11, 1864.

I INQUIRED of Baron de Roggenbach to-day whether he knew when the Ministerial Conferences of the smaller States were likely to take place. He replied that he knew nothing, and that no invitation to take part in anything of the kind had been made to this Government.

It had been reported, he added, that a proposition for such Conferences had emanated from Baden, but such was not the case. This Government did not feel themselves in a position to take such a step as had been attributed to them; and it had also been said that Baron de Edelsheim, Baden Minister at Vienna, had been instructed to go to Munich on his way to his post expressly for the above purpose.

This, he added, was also incorrect.

The mission of Baron de Edelsheim to Munich was purely one of courtesy. In the uncertainty of the intentions of Prussia, Baron de Roggenbach was anxious that Baden should be on such terms with Bavaria as would render a more intimate association for a common object easy and natural, should circumstances call for it.

With regard to the Conferences he thought that at a later period they might be very desirable, but as the position of affairs was not at present very clear, he was of opinion that the moment for concerted action was not yet come.

In this sense Baron de Edelsheim had been instructed to speak, should he be questioned, as to the views of his Government, but he had not been instructed to make any proposition, or to put his Government forward in the matter at all.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EVAN P. M. BAILLIE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 986.

Mr. Baillie to Mr. Gordon.

Sir, *Carlsruhe, February* 15, 1864.

BARON DE ROGGENBACH informed me yesterday that an invitation had just been received here from the Bavarian Government to attend a Conference of Ministers of the smaller States on Wednesday next at Würzburg, and that he intended to proceed there on Tuesday.

Baron de Roggenbach is still of opinion that the Conferences at the present moment are not likely to lead to any useful result, but he is anxious to cultivate a better understanding with Bavaria, and the other smaller Powers, and no doubt this step on the part of the Baden Government will tend to promote that object.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EVAN P. M. BAILLIE.

No. 987.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 19, 1864.

I TRANSMIT to you a copy of a note from M. Torben Bille, the Minister of His Danish Majesty at the Court of London.*

You will find that in this note M. Bille refers to the well-known fact that the Austro-Prussian army have entered Schleswig, have attacked all the positions of the Danish army, and have fought bloody actions in consequence of their invasion.

The Danish Minister infers that this invasion is made either for the purpose of depriving the Danish Crown altogether of the Duchy, or of making Austria and Prussia sole arbiters of the organization of the Danish Monarchy.

The Danish Minister goes on to say that he hopes Her Majesty's Government appreciate the steps which Denmark has taken in order to procure a peaceful solution—steps which the Danish Government have taken on the pressing advice of the British Government. Although the steps referred to were not taken with the promptitude

* No. 937.

necessary to make them successful, I admit generally the truth of this assertion; and I will only add that the advice referred to was given with a view to put the Danish Government right in its disputes with Austria and Prussia. Had the steps referred to not been taken, Her Majesty's Government could not have given even its good offices to Denmark to prevent, if possible, the outbreak of hostilities.

With regard to the request that friendly Powers should come to the assistance of Denmark, Her Majesty's Government can only say that every step they may think it right to take in the farther progress of this unhappy contest can only be taken after full consideration and communication with France and Russia.

These Powers are as much interested in the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy as Great Britain; and Her Majesty's Government may fairly have recourse to their advice and concert in any measures to be taken for the preservation of that integrity.

In respect to the Act of Guarantee of the Duchy of Schleswig of 1720, inasmuch as the Austrian and Prussian Governments have made a solemn declaration that they have no intention of disturbing the integrity of Denmark, it is not necessary at the present moment to examine the question of principle, that is, the validity of the Guarantee itself.

You may read and give a copy of this despatch to M. Quaade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 988.

Count Manderström to Count Wachtmeister.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by Count Wachtmeister, February 20.)

Stockholm, le 12 *Février*, 1864.

LES événements qui se sont succédés avec rapidité en Danemark depuis le commencement de ce mois sont trop généralement connus pour qu'il convienne de les rappeler ici; d'autant plus que nous trouvant séparés, par ces événements mêmes, du reste de l'Europe par une distance encore plus considerable que dans les temps ordinaires, les faits se seront développés encore davantage au moment où vous parviendra cette dépêche.

La manière dont le Gouvernement du Roi envisage l'entrée violente des troupes Austro-Prussiennes sur le territoire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark vous est déjà connue. Les Cours de Berlin et de Vienne ont cherché, il est vrai, par des communications datées avant l'invasion du Slesvig, mais qui ne sont parvenues que tout dernièrement à la connaissance du Gouvernement du Roi, à atténuer l'impression que ne pouvait manquer de produire un fait aussi grave, et à rassurer les Puissances cosignataires du Traité de Londres sur ses conséquences. Je regrette de me trouver obligé de dire que ce but ne me paraît devoir être que bien imparfaitement atteint, les deux grandes Puissances Allemandes partant d'une supposition qui, même à leurs propres yeux, ne pouvait avoir aucune chance de se réaliser, et qui a déjà éte démentie par les faits, savoir, que le Gouvernement Danois permettrait à des forces militaires étrangères d'occuper le Duché de Slesvig sans opposer aucune résistance à cette violation de son territoire. C'est dans cette supposition seulement, si j'ai bien compris les communications émanées de Berlin et de Vienne, que la Prusse et l'Autriche déclaraient vouloir respecter le Traité de Londres et l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise: il me paraît cependant que ces deux Puissances devraient se rappeler qu'elles sont liées par ce Traité envers d'autres Puissances encore qui ne sauraient leur reconnaître le droit de le rompre unilatéralement, et dont les avis méritent bien d'être consultés.

Dans cet état de choses le Gouvernement Danois vient de fixer de nouveau l'attention de celui du Roi sur la gravité des circonstances, et se fondant sur les vues que nous avons de tout temps énoncées sur la communauté d'intérêts et de destinées des peuples du Nord et sur l'injuste agression dont le Danemark est devenu l'objet, il a réclamé de la part des Royaumes Unis une active et prompte assistance, afin de pouvoir opposer à la supériorité numérique de ses adversaires une résistance suffisante.

Sans nous dédire de rien de ce que nous avons avancé à ce sujet, et en maintenant toujours qu'une agression de l'Allemagne dans les provinces Danoises n'appartenant point à la Confédération Germanique sera toujours de nature à leser nos intérêts et à inspirer de bien sérieuses appréhensions à tout le Nord, nous ne pouvons cependant nous dissimuler que la question ne se présente plus sous la même face qu'à une époque antérieure de quelques mois à peine au moment actuel. Alors l'existence même des stipulations du Traité de Londres n'était point, comme aujourd'hui, mise en question. Nous sommes par-

faitement décidés à employer tous nos efforts pour chercher à maintenir ces stipulations, mais nous pensons qu'il ne saurait être exigé de nous d'agir seuls à cet égard, et c'est de concert avec les autres Puissances non-Allemandes signataires de ce Traité que nous désirerions prendre les mesures nécessaires pour arriver à ce but. En agissant isolément nous ne pourrions nous flatter d'atteindre le but que nous nous proposons, et nous nous exposerions à des interprétations de notre conduite qui pourraient lui supposer des vues intéressées bien éloignées des intentions du Gouvernement du Roi.

Dans la situation actuelle (situation dont les dangers sont patents) nous croyons devoir faire encore une fois un appel aux Cabinets de Londres, de Paris, et de St. Pétersbourg, dans le but de les inviter à nous faire connaître les décisions que leur ont inspirées les faits si graves et si subversifs du droit des gens établi qui se sont passés depuis les dernières communications que nous avons échangées avec eux au sujet de cette important question. Nous ne saurions douter ni de l'intérêt bien puissant qu'ils lui accordent, ni de leur sincère désir d'arrêter l'effusion du sang, et de rétablir la paix sur des bases que le Danemark pourrait accepter sans compromettre sa dignité et sans sacrifier son indépendance. Nous ne nous dissimulons point que cette tâche soit ardue; mais nous ne saurions croire que les plus grandes Puissances de l'Europe puissent admettre le démembrement d'une Monarchie dont elles ont reconnu que l'intégrité et l'indépendance formaient l'une des conditions du maintien de la balance politique de l'Europe.

Nous serions heureux de recevoir de leur part des explications plus rassurantes que celles qui nous ont eté offertes dans des termes trop vagues et se conciliant mal avec les faits de la part des Gouvernements d'Autriche et de Prusse. Il est superflu d'ajouter que notre concours sera toujours assuré à toute mesure propre à régler cette affaire d'une manière juste et équitable.

Mais en même temps nous devons déclarer d'avance que nous entendons toujours conserver notre liberté d'action pour le cas qu'un concert favorable aux intérêts du Danemark ne saurait être établi et que les circonstances nous permettraient d'employer avec plus de chances de réussite que dans ce moment les moyens dont nous pouvons disposer. Nous tâcherons d'éviter une participation à la lutte, autant que cela nous deviendra possible, mais nous devons constater qu'elle pourrait atteindre des proportions qui ne sauraient admettre une inaction continuée de notre part.

Je vous invite, M. le Comte, à faire lecture de la présente dépêche à sa Seigneurie M. le Comte Russell, et si elle en exprimait le désir, à lui en laisser copie. Vous insisterez sur le prix qu'attacherait le Gouvernement du Roi à obtenir une réponse, dont la rapidité des événements rend une prochaine communication doublement désirable.

J'adresse une communication identique aux Ministres du Roi à Paris et à St. Pétersbourg.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) MANDERSTRÖM.

(Translation.)

Stockholm, February 12, 1864.

THE events which have rapidly followed one another in Denmark since the beginning of this month are too generally known to render it necessary here to recount them; the more so that, as by these very events we find ourselves separated from the rest of Europe by a more considerable distance than in ordinary times, affairs will have developed themselves still further by the time this despatch reaches you.

The manner in which the King's Government view the violent entry of Austro-Prussian troops into the territory of His Majesty the King of Denmark is already known to you. The Courts of Berlin and Vienna have, it is true, endeavoured by communications dated before the invasion of Schleswig, but which have only quite recently come to the knowledge of the King's Government, to mitigate the impression which so grave a circumstance could not fail to produce, and to re-assure the Powers co-signataries of the Treaty of London on its consequences. I regret to be obliged to say that this object appears to me to be but very imperfectly attained, since the two Great German Powers start from a supposition which even in their own opinion could have no chance of realization, and which has already been refuted by facts, that is to say, that the Danish Government would suffer foreign military forces to occupy the Duchy of Schleswig without opposing any resistance to such a violation of their territory. It is on this supposition only, if I have rightly understood the communications which have emanated from Berlin and Vienna, that Prussia and Austria declared their intention of respecting the Treaty of London and the integrity of the Danish Monarchy. It seem to me, however, that these two Powers ought to remember that they are bound by that Treaty towards

other Powers also, who cannot recognize their right to a one-sided infraction of it, and whose opinion well deserves to have been consulted.

Such being the state of affairs the Danish Government have again called the attention of that of the King to the gravity of the circumstances, and on the ground of the views which we have always expressed on the community of interests and destinies of the nations of the north, and on the unjust aggression of which Denmark has become the object, they have applied for active and prompt aid from the United Kingdoms in order to be able to oppose to the numerical superiority of their adversaries a sufficient resistance.

Without going back from anything we have said on this subject, and while always maintaining that German aggression in Danish provinces not belonging to the Germanic Confederation will ever be of a nature to injure our interests and to inspire very serious apprehensions throughout the North, we yet cannot conceal that the question no longer presents itself in the same light as at a period scarce a few months previous to the present moment. Then the very existence of the stipulations of the Treaty of London were not, as now, called in question. We are perfectly decided to use all our efforts to endeavour to maintain these stipulations, but we think that it could hardly be expected of us to act in this respect alone, and it is in concert with the other non-German Powers who signed the Treaty that we desire to take the steps necessary to secure that object. By an isolated action we could not flatter ourselves that we should attain the object we propose to ourselves, and we should expose ourselves to interpretations of our conduct which might impute to it interested views far removed from the intentions of the King's Government.

In the actual situation (a situation the dangers of which are apparent) we think it our duty once again to make an appeal to the Cabinets of London, Paris, and St. Petersburgh, with the object of inviting them to make known to us the decision which they have been induced to take by events so grave and so subversive of the established law of nations, which have taken place since the last communications we exchanged with them on this important question. We cannot doubt either the very deep interest they attach thereto, or their sincere desire to arrest the effusion of blood, and to re-establish peace on bases which Denmark could accept without compromising her dignity, and without sacrificing her independence. We do not pretend that the task will not be a hard one; but we cannot believe that the greatest Powers of Europe can allow the dismemberment of a Monarchy the integrity and independence of which they have recognized as forming one of the conditions of the maintenance of the political balance of power of Europe.

We should be happy to receive from them explanations more reassuring than those which have been offered us on the part of the Governments of Austria and Prussia in terms too vague and ill-agreeing with their acts. It is superfluous to add that our concurrence will always be assured to every measure calculated to settle this affair in a just and equitable manner.

But at the same time we are bound to declare beforehand that we intend always to preserve our liberty of action in case an understanding favourable to the interests of Denmark should not be established, and circumstances should permit us to employ the means at our disposal with better chance of success than at the present moment. We shall endeavour to avoid participation in the struggle as far as it may be in our power, but we are bound to state that it may attain proportions which would not admit of continued inaction on our part.

I invite you, M le Comte, to read this despatch to Earl Russell, and if he expresses a wish to that effect, to furnish him with a copy of it. You will urge the value which the King's Government sets on receiving a reply, an early communication of which the rapidity of events renders doubly desirable.

I address an identical communication to the Ministers of the King at Paris and St. Petersburgh.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) MANDERSTRÖM.

No. 989.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February 16, 1864.*

A STRALSUND newspaper of the 12th instant states that on the previous day the first division of steam gun-boats was put into commission, consisting of the "Comet," the "Hai," the "Lyane," the "Pfeil," the "Scorpion," and the "Wespl." The "Comet"

carries three guns, and the other five are armed with one rifled 24-pounder, and one 68-pounder, hollow-shot guns. The same paper states that the 2nd and 3rd divisions will be commissioned in a few days, but it does not mention whether these gun-boats are to be employed in the defence of the coast or on other service.

It adds, however, that Danish vessels of war are cruizing on the east and west of the Island of Rugen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 990.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 16, 1864.

M. GULDENCRONE, the Secretary of Legation of the Danish Mission, who remained here after M. de Quaade's departure, and has been in non-official relations with the Prussian Government, received to-day a telegram, ordering him to be prepared to leave Berlin as soon as he shall receive instructions to that effect, which are now on their way to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 991.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 17, 1864.

I HAVE reason to believe that General Manteuffel was charged with an autograph letter from the King to the King of Saxony, intimating to His Majesty that if the opposition and the unfriendly proceedings which the Prussian Government has latterly met with from the Government of Saxony are continued, serious differences between the two Governments must ensue.

I understand also that M. de Bismarck has stated that the mobilization of the 6th *corps d'armée* was ordered in order to support the remonstrances which General Manteuffel has been instructed to address to the King of Saxony and M. de Beust.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 992.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 17, 1864.

THIS Government has some anxiety as to the decision which may be taken at Frankfort respecting the attitude which should be assumed by the German Confederation, in consequence of the orders which Danish naval cruizers have received to capture German vessels at sea, and they foresee that the most serious complications may arise if the Confederation should declare war with Denmark and send a Federal army into Schleswig. M. de Bismarck is, I have reason to believe, endeavouring, in concert with Austria, to prevent any immediate resolution being taken by the Diet on the subject, and I am told he speaks of withdrawing the Prussian Minister from Frankfort if the Diet persists in adding this complication to the other difficulties of the situation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 993.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 20.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 17, 1864.

I HAVE reason to believe that a correspondence is in progress between the Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna as to the expediency of coming to an arrangement for the invasion and occupation of Jutland, in consequence of Danish cruizers having received orders to capture German vessels at sea; but that the Austrian Government hesitate to adopt this measure.

No. 994.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 17, 1864.

I HAVE had some conversation with a gentlemen who has just returned from Flensburg, and although he carried letters of introduction to the leading partizans of the Prince of Augustenburg in that town, he tells me that he has no doubt as to the majority of the inhabitants being favourably disposed to the Danish Government, and to the continued union of Schleswig with Denmark.

From what I learnt from him also, the partizans of the Prince of Augustenburg are not persons of any influence or social position.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 995.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 18, 1864.

THE "Nord Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" publishes the text of the King's reply to the Deputation from the University of Kiel, which waited on His Majesty on the 13th instant, and I have the honour to forward a translation of it to your Lordship herewith.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 995.

Extract from the "Nord Deutsche Allegemeine Zeitung."

(Translation.)

Reply of the King to the Deputation from the University of Kiel.

IT gives me pleasure to greet in you the Representatives of the University of Kiel, which by its successful cultivation of German learning, and by its German disposition, has won for itself so exalted a position.

Your mission is a proof of your confidence in me, and of your conviction that I have at heart the protection of the rights and interests of both Duchies, which find in your University their intellectual centre. This confidence shall not be disappointed. The last few days in Schleswig have given you practical proofs of my warm sympathy, and you may rest assured of my fixed determination to defend for the future the rights of the Duchies and of their inhabitants against every oppression on the part of a foreign race. My zealous endeavours are directed towards securing, by means of enduring sureties, the rights of both Duchies, and their ancient connection *inter se*, which is so worthily represented by the University common to both.

As you will yourselves admit, I cannot express an opinion on the dynastic question which is touched upon in your address so long as it forms the subject of pending negotiations.

As regards Schleswig no decision can be come to without the co-operation of the European Powers. At the Conferences which it is to be presumed will be convened on the

subject, regard for well-founded rights and for international obligations will go hand in hand with care for the weal and interests of the Duchies.

I request you to bear to the University the expression of my sympathy and regard, and for my sake to work in the sense of tranquillizing men's minds, and for the maintenance of a hearty confidence.

No. 996.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 18, 1864.

THE session of the Hanoverian Legislative Chambers was opened this day by General von Brandis, the presiding member of the Ministry, acting as Royal Commissioner in the Parliament House.

I beg to inclose a translated extract of that part of the speech delivered by his Excellency which relates to foreign affairs, and reserve to myself to notice the other topics contained in it as soon as it shall have been published.

The ceremony was preceded by Divine service in the Church Royal, which was attended by His Majesty the King and the Crown Prince, as well as by the Ministers and great officers of State and of the Court, and by members of both Chambers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

Inclosure in No. 996.

Extract from the Speech of the Royal Commissioner on opening the Hanoverian Legislative Assembly, February 15, 1864.

(Translation.)

HIS Majesty the King has given fresh proofs of the lively interest which he takes in promoting the greater union of the German Fatherland by participating in the deliberations set on foot by the Diet for a common legislation, and by personally attending the Congress of Princes at Frankfort, and will be ready to co-operate towards such reform as may be adapted to the times of the German Confederation on a Federative basis in the manner prescribed by its Constitution.

Following this course His Majesty perseveres in the endeavour to cause full effect to be given to the rights of the Duchies of Holstein, Schleswig, and Lauenburg, which he has always upheld. In the same manner as His Majesty has been more particularly guided by this principle in the votes hitherto given at the Diet in this affair, so will he, remaining true to it, for the future likewise abstain from all separate action, but at the same time whilst constantly seeming to avert the threatening rupture amongst the members of the German Confederation, omit nothing which can tend strenuously to assert the Federal Constitution, and with it the independence of his kingdom.

His Majesty is persuaded that in these endeavours he can reckon upon your readiest co-operation.

His Majesty the King regrets that under existing circumstances it was not feasible to admit the troops of the whole German Confederation, and more particularly the brave Hanoverian army, to take part in the glorious feats of arms of the Imperial Austrian and Royal Prussian troops, but avails himself of this opportunity to express in the face of the country his thorough appreciation of the cheerfulness and readiness with which the soldiers on the summons of the King, their military chief, hastened to join their standards, as well as of the demeanour and discipline observed by the whole corps under difficult circumstances.

No. 997.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 20, 1864.

A TELEGRAM from Vienna of to-day's date, which has appeared in the papers this afternoon, announces that a squadron of twelve Austrian men-of-war has received orders to put to sea for the protection of German merchantmen against Danish cruizers, and that a part of it had already sailed.

This notice has attracted the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government, and I have to instruct your Excellency to apply to Count Rechberg for some information as to the objects for which this measure has been adopted by the Austrian Government, and as to the operations which the squadron is intended to undertake.

Your Excellency will ask specifically whether the Austrian Government contemplate the employment of their naval forces in an attack on the capital of Denmark; and whether any portion of the squadron now ordered for sea is directed to make the British Channel its cruizing-ground.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 998.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 20, 1864.

THE intelligence of the entrance of German troops into Jutland has been received by Her Majesty's Government with surprise, for no previous intimation had been conveyed to them of such an extension of the field of hostilities being contemplated by the Austrian and Prussian Governments.

You will not disguise from M. Bismarck that this proceeding is looked upon in a very serious light by Her Majesty's Government.

I have to instruct your Excellency to ask M. Bismarck to inform you whether or no the Prussian Government are desirous that a Conference should meet at the present time with a view to the re-establishment of peaceful relations between Austria and Prussia on the one part and Denmark on the other.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 999.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 21, 1864.

I HAVE received your telegram reporting the explanation given of the entrance of the German troops into Jutland, which is stated to be based on strategic necessity; while it is declared that they would be withdrawn if the Danes would accept an armistice, the bases of which should be the occupation of Schleswig by the German forces, and the restoration of the ships captured by the Danes.

The Prussian Embassy made to me to-day a communication to the same effect as regards the withdrawal of the Danish troops from Schleswig, but making no allusion to the restoration of the captured vessels.

It appears from your telegram that the French Ambassador at Berlin conceives that the arrangement most beneficial to Denmark, and to which the Prussian Government are willing to assent, would be the immediate assembling of a Conference, without insisting upon an armistice as a preliminary condition of its meeting.

Her Majesty's Government are informed by the Danish Government that they will not agree to an armistice which should involve the continued occupation of the Duchy of Schleswig by the German forces, and withdrawal of the Danish forces from the Island of Alsen.

Her Majesty's Government are disposed to think that in this state of things the immediate meeting of a Conference might be determined upon, without insisting upon a cessation of hostilities as a preliminary measure, or as one without which the deliberation of a Conference could not be continued. But the assent of the Prussian Government must necessarily be a condition to any such Conference being proposed or held.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1000.

Mr. Murray to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Dresden, February* 14, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that M. de Beust intends leaving Dresden on Wednesday next, the 17th, for Würzburg, to attend the Conference which is to be held there on Thursday and the following days. The German Governments that will be represented at this Conference will be Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Saxony, Thuringia (which embraces the Saxon Duchies), Oldenburg, and Brunswick. Up to yesterday's date it was not known here whether Hanover should send a Representative to the Conference or not.

There is little doubt that the chief object of this meeting of the Representatives of the secondary German States is to take into consideration the attitude that Prussia and Austria have lately assumed towards the Confederation, but I have not been able to ascertain definitively what measures or projects are to be proposed at the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 1001.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 15, 1864.

I FOUND Count Rechberg much occupied to-day by a communication from M. de Bille, in which he informed his Excellency that the Danish Government consented to the wish expressed by the Imperial Government that the period of laying an embargo on Austrian vessels in Danish ports should be extended from six to eight weeks, say from the 1st of February to the 1st of April, but that this arrangement was not to be applied to vessels taken at sea by Danish cruizers.

Count Rechberg said that he had suggested the delay with a view to prevent complications, and also in the hope that active hostilities would have been over before two months had passed. He observed that Prussian vessels had already been seized, and that one under the Lubeck flag had been stopped—a circumstance deeply to be regretted, because Austria and Prussia had sought, and had so far succeeded in their endeavour, to prevent the Confederation from participating in the Schleswig affair. He knew not what would be the consequence of a proceeding which might be followed by the detention of vessels of other States belonging to the Confederation, and the Bund might be provoked to acts of hostility.

The seizure of Austrian and Prussian vessels at sea, his Excellency observed, might moreover compel the allied army to advance into Jutland as a measure of retaliation. He should greatly regret the complication, and hoped Her Majesty's Government might be disposed to communicate on the subject with the Danish Government, and seek to induce them to reconsider the orders which had been given.

I told Count Rechberg that it was evident the war was gradually assuming larger proportions, that he ought not to be surprised to find Denmark taking advantage of her resources as a naval Power, and that this further complication might have been avoided if Austria and Prussia had not declined the proposal for an armistice conditionally on the withdrawal of the Danish forces to the Island of Alsen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1002.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 15th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Count Rechberg has replied to the Danish communication respecting the Embargo question, that the Austrian Government will not agree to the arrangement unless the Danish Government desist from capturing vessels at sea, and extend also to eight weeks the period when their cruizers shall be entitled to make seizures.

He added, the point had now been decided, and orders sent accordingly to the Imperial dockyards to despatch cruizers to seize all the Danish merchant-vessels they might fall in with. He regretted it had become necessary thus to interfere with commercial enterprise, but it was the natural consequence of instructions issued to the Danish naval commanders, and a just measure of retaliation—which he thought, moreover, would be more injurious to Denmark than she may have calculated, as her trade in the Black Sea, the Levant and the Mediterranean, was much more considerable than the trade of Austria which was likely to fall within the reach of Danish cruizers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1003.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received Febrnary 22.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

COUNT RECHBERG expressed his regret that there was so little probability of the Danish Government desisting from a course with regard to the seizure of ships at sea which would have no other effect than that of increasing the difficulties in the way of a solution of the question between Germany and Denmark.

I told Count Rechberg that it was evidently impossible for Her Majesty's Government to interfere at the present moment, and that the exasperation felt at Copenhagen towards Germany, and the determination of the Danes to defend themselves as best they could, was but a natural consequence of the war that had been carried across their frontier.

No. 1004.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

COUNT RECHBERG has inquired if I was aware of the answer which Her Majesty's Government intended giving to the Danish Government to an appeal which he understood had been addressed by them to London, Paris, and to other places on the subject of the guarantees of Schleswig to the Danish Crown of the year 1720. His Excellency said that he was informed that the French Government had answered that there was no intention at present of severing Schleswig from Denmark, and therefore the question was premature. This observation, he added, was correct; and he was anxious to know your Lordship's opinion on that point.

I replied to Count Rechberg that I was without instructions, but that the telegraph had reported an answer given by your Lordship in the House of Lords to an inquiry which had been addressed to you with reference to the binding nature of the transactions of 1720 on Her Majesty's Government, and that your Lordship's explanations appeared to be much in the sense of the answer which had been given at Paris; and as these Treaties had never been repudiated by the British Government, I should consider them as binding in 1864 as they were considered to be in 1848.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1005.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

COUNT RECHBERG is as anxious as ever that a Conference should meet, to consider the affairs of Denmark; and, when speaking of this subject, I have always told him that Her Majesty's Government were desirous to see measures adopted with a view to the restoration of peace, but that so long as active hostilities were going on it was useless to think of negotiation, as the basis on which it would be possible to treat might vary from day to day according to the events of the war. Let there be an armistice, I have said, and a stop put to the effusion of blood; and then Her Majesty's Government would, I was sure, be ready to assist in promoting a settlement of the questions at issue.

Count Rechberg sees no present chance of obtaining the assent of Prussia to an armistice; but he declares that if a Conference were opened, he would be always ready to support a proposition of this kind as the first and most important one to be brought under consideration.

I understand that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires has been most earnest in recommending a Conference as the best and only means, if not of arresting the war, at all events of preventing its extension, and I hear that the French Ambassador also speaks as if his Government would not be indisposed to entertain the proposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1006.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 11th instant, I have stated to Count Rechberg that Her Majesty's Government highly appreciate the humane spirit which had influenced the Emperor of Austria, and induced His Imperial Majesty to be satisfied with the advantages already obtained by the allied forces in Schleswig, and to be willing to entertain the proposal of Her Majesty's Government that an armistice might be concluded upon the condition of the Danish forces withdrawing from the mainland to the Island of Alsen.

His Excellency said that the words in your Lordship's despatch could not be otherwise than highly agreeable to the Emperor, but at the same time, and though His Imperial Majesty would have willingly agreed to the armistice, he had at once remarked that the position of Alsen was such a commanding one in a military point of view, that the presence of an army there would always be a danger and a menace to the allied forces on the mainland, and that he doubted whether Prussia would be willing to agree to the arrangement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1007.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

WHEN I was with Count Rechberg yesterday, his Excellency read me some passages of a communication from General Gablenz in answer to inquiries addressed to him from here, in consequence of its having been reported that he had not interfered with sufficient activity to prevent the Prince of Augustenburg from being proclaimed in various parts of Schleswig. The General declares these rumours to be without foundation.

Count Rechberg assured me also that as far as he could judge of public opinion from the various reports that had reached the Imperial Government, there appeared to exist great indifferenee in the Duchy of Schleswig generally as to the Prince in whose hands the governing power should be placed. In fact, said his Excellency, if it were not for the activity displayed by the agents of some of the small German Powers, little would be heard on the subject of the Prince of Augustenburg; but the instant an agitating agent, following in the rear of the advancing army, contrived to get two or three insignificant people together to join in a cry for the Prince of Augustenburg, it was immediately telegraphed to all parts of Germany that the Prince had been proclaimed.

His Excellency added that these reports were totally untrue as representing an expression of the feelings of the mass of the population, who did not care for, and had certainly not evinced any partiality for the Prince of Augustenburg.

No. 1008.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

I HAVE taken an opportunity of reading to Count Rechberg your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant, on the analogy between the Treaty of May 1852 and that of July 13, 1841, as regarding the non-exchange of ratifications between all the parties who signed those two Treaties, and who nevertheless must be considered to be equally bound by them.

His Excellency listened with attention, and made no objection to the arguments in your Lordship's despatch.

I have, &c
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1009.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, February* 15, 1864.

FOR some little time past a rumour has been prevalent that Austria and Prussia had the intention, notwithstanding their declaration to leave Holstein to the Federal troops, to place a Brigade of from 5,000 to 6,000 Prussians, and another Brigade of about 5,000 Austrians, in the towns of Altona, Neumünster, and Kiel. The motives of this design were alleged to be partly the necessity of stationing additional reserves, and partly the existing difficulties of provisioning the army in Schleswig. The intention has now begun to be actually carried out, for on Friday and Saturday last Prussian battalions entered Altona and demanded quarters, with the possession of the chief guard-house held by the Hanoverians; the approaching occupation of Altona, Neumünster, and Kiel, having in the meanwhile been officially notified by Field-Marshal Wrangel to General Hake, the Commander-in-chief of the Federal forces. General Hake refused at first to permit the Prussian troops to remain in Altona and threatened resistance, but on communicating by telegraph with the Diet at Frankfort, he appears to have received instructions not to oppose by force the Prussian occupation, which consequently took place. The Federal Commissioners have, however, entered their formal protest against it, as inconsistent with the orders issued to them by the President of the Federal Diet under date of the 22nd ultimo, which declared that "as a matter of course a permanent occupation of the Holstein territory remained reserved to the troops of the Confederation." The Commissioners have published their Protest in an Altona newspaper of this morning, with an account of the circumstances for the information of the inhabitants.

The two Prussian battalions destined to occupy Kiel left Hamburgh yesterday, and will, I understand, be obliged to march to Kiel, having been refused the use of the railway. Two other Prussian battalions now here are under orders to march to-day to Neumünster. The arrival here in a day or two of further Austrian reinforcements (which are probably destined likewise for Holstein) has been officially notified.

This occupation of Holstein by Prussian troops has caused much dissatisfaction in Hamburgh and Altona, as the real motives are not quite clear, and it wears the appearance of a breach of faith, and of a new violation of the Resolutions of the Federal Diet by the Prussian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 1010.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, February* 19, 1864.

ACCORDING to the last intelligence which has reached this place from the seat of war in Schleswig, no important movement in order to taking possession of the Island of Alsen has yet been made by the forces of the allies.

The intended attack upon the Danish entrenchments at Düppel appears to require great preparations, and the state of the roads has been unfavourable for bringing up

artillery to the spot. In the Sundewitt district, about Düppel, there is now an army of 30,000 Prussians (chiefly at Sandberg and Düppel), under the command of Prince Frederick Charles, whose head-quarters are at Gravenstein. The advanced posts at Rubel are held by the 64th Regiment.

The Danish entrenchments in Alsen are represented as strong, and the Danes may support their position by ships of war, to keep off which the Prussians are erecting batteries on the point of Holnis near Glücksburg. They are also building a bridge at Eckernsund to shorten the road to Düppel. Whether the allies intend to begin with a cannonade, or a storm upon the Düppel entrenchments, or to march into Jutland if Alsen should not soon be evacuated, is not known with any certainty here. The Prussian Minister here, who is in constant communication with the head-quarters, told me yesterday he had not the most distant notion when the operations would begin. Possibly the Prussians reckon something upon the difficulties of the Danes in provisioning their army in Alsen. The Danish soldiers are stated to be already suffering a good deal from the want of food and clothing.

Field-Marshal Wrangel's head-quarters have been advanced from Flensburg to Apenrade. Those of the Austrian Field-Marshal Gablenz are, as I understand, at Hadersleben, further north. Christiansfeld, the most northern town in Schleswig, is occupied by a Prussian regiment of guards, so that the whole of Schleswig, with the exception of Alsen, is now in the actual occupation of the allies.

The "Altona Mercury" has announced, and it has not been contradicted, that notwithstanding the warnings of the Prussian authorities, the Duke of Augustenburg has been unofficially proclaimed and recognized by the inhabitants of Apenrade, Hadersleben, Tondern, Hoyer, and all the principal towns and villages in Northern as well as Southern Schleswig, except Christiansfeld, from which no accounts have yet been received. This confirms what I have heard from persons well acquainted with the country, that the Danish Government has in reality but few adherents beyond the officials, even among the Danish-speaking inhabitants of the northern parts of Schleswig.

The Danish Government having issued orders for the capture by its ships of war, not only of Austrian and Prussian, but of all other German ships upon the high seas, and having likewise notified its intention (as reported in Hamburgh) to blockade the German ports, these measures are considered here as acts of direct hostility against those German States which are neither at war with Denmark nor parties to the occupation of Schleswig by Austria and Prussia, and it is thought the consequence must be a common action, with a common programme, of the other States of the Confederation with Austria and Prussia, which will place the objects of the war upon a new basis, comprising larger and different demands from those announced by Austria and Prussia previous to their undertaking the occupation of Schleswig.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 1011.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 17, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation by Mr. Kirkpatrick of an article which appeared in the "Dagblad" of the day before yesterday, and I beg leave to call your Lordship's attention to it, describing, as it does very accurately, the feelings of this country with reference to the present position of affairs, and to the rumours which have been current relative to a proposal for the evacuation of the continent of Schleswig by the Danish troops, to be followed by an armistice and negotiations for peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 1011.

Extract from the "Dagblad" of February 15, 1864.

(Translation.)

IN the debate of the 9th of February respecting the adoption of an address to the army, his Excellency the President of the Council said:—

"I cannot but approve the spirit in which this Address is drawn up. It is entirely in

accordance with the policy of the Government. The abandoning of the position of the Dannewerke is no sign of a yielding policy; we view it as the first step towards exerting all our strength to uphold our rights." His Excellency added, "When God holds out the cup of human sorrow it stuns weak minds, but men drain the cup at one long draught, and it acts like generous wine in strengthening their will and power of action."

A contemporary stated the day before yesterday that he believed himself in a position to state from a sure source that the reports which had been circulated respecting an armistice and an opening of negotiations are false, that the Privy Council on the contrary on Thursday determined to call on the whole strength of the nation to win Schleswig back.

We quote these two statements, one of which is accompanied by an official guarantee, to serve as an introduction to a communication which must otherwise call forth the deepest sorrow and disquiet.

It is announced in a telegram from London of the 12th instant that according to the "Morning Post" of that date England had proposed that the Danish army shall evacuate Schleswig with the exception of Als, that an armistice shall then be proclaimed, and a Conference take place. It is added that France, Russia, and Sweden support this proposal. It is the same coalition of Powers which repeatedly appears on the scene in the Danish-German struggle, never to check by a firm word the increasing aggression of Germany, but ever by exhortations, and in case of need by almost a threatening summons, to induce Denmark to yield one point after another without receiving any equivalent.

It hardly requires to be shown that it would be destructive to Denmark to accept such a proposal. Whilst the German troops had as yet only occupied Holstein, before active hostilities had commenced, there could have been question of a Conference with the *status quo* as a basis (Execution in Holstein, the Constitution of the 18th November north of the Eider) and the agreements of 1851-52, together with the Treaty of London, as a guide for an arrangement.

It would have been a course involving very great dangers for Denmark, for the line adopted by these Powers in such a Conference would have been influenced less by a view to our rights than by the wish to preserve peace at almost any price; but we should scarcely have been in a position to take exception at or reject this endeavour to prevent war. The position of affairs is, however, changed now that hostilities have broken out, after three battles have been fought and after our army, yielding to a force three times more numerous, and to the severity of the season, has been forced to retreat. The present state of things is as unfavourable for us as it well can be. In Holstein there is an Execution which has permitted the illegal proclamation of the Pretender, as if it had taken place in its name. Schleswig is occupied by an enemy who, despite his previous statements, has permitted similar demonstrations, and on his own responsibility has overturned the authority of the King. Denmark would not be worse situated, she would not be exposed to harder terms of peace, if her army were driven out of Dybböl and Als, and the enemy had forced his way up into Northern Jutland.

In the present state of things, the great danger which would be incurred by an armistice, together with the surrender of Dybböl, the key to Als, which appears to be demanded, followed by a Conference, would be, that the integrity of the Monarchy would be bought with the sacrifice of the union of Schleswig and the kingdom; the Treaty of London would be maintained, but the Agreements of 1851-52, which prevent a Schleswig-Holstein in the Monarchy, would be set aside; the Crown would obtain its dynastic right, but the people and the country would be sacrificed.

To such an exchange, or rather to such a sacrifice, no Danish King and no Danish Government can accede. They cannot enter into a negotiation of which this is the result.

Denmark is not so situated that she can refuse any Conference whatsoever, the less so as without such a Conference our question can scarcely be brought to a final decision.

We stand alone. Friends and advisers who have lured us on to concession after concession have drawn back and left us to our fate. We have made a sorrowful discovery of our own weakness.

But it does not follow that we should yield to a pressure which threatens our dearest rights, our whole national existence, with destruction. When Schleswig is evacuated by the enemy, when the King's authority is re-established in that country, when the *status quo* of the 31st of January returns, we cannot well refuse a Conference, although after the promises made by M. Monrad's Ministry to foreign Powers that Conference would involve the greatest dangers.

But there are other reasons which render it quite impossible for Denmark to accept an

armistice. A war carried on with all the energy we are capable of offers us much more favourable chances, for we have in reality nothing more to lose and everything to gain. If we can but hold out for a few months the bonds of union may be broken in the South and West and East, and the force of circumstances may compel the now passive spectators to some active course. But if we yield all is over, and even if the elements at work in other places burst forth we should no longer gain any advantage from it.

For this reason we derive a quieting assurance from the statement of the Premier in the Rigsdag. If he will adhere firmly to his statement that the retreat from the Dannewerke is not a yielding policy but the first step towards exerting all our strength to assert our rights, he will find in the army and the people a readiness to offer up both treasure and life; and amongst the Powers who now take part in the renewed pressure put upon us there will certainly be some who will no longer hesitate to cast their sword into the balance, if this last attempt on the part of diplomacy (we trust it is the last) to urge us to yield has failed.

No. 1012.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 17, 1864.

IN an interview I have just had with M. Quaade I stated to him that from what had fallen from your Lordship and Lord Palmerston in the discussion in Parliament on the 9th instant respecting the affairs of Denmark, the account of which arrived last night, it would appear that Her Majesty's Government was under the impression that the Danish Government intended to propose the repeal of the November Constitution, notwithstanding the change which had come over affairs since the period when they made their declaration on the subject; and I asked his Excellency to inform me what were the intentions of the Danish Government in this respect.

M. Quaade replied that when the Danish Government announced their readiness to propose the repeal of the Constitution to the Rigsraad it was with the view of preventing the occupation of Schleswig and the outbreak of hostilities; but that since Austria and Prussia had entirely disregarded this conciliatory offer, and had attacked Denmark, there was no longer any motive for the Danish Government to repeal the Constitution; on the contrary, there was a very strong reason for maintaining it as long as Schleswig was in possession of the enemy, as it was the only link which now connected the Duchy and the Kingdom. If Austria and Prussia would withdraw their troops from Schleswig, and thus enable the elections to take place in the Duchy, the Danish Government were quite prepared to redeem their pledge.

Your Lordship will find, by reference to my despatches of the 19th and 25th ultimo, and of the 3rd instant, that M. Quaade has always said that if Schleswig was invaded the Danish Government would be unable to fulfil their promise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1013.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 17, 1864.

I HAVE asked M. Quaade this morning to state to me, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, the grounds on which the Danish Government had ordered the ships of Hanover and Bremen to be captured at sea,—the reasons, in short, why the Danish Government consider themselves at war with all the German Powers.

His Excellency replied that the Danish Government considered themselves at war with Hanover and Saxony especially, as being the Powers who had furnished the troops for the occupation of Holstein, because these Powers had countenanced and supported the proclamation of the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein in the latter Duchy, and had thereby committed an act of hostility against the King of Denmark. The case against Hanover and Saxony was perfectly clear, and as they were acting as the mandataries of the Diet, and all their proceedings had been sanctioned by the Diet, the right of Denmark to make war upon all the other Powers of the Confederation was equally well founded.

If the troops of Hanover and Saxony, his Excellency added, had confined themselves to their Federal functions, it is possible that the Danish Government might have continued to accept their presence in Holstein without having recourse to retaliatory measures, although it must be remembered that the Danish Government had, at the time of the entry of the Federal troops, made their reserves against an act for which there was not the shadow of a legal pretext, and which they would have been perfectly justified in resisting, and probably would have resisted, had it not been for the desire of following the advice of other Powers not to precipitate hostilities.

No. 1014.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Russell.—(*Received February* 22, 1864.)

My Lord, *Munich, February* 17, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of February 12th, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the projected Conference of the Ministers of the minor German States is definitively agreed upon, and will take place to-morrow at Würzburg.

The Conference will be attended by the Ministers of Wurtemberg, Saxony, Baden, Grand Ducal Hesse, Nassau, and probably Saxe-Weimar. Baron Schrenk has notified to me his departure to-day on leave of absence for a few days, during which time the Minister of the Interior is provisionally charged with the direction of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The Governments of the King of Hanover and of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel have declined to attend the Conference, stating that under existing circumstances they did not consider that the moment was a favourable one for the purpose for which the Conference was called.

The object of the Conference, as I have already had the honour to report to your Lordship, is to enable the several Governments represented thereat to come to an agreement as to the course to be pursued by the Diet in the event of the recognition by that Body of the claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, and to further, as far as may be possible, that eventuality.

There can be no doubt that the minor States of Germany are impelled in this direction by the popular opinion. In Wurtemberg, Baden, Grand Ducal Hesse, and even in this country, popular meetings have been held with a view to constrain the several Governments to acknowledge at once Prince Frederick of Augustenburg as Duke of Holstein, and to adopt measures for safeguarding the rights and interests of Germany in the Duchies.

The Bavarian Provincial Press has of late contained articles animadverting in strong terms on the apathy and want of energy and decision of the Bavarian Government in the question of the Holstein Succession. It is evident therefore that the Bavarian Government, and those Governments acting in common with them, feel that something must be done to satisfy and calm public opinion, fearing that if unappeased, the popular will may eventually set aside and supplant the authority of the Governments.

The late incident at Altona when the Prussian Commander proceeded to occupy the town in opposition to a protest of the Federal Commissioner and the Federal Commander, has produced great irritation here. It is regarded as a wilful infraction by Prussia of the Federal obligations, and as a proof that it is the wish and object of M. de Bismarck to set at naught the Diet and to disparage its authority. The whole responsibility of this act is attributed here to M. de Bismarck, and Austria is held blameless in the matter.

Your Lordship is no doubt already informed of the protests made at the Diet by several of the German Governments against this infraction of the Federal law. Baron Schrenk, I am privately informed, instructed M. von der Pfordten to enter a protest of a similar nature on the part of Bavaria, but he at the same time advised that no steps should be taken which could bring about a collision between the Prussian and Federal troops.

A proposal has now been made to the Diet by the Saxon Government to replace the original reserves for the Federal troops of Execution which had been furnished by Austria and Prussia, but which had been subsequently with the permission of the Diet relieved from that duty, by troops of the Confederation from the 7th and 8th corps. This proposal will be supported by Bavaria, and will probably be agreed to by a majority of the Diet. In this case Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, and Grand Ducal Hesse will have to furnish the necessary contingent.

This measure, under existing circumstances, and in view of the growing dissensions between the two Great Powers and the minor German States, is one of serious import. It

cannot now be admitted that the Federal troops of Execution in Holstein are exposed to any sudden attack from a Danish army on the Eider; consequently the reinforcing of the Federal army in that Duchy can only be regarded as a measure of precaution and defence against any encroachment on the Federal authority in Holstein, and will I fear be viewed, more especially after the incident at Altona, in the light of a menace against Prussia.

Thus the antagonism between the two German Powers and the minor States will be augmented, and the danger of a collision will become greater if unforeseen events should, as in the case of the occupation of Altona, cause any fresh dissension to spring up between the Commander-in-chief of the allied army in Schleswig and the Federal Commander in Holstein.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 1015.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, February* 19, 1864.

ABOUT a fortnight ago the Minister of Finance brought before the Chamber of Deputies on the part of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for War, a proposal for opening for the latter a credit of 1,500,000 florins to cover certain necessary expenses in the War Department.

This proposal having been referred to the Finance Committee, their Report was brought up on the 17th instant, and it recommended the adoption of the Government proposal, with a considerable reduction, however, of the estimate for the purchase of horses and military stores, and the recommendation that the Government should not disburse this reduced sum even, before they had decided on the mobilization of the whole Federal contingent of the country.

The Chamber received this Report yesterday, but decided without debate to defer entering into a consideration of it until after the Ministerial Conferences at Würzburg were brought to a conclusion, on the ground that they would exercise a powerful influence on the matter in hand, and because it would be proper that the Minister for Foreign Affairs should attend the discussion.

The Finance Committee had received explanations from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and War to aid them in adopting their decision on the Government proposals, and this Report, contrary to all precedent, embodied the Ministerial explanations so received, and which have been in such cases hitherto considered as confidential. I have not heard yet on what grounds the Committee considered themselves justified in departing from established usage in so important a particular.

As the above Ministerial explanations contain important disclosures of the views and policy of this Government in regard to the Holstein Succession Question, and specially as to the necessity for the Governments which advocate the right of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg to hold their Federal contingents in readiness for the purpose of supporting that Prince's claim if it should be adopted by the Diet, I have the honour to transmit herewith those portions of the Report of the Committee in original and translation.

It is worthy of remark that in these Ministerial explanations, the Duchy of Holstein only is referred to, whereas in all previous Government references to this subject the two Duchies have always been combined in the term Schleswig-Holstein, and the right of Succession of Prince Frederick to both has been hitherto always advocated by this Government.

I learn that the Chambers will in all probability be prorogued very shortly, from the opinion that it is advisable that the Legislature should not be assembled whilst the present delicate discussions are going on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. J. R. GORDON.

Inclosure in No. 1015.

Extract from Wurtemberg Newspaper.

(Translation.)

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke as follows in answer to Herr Probst:—

"The Royal Government has made the most energetic representations both in the

Committee of the Diet and the General Assembly to the intent that the London Protocol may not be permitted to have any influence on the Succession question; it has also as energetically endeavoured to hasten the decision of the Succession question. Quite recently it has instructed the Minister at the Diet to express himself most decidedly in favour of the calling together of the Holstein States. The Bavarian Minister at the Diet has now completed his detailed work, which was frequently interrupted owing to incidental questions on which he had likewise to report; the Minister (Hügel), however, did not consider himself as yet justified in giving any precise information as to its contents, but considered he might say so much, viz., that in the general report, firstly, it is shown that the London Protocol is not binding on the Diet, in the more special portion the arguments are based on the real union of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, that firstly, however, it would be demanded from the Diet to give its decision as to the pretensions of the two claimants to Holstein, that the motion in its chief and essential points runs that Prince Frederick of Augustenburg should be acknowledged as legitimate Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. Now the object is to carry out an immediate and already projected agreement with a view to coming speedily to a vote on the motion, and to settle the proper means thereunto. Now, therefore, a vote is come to, the question is what actual steps are to be taken. In this respect the Minister of Foreign Affairs and all the other Ministers were of opinion that the Governments which are true to the Confederation must recognize the obligation not to refuse to the Duke support of his rights on Holstein, and even still further to proceed in this sense to the very extreme bounds to which it is rationally possible to go.

"In the event of the right of Succession being decided by the majority, it was not merely in the bounds of possibility, but also of probability, that the Diet would require the Governments forming the majority to place their contingents in marching order, either partially or entirely at the disposition of the Diet, an eventuality which leads to this, viz., that preparations must be made now at once, which if put off will be doubled or tripled in expense. The Wurtemberg Government has acted throughout in the most correct manner from the very beginning, and it will still be guided strictly by the demands of right and in particular express itself to the Diet in the sense that when he is recognized by the Diet, the Duke of Holstein may be granted every protection in his rightful claims to which he is entitled by the Federal Laws, and which may be practicable. To make, however, any more distinct declaration as to what measures might in such a case be taken by the Diet was in the present state of affairs impossible. Political wisdom moreover demanded that at a moment when war has already broken out, and other nations are further advanced than we are in military preparations, we also should be ready for any contingency."

The Minister of War expressed himself as follows:—

"The Diet, in case of necessity, would probably call out a division of the 7th and one of the 8th Corps d'Armée, as the services of Saxony and Hanover have already been demanded. Bavaria had since 1859 not reverted to its entire peace footing, and its division could march at a moment's notice. In Baden, already in December 1863, the same demands were made to the States as those now being made in Wurtemberg, and the Chambers have already acceded to them.

"Hesse had also made its preparations. Wurtemberg would therefore alone hold back if she did not at once arm herself. The immediate provisioning also was desirable in a financial point of view, seeing that the prices after a resolution for mobilization rise immediately. The Minister of War added that the Wurtemberg Government were convinced that Duke Frederick would be acknowledged by the Diet, and then must be protected in his rights. This protection could, however, only consist in the occupation of his country."

No. 1016.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 19, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Government have received reports from Marshal Wrangel of a successful attack made yesterday on an advanced post of the Danish army at Buffel-Koppel, a position in front of Düppel.

The Danes were obliged to retire into their entrenchments, leaving an officer and sixty men in the hands of the Prussians, who had two men killed and ten wounded.

There has also been a skirmish between some Danish and Prussian cavalry, near the frontiers of Jutland, in which the latter are reported to have been the victors.

It is also announced to the public that a Danish iron-clad, supposed to be a cupola ship on the Coles principle, endeavoured to destroy a pontoon bridge at Eckernsund, but had been obliged to desist by the Prussian strand batteries, established in the neighbourhood of Holnis and Rinkenis.

From a trustworthy source I learn that these batteries were armed with breech-loading rifled guns, so called 12-pounders, but carrying oblong shot, 60 lbs. in weight; that they fired at a distance of 1,400 yards; and that, as reference to the map will show, they apparently prevented, by a flanking fire, the Danish vessel from reaching her destination at Eckernsund.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1017.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 19, 1864.

M. DE BISMARCK, in speaking to me this morning of the orders given to Danish cruizers to capture German vessels at sea and of the intention of the Danish Government to blockade the coasts of Germany, said it would be quite impossible for the Governments of Austria and Prussia, under such circumstances, to limit their operations to the Duchy of Schleswig, as the country would not be satisfied unless the war were carried into Jutland. Nothing, indeed, he said, could prevent the latter measure but an immediate armistice, which he was ready to accept if the German vessels already captured were restored, and the Danes evacuated the Island of Alsen, which could be neutralized during any Conferences that might take place. This is a concession upon his terms of last week, but I merely replied that the Danes did not seem anxious for an armistice, and I acquainted him with the language which your Lordship had held to Count Apponyi as to the view which Her Majesty's Government take of the measures to which Denmark has resorted to meet the unjustifiable invasion of her territory by Austria and Prussia.

I then asked what military operations were likely to be carried on in the meanwhile to expel the Danes from Düppel, and as he replied that the position would be besieged by regular approaches, and its capture would be a mere question of time, I observed that it seemed to me that if the position were taken and if the *tête de pont* to Alsen were in the hands of the Prussian army, it would be quite impossible for any Danish troops in the island to cross to the mainland. He replied that the difficulty of crossing from the island would, however, be less than I supposed, as the coast on the mainland was entirely commanded by that of the island. If this be so it may, perhaps, explain his Excellency's readiness now to accept the neutralisation of the island, and also reports which have reached me from different sources that it is not intended to attack it. I have heard, however, from a trustworthy person, that the military authorities consider that on the fall of Düppel there will be no difficulty in occupying Alsen, as the Prussian batteries which will be established on the mainland will effectually prevent the Danish ships of war from passing through the Sound.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1018.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 20, 1864.

AT an interview yesterday with M. de Bismarck, his Excellency mentioned to me that a deputation of the States of Schleswig had arrived at Berlin, to acquaint the King with the sentiments of the people of the Duchy, and afterwards proceed to Vienna to make a similar communication to the Emperor of Austria. His Excellency said that he had seen some of the members of the deputation, and had represented to them the inexpediency of their supporting the claims of the Prince of Augustenburg, for though the question of the validity of His Highness's title to the Ducal Crown of Holstein might be treated by the German Diet, his claim to the sovereignty of Schleswig could only be decided by an European arrangement, and thus by carrying their cause before two tribunals, which would probably not see it in the same light, they might render the union

of Schleswig and Holstein impossible. His Excellency said that this view of the matter seemed to make some impression upon them, and while they requested him to see the other members of the deputation on the subject, they explained to him that they had adopted the cause of the Prince of Augustenburg as the only means by which they saw any prospect of being relieved from Danish oppression, but that no arrangement for that object would be satisfactory to them, which did not also secure the union of the Duchies.

I asked whether he meant to say that the gentlemen with whom he had spoken were likely to be induced to hold different language to the King from that which they intended to do on their arrival. But his Excellency replied that as they had brought an address to the King in writing, they could not make any change in its contents. I then observed that it was reported in town, that his Excellency, on receiving a deputation of professors from the University of Kiel, had suggested to them that the Duke of Oldenburg would have been a better candidate to put forward for the sovereignty of the Duchy than the Prince of Augustenburg. His Excellency replied he had certainly said so; but he had merely mentioned the Duke to the deputation, to show that the Prince of Augustenburg might have other claimants to contend with beside the King of Denmark, if the rights of His Majesty were set aside.

I am told that his Excellency said that, if the Treaty were set aside, the Emperor of Russia would have an undoubted claim to a large portion of Holstein, which he would probably be disposed to cede to the Duke of Oldenburg, whereas the Prince of Augustenburg could only claim a very limited portion of the Duchy, for which some compensation might perhaps be found for him in the Duchy of Oldenburg.

No. 1019.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 19, 1864.

I UNDERSTAND that a Convention was signed on the 16th instant between Prussia and Oldenburg, in virtue of which a further cession of territory has been made to the former at Jahde, in order that the size of the harbour may be increased, and several forts be constructed for its defence; Prussia engaging, on the other hand, to form a commercial port, and build a town for commercial purposes at Jahde, and connect them with Oldenburg by a railway; and further, if she can obtain the consent of Hanover, to connect Jahde with the Minden Railway by a line through Osnabruck; and in the event of the consent of Hanover being refused, to pay 1,000,000 dollars to the Duke of Oldenburg.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1020.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 20, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date, I have had some conversation to-day with M. de Bismarck respecting a report which has reached Berlin of the frontier of Jutland having been crossed by the Danish army.

His Excellency said the intelligence had caused the King the greatest dissatisfaction, as His Majesty had sent instructions to Marshal Wrangel, on the 15th instant, which expressly stated no troops were to cross the frontier without orders from His Majesty; and as a despatch had been received from the head-quarters, dated the 18th instant, stating that these orders had not reached the advance posts of the army in time to prevent their entrance into Jutland, Marshal Wrangel had been called upon to explain why orders which he must have received on the 16th instant had not reached the vanguard of the army before the 18th instant. I inquired whether the troops would be recalled, and his Excellency replied that, though the movement had been premature, he believed orders would not only be given to hold the territory which they now occupy, but that they would afterwards be instructed to advance from time to time as captures of Prussian vessels might be effected by Danish cruizers. His Excellency said it could not be expected that Prussia would submit tamely to the seizure of her vessels and to the blockade of her ports, when she could obtain compensation for such losses by levying contributions on the population of Jutland, a means of compensation to which she could not have recourse in Schleswig, which her troops had entered to protect the people against the oppression of Denmark.

No. 1021.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 20, 1864.

IN answer to some inquiries which I addressed yesterday to M. de Bismarck as to the nature of General Manteuffel's mission to Dresden, from whence he had returned the previous evening, his Excellency said that General Manteuffel had been sent to remonstrate against the attitude which the Saxon Government had assumed towards the Prussian military authorities in Holstein, and to explain to them that their continued opposition to the policy of the two great German Powers in the question of the Danish Duchies cannot be tolerated.

M. de Bismarck said no satisfactory answer had yet been received from the Government of Saxony. In the meanwhile General Manteuffel had proceeded with a mission on the same subject to Hanover, but of a more friendly character, as the Hanoverian Government had abstained from joining Saxony and her associates in their hostile proceedings against Austria and Prussia.

I asked whether there was not a question of inducing Saxony and Hanover to withdraw their troops from Holstein, and to leave the two great Powers in possession of both Duchies. He said such an arrangement was the only reasonable one possible, and that he intended to propose it to the Diet; and if I am correctly informed, an attempt will also be made to induce the Diet to leave the management of the whole question with Denmark, in the hands of the two great Powers, with a reservation, perhaps, that it shall be eventually consulted as to the terms of the peace which may be made with the Danish Government.

I asked M. de Bismarck what he would do if the Diet declined to withdraw the Federal troops from Holstein; and from his answer it would appear that if Austria will consent to their being forced to retire, he is quite prepared to have recourse to that extreme measure.

No. 1022.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 20, 1864.

THE arrangement which has been come to with the Duke of Oldenburg for the extension and development of the port at Jahde may perhaps explain the goodwill entertained by the Prussian Government towards the Duke of Oldenburg.

But, on the other hand, as I am told that the Convention has been ready for a year, but that the Duke of Oldenburg hesitated to sanction its signature, it is not impossible there may be some connection between its having been signed on the 16th instant, and M. de Bismarck's having spoken approvingly a day or two afterwards to a deputation from Kiel of the Duke of Oldenburg's claims to the sovereignty of the Duchy of Holstein.

No. 1023.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, February* 19, 1864.

I HAD the honour of receiving this day your Lordship's despatches of the 15th and of the 17th instant, the former narrating a conversation held by your Lordship with the Austrian Ambassador on the subject of the instructions given by the Danish Government to their cruizers to capture not only Austrian and Prussian, but likewise Hanoverian and other German vessels, the latter relating to the embargo laid on two Danish ships at Elsinore.

I saw Count Platen during the course of the day, and communicated to him the substance of your Lordship's above-mentioned despatches. His Excellency characterized the hostile act of the Danish Government in capturing and laying an embargo on Hanoverian vessels, Hanover not being at war with Denmark, as a violation of the law of nations, and as releasing Hanover from all her obligations to Denmark. He went so far as to say that it would justify Hanover in delivering letters of marque to American privateers to capture Danish vessels. I objected that there was no evidence that the Danish Govern-

ment contemplated employing any other vessels than their men-of-war in capturing German vessels; and that the Hanoverian Government were precluded, as were the Danish Government, by their accession to the Declaration of the Congress of Paris, by which privateering was abolished, from issuing letters of marque. But his Excellency replied that Denmark, by proceeding to acts of hostility without a previous declaration of war, had violated the usages of war, and had released Hanover from the obligation of observing that declaration. On my part I contested this assertion, and remarked that were Denmark to use reprisals by having recourse to privateering, she might inflict more injury upon Hanover than Hanover on Denmark.

His Excellency then stated that the German Diet, in its sitting of the 18th instant, had resolved in retaliation for the embargo laid by Denmark on other German vessels than Austrian and Prussian, to embargo Danish vessels in all the German ports, but that if Denmark allowed a term for German vessels to depart from Danish ports the Diet would make a similar allowance to Danish vessels.

His Excellency further informed me that he had not yet received any answer to the remonstrance which he had addressed to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs against the embargo laid on Hanoverian vessels.

No. 1024.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, February* 19, 1864.

I LEARN that the Prussian Minister at this Court, in virtue of instructions from his Government, has recently on two occasions urged the Hanoverian Government to vote with Austria and Prussia for the rejection of the Resolution proposed by the majority of the Holstein Committee of the Diet relative to the Treaty of London of the 8th of May, 1852, but that hitherto he has not received any definitive answer.

Count Platen treats the Resolution as innocuous, because it only affirms the incontestable proposition that the Diet is not bound by the Treaty of 1852, and demurs now to vote against it, after the Hanoverian Envoy had associated himself to it in the Committee, by way of compromise with the other middle States, in order to prevent the latter from bringing forward a proposal for the immediate recognition of the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Holstein.

No. 1025.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 20, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DE MANTEUFFEL, Aide-de-camp General of His Majesty the King of Prussia, arrived here early yesterday morning from Berlin, the bearer of a letter from his Sovereign to the King of Hanover, and was received during the course of the same day by His Majesty at Herrenhausen, where he had the honour of dining with the Royal Family. The General has likewise had interviews with Count Platen.

Count Platen assured me to-day that the only object of His Prussian Majesty's letter, as well as of General de Manteuffel's mission, was to offer, on the part of His Majesty, full explanations to His Hanoverian Majesty on the subject of the recent proceedings of Field-Marshal de Wrangel relative to the occupation of certain towns in Holstein which had given rise to differences with the Federal Commissioners in that Duchy. His Prussian Majesty attributes these proceedings to a mistake founded upon an interpretation of the instructions transmitted by the Holstein Committee of the Diet to the Federal Commissioners, and gives the assurance that they were by no means undertaken with a view to interfere with the Federal Execution in Holstein, or to trench upon the rights of the Confederation. His Prussian Majesty represents, however, that the proposed occupation by Prussian troops of the three points of Altona, Kiel, and Neumünster is indispensable for the maintenance of the free communications of the allied armies operating in Schleswig, and he requests the King of Hanover to use his endeavours with a view of bringing about an agreement at the Diet on this subject favourable to his wishes. At the same time he thanks His Hanoverian Majesty for the exertions he had made to prevent a conflict arising out of the affair.

Count Platen, who gave me the foregoing particulars, further informed me that the

King of Hanover had declared his readiness to comply with His Prussian Majesty's request.

After thanking Count Platen for the information he had been so good as to give me, I observed that no doubt the ostensible objects of General de Manteuffel's mission were such as he had described to me, but I inquired whether there were not others involved in it, and whether, for example, he was not charged to come to an understanding with the Hanoverian Government for the transfer of the Federal Execution in Holstein from Hanover and Saxony to Austria and Prussia, or in respect to the Succession question, or as to a resistance to be opposed to the sending of Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops to Holstein to act as Federal reserves, or for the eventual purpose of establishing the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Holstein after his recognition as such by the Diet.

His Excellency replied that I had probably heard the report current in the town that General de Manteuffel had come to propose a defensive alliance between Hanover and Prussia, but that it was altogether false, and that if I were to give credence to it, or to the other assumed objects of the General's mission to which I had referred, I should be deceiving myself, as they did not exist; and he repeated that its real objects did not go beyond what he had stated to me, though he did not deny that the general state of affairs had been discussed with the General.

In answer to an inquiry of mine his Excellency said that he believed that General de Manteuffel's mission to Dresden had at least made an impression upon the King of Saxony.

General de Manteuffel took his departure again to-day for Berlin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1026.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 20, 1864.

IN to-day's sitting of the Second Chamber a petition was presented from the Committee for the defence of the rights of Schleswig-Holstein, praying that the Government should be urged immediately to withdraw from the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, to acknowledge the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke, and to protect the menaced rights of Schleswig-Holstein.

In the same sitting M. de Benningsen (the President of the National Verein) submitted the following proposal, which was supported by several members:—

"To name a Joint Committee, composed of seven members of each of the two Chambers, for the purpose of deliberating and reporting upon the most appropriate resolutions to be taken by the States-General in order to protect and give effect to the threatened rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, and of their legitimate Duke Frederick VIII."

The fact of M. de Benningsen having been chosen one of the Syndics of the Chamber almost unanimously shows how strong his party is, and one must be prepared for the same demonstrations on the questions of Schleswig and Holstein which have taken place in every other German Legislative Assembly.

A notification of the Ministry of Finance and Commerce, published in this evening's Hanoverian Gazette, announces that the Danish Government have given orders for the capture of all German vessels on the high seas.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1027.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 19, 1864.

IN the sitting of the Diet held yesterday a special commission was appointed on the basis of Article XVIII of the final Act of Vienna, to take into consideration the complaint of the Government of Oldenburg for violation of Grand Ducal territory in marching troops to Schleswig without previous notice, and in contempt of permission refused.

Various reports from the Civil Commissioners and General von Hake from Holstein

were laid before the Assembly, relating principally, as I understand, to the recent conflict of jurisdiction arising from the military occupation of the points which the Prussian Commander-in-chief deems essential for the security of his communications.

It is said that in one of their reports the Saxon and Hanoverian Commissaries intimate their readiness to resign unless they possess the confidence of the Diet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 1028.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 19, 1864.

WITH reference to Lord Augustus Loftus' despatch of the 17th instant, which has reached me under flying seal, I have the honour to communicate the result of an inquiry I have been led to make from finding the following paragraph in his Lordship's despatch:—

"A proposal has now been made to the Diet by the Saxon Government to replace the original reserves for the Federal troops of Execution, which had been furnished by Austria and Prussia, but which had been subsequently, with the permission of the Diet, relieved from that duty by troops of the Confederation from the 7th and 8th Corps."

The official report of the sitting of the 13th instant, on which I had the honour of reporting to your Lordship in my despatch of February 15, contained no notice of any such proposition.

I have, however, ascertained that Lord Augustus' information is substantially correct, although the proposition was not published. This reticence was observed, as is said, on account of its being an incidental proposition, *i. e.*, one of which no notice had been given, but which arose out of General von Hake's complaint of the occupation of Altona, &c., by Prussian troops.

It was however, I learn, inserted on the Protocol of the day's proceedings, and referred to the Committee.

Lord Augustus Loftus observes, with much justice, that as the Federal troops in Holstein are in no danger of any sudden attack from the Danes, the measure can only be regarded as one of precaution against Austrian and Prussian interference; and as the proposition avowedly arose from the incident of the Prussian occupation of Altona, there can be no doubt as to the aim of the Saxon proposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 1029.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 20, 1864.

NOTHING positive can yet be gathered here as to the motives or results of the Ministerial Conferences held on the 18th instant at Würzburg, which is the chief subject of Lord Augustus Loftus's despatch of February 17.

Of the secondary and middle States, Hanover and Electoral Hesse alone abstained from sending Representatives on this occasion, and it has caused some surprise that Prince Wittgenstein attended on the part of Nassau, that Government having hitherto distinguished itself by moderation in the period of agitation through which Germany is passing.

I find that the greatest embarrassment expected to be caused to Austria and Prussia from anything that may be concerted at Würzburg is looked for in what may be agreed upon in reference to the Succession question.

The Bavarian, Baden, and some perhaps of the other Cabinets, not only pretend that Holstein and Schleswig must be certainly placed under the rule of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, but will, it is supposed, try to get their confederates who have met at Würzburg to engage themselves to establish the Prince in the Duchies by force of arms.

The Baden Government has been endeavouring to get a large force (350,000 men) put on a war footing to vindicate the pretensions of the secondary States against Austria and Prussia, and would not, as it would seem, hesitate at provoking civil war. It is not, however, likely that these extreme measures will be resorted to, though the irritation and

hatred at present prevailing against the two Great Powers would be very likely to lead to rash proceedings if these feelings were not tempered by salutary fear of consequences.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET

No. 1030.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, February* 20, 1864.

ALL possible pressure is being put on the several Governments which have either recognized Prince Frederick of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, or which have shown any disposition to support his pretensions, to press for a decision in his favour in the Diet.

The Würtemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt Chambers have addressed their Governments in this sense, and the latter Body has expressed a wish that military means should be held in readiness for enforcing what they assume to be the indubitable rights of Prince Frederick to the Duchies. Their position also demands reinforcement of the Federal troops in Holstein and a share in the occupation of Schleswig.

On Thursday next, as I had the honour of stating in my despatch of the 13th instant, that part of M. von der Pfordten's Report which concerns the Diet's estimate of the validity of the Treaty of London of 1852 will be submitted to the vote of the Diet.

This vote, as I have already stated, is meant to clear the way for the Diet's decision upon the question of Succession, and the judgment of the majority of that Body may be looked upon as a foregone conclusion.

How much longer the decision may be delayed it is not very easy to pronounce. The pressure to force it on is, as I have mentioned in the beginning of this despatch, very great, and though Austria and Prussia use all the means in their power to create delay, their resources in this respect are, I apprehend, nearly exhausted.

No. 1031.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 22, 1854.

THE pertinacity with which the Governments of Austria and Prussia insist upon the withdrawal of the Danish forces from the Island of Alsen as a previous condition to the establishment of an armistice, is to be explained by the conviction which they appear to entertain that the continued occupation of the Island by the Danes would be highly advantageous to the latter in a strategical point of view, and by their consequent desire to deprive the Danes of the advantage which they would derive from being left in undisturbed possession of the Island.

The Danish Government, on the other hand, insist on retaining military possession of Alsen, and decline to accept an armistice on any other condition than that of the entire evacuation of Schleswig by the German forces.

Her Majesty's Government are, however, impressed with the conviction that the wish of the Danish Government for the evacuation of Schleswig can only be realised when that Government shall be prepared to give some sufficient security for the good and equal Government of the subjects of the King of Denmark of German origin who may be resident in the Duchy. And Her Majesty's Government think it may be fairly asked whether the Danish Government are prepared to do so, and also whether they contemplate the organization of the Danish Monarchy on a different footing.

Her Majesty's Government are very well disposed towards Denmark, and would willingly assist her in extricating herself from the difficulties in which she is now involved; but Her Majesty's Government cannot lose sight of the just claims of the German subjects of the King, and they desire to act in this matter in concert with the allies of Great Britain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1032.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 16, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to your Lordship's instruction of the 9th instant, that the Danish Minister at this Court has presented to the Imperial Cabinet the application for assistance referred to by your Lordship as having been also addressed to the Governments of England, France, and Sweden.

Prince Gortchakoff was so good as to show me the communication of the Danish Government, and the draft of the reply which he had prepared to this overture.

It will be imparted to your Lordship by Baron Brunnow.

The reply of the Vice-Chancellor expresses the deep interest with which the Imperial Government has followed the incidents of the controversy between Denmark and Germany, and deplores the circumstances which have prevented the advice of Russia being listened to on either side. It states that the Imperial Cabinet does not despair of bringing the questions at issue to a pacific solution, and contains an assurance of sympathy and good offices. The Vice-Chancellor does not say one word of assistance in the sense of material aid, nor does he make any categorical assertion of adherence to the Treaty of 1852, although his expressions imply a general recognition of the value and the validity belonging to the engagements of that period.

I remarked to Prince Gortchakoff that no answer was given to the Danish application for material assistance.

The Vice-Chancellor replied that the Danish note did not ask for material assistance, the word "material" was not in it.

I contended that the circumstances and the terms of the application seemed to imply an application for armed succour.

The Prince observed that it was not for him to divine the latent motives or wishes of the Danish Cabinet, and raise a question which was not distinctly before him. He replied to the application of Denmark as he received it.

Your Lordship remarks that you would be glad to be made acquainted with the views of the Imperial Cabinet as to the terms on which peace might be restored between the present belligerents.

To this inquiry Prince Gortchakoff replied that his moral concert and co-operation would be afforded to the largest extent to Her Majesty's Government with a view to the restoration of peace. Referring to a conversation which had taken place between your Lordship and Baron Brunnow he observed that his aim, like that of Her Majesty's Government, was the preservation of Denmark, in conjunction with the satisfaction of Germany. Your Lordship having, however, alluded, in speaking to Baron Brunnow, to the intimate knowledge which the Russian Cabinet possessed of the secret intentions of the German Cabinets, he must remark that he possessed no such knowledge; he was abandoned, like others, to conjecture: he doubted whether the Governments of Austria and Prussia themselves had a distinct foreknowledge of their future course. In this darkness and uncertainty the only reply which he could give to your Lordship's inquiry was embodied in the word "Conference." The questions at issue between Germany and Denmark must be brought under the control of all the parties interested. In a Conference alone could such a control be obtained. In the meantime we must, said the Vice-Chancellor, be most careful not to allow the thread to be broken which attached the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin to the engagements of 1852: at Vienna that thread was more substantial; at Berlin it was looser; at both we must preserve it until the meeting of the Conference, in which alone those ties could be consolidated.

No. 1033.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 17, 1864.

YOUR Lordship's despatch of February 10th states the grounds on which Her Majesty's Government are unable to reply to two questions put by Prince Gortchakoff, namely:

1. What was the nature and what the extent of the armed assistance which Her Majesty's Government proposed in certain contingencies to afford to Denmark; and

2. Whether Her Majesty's Government proposed to afford such aid only in

combination with all the Powers signataries of the Treaty of London, or with some of them or even alone.

I read your Lordship's despatch to Prince Gortchakoff, which points out that it would be premature to reply to these questions before ascertaining whether Russia admitted the principle of affording material aid to preserve the integrity of Denmark, for on the determination of Russia the resolution of Her Majesty's Government must in part depend. A concert having been once established between Russia and England on this point, the answers to the questions of the Vice-Chancellor would naturally follow. I concluded by asking Prince Gortchakoff whether he admitted the principle of giving material aid to Denmark.

The Prince replied that "he could not answer this question until the intentions of the other Powers signataries of the Treaty of London had been ascertained."

His Excellency then touched, but lightly, on the position of Russia at the present conjuncture, which renders it difficult for the Imperial Cabinet to take the leading part in dealing with this question. His Excellency did not, however, say that in no circumstances would Russia interfere by force of arms to preserve Denmark from dismemberment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 1034.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 17, 1864.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF informed me yesterday that Count Rechberg was "much alarmed" by the intelligence that that the Danish cruizers were taking possession at sea of vessels belonging to the States of the German Confederation as well as of those belonging to Austria and Prussia, and that the Austrian Minister contended that Denmark ought to grant the same warning and delay of six weeks to ships of belligerents at sea which they granted to the same class of vessels in port. The Vice-Chancellor remarked that if the Danes continued to seize the ships of the Confederation they would be involved in hostilities with that Body; the war would become more general, the interests of Denmark would be endangered, and the restoration of peace would be rendered more difficult.

I observed to the Vice-Chancellor that the Confederation had already committed an act of hostility against Denmark by affording to the Austrian and Prussian troops a free passage through Federal territory to attack Schleswig, a Danish province, and that it might be doubted whether the Danes would incur any great practical disadvantage by adding the troops of the German Confederation to the enemies by which the Danish forces were so much outnumbered.

The Prince contended in reply that it was idle to discuss whether the Germans were in principle engaged in hostilities against Denmark or not. We were not obliged to discover and affirm that such was the case. Our duty was to mitigate and diminish the causes of provocation as much as possible; nor could it be indifferent to Denmark even in a military point of view if the troops of the Confederation should be added to the forces now before the entrenchments of Düppel and Alsen. Being animated by a spirit of conciliation, he had addressed by telegraph to the Danish Govnrnment a representation advising them in their own interest to observe a moderate course in this matter. He trusted Her Majesty's Government would do the same.

I said to the Prince that while I was deeply sensible of the injustice to which the Danish Government was subjected, I could not but recognize the expediency and wisdom of abstaining from increasing the irritation of the German Powers. I would therefore lose no time in informing Her Majesty's Government of his views and wishes on the point under discussion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 1035.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 17, 1864.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF has stated to me more than once that the moral concert and co-operation of the Imperial Cabinet would be afforded to Her Majesty's Government in the largest measure with a view to the settlement of the controversies between Denmark and Germany.

In fulfilment of this declaration, the Vice-Chancellor has on more than one occasion addressed to the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin despatches of an admonitory character, with the view of confirming them in their wavering adherence to their international obligations, and of convincing them of the dangers which would be attached to a serious alienation from Her Majesty's Government.

I am bound to submit my impression to your Lordship, in justice to Prince Gortchakoff, that nothing could be more zealous and well-intentioned than the course pursued by the Vice-Chancellor in this matter. He could only do more by using the language of direct menace to the German Powers and by promising material aid to Denmark; but the position of Russia justifies Prince Gortchakoff in pausing on the threshold of such a policy, and his Excellency has never as yet held out to Her Majesfy's Government any expectation that he would proceed to such extremities.

No. 1036.

Mr. Jerningham to Earl Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(Extract.) *Stockholm, February* 16, 1864.

COUNT MANDERSTRÖM has read to me a despatch which he recently addressed to the Swedish Representatives in London, Paris, and St. Petersburgh, and which was to be communicated to the respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs, regarding a request for material assistance against Germany which had been made to this Government by that of Denmark, and maintaining the attitude already for some time assumed, namely, that while Sweden wished to preserve her liberty of action, she was ready to co-operate with other Powers for the defence of Denmark.

Your Lordship will have heard that this Government were making preparations to be in a position to send 20,000 men to Denmark by the end of the present month, in the event of the cooperation of either England or France.

No. 1037.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(Extract.) *Berlin. February* 21, 1864.

I HAD some further conversation this morning with M. de Bismarck on the subject of the entrance of the Prussian army into Jutland, and his Excellency said that General Moltke, who had just returned from the army, had explained that the frontier of the province had been first passed in a cavalry skirmish and that as the most advanced portion of the army was constantly open to attack by the Danes, it had been necessary to occupy Kolding for the security and shelter of the troops, who could not live in the fields in the present inclement weather. I said that according to such reasoning the Prussian army might advance till it reached the northernmost point of Jutland, and I observed that your Lordship would perhaps think that the explanations which his Excellency had given to me yesterday as to orders having been sent to Marshal Wrangel on the 15th instant would themselves require to be explained, for if the Marshal had not previously received authority to enter Jutland, he would not have required orders on the 15th not to do so. M. de Bismarck said that the Marshal's original orders were to occupy Schleswig, and if he were opposed, to take whatever military measures he might consider necessary for the security of his army. But, I said, an officer in carrying on war in one country could not occupy the territory of another and a neutral State, to provide for the security of his army; and Jutland, according to the past declarations of Austria and Prussia, was in the position of a neutral State in the present contest. M. de Bismarck said, that would have been the case if the Danish Government had accepted the Austro-Prussian occupation of Schleswig, and

had not issued orders for the capture of German vessels and the blockade of German ports; but that as Denmark was virtually at war with Prussia, Prussia could not limit her action to hostilities for the occupation of Schleswig. Orders would therefore be given to occupy the whole of Jutland, and Germany would hold it as a means of obtaining compensation for the German vessels captured by Danish cruizers; but if the provisional occupation of Schleswig by Austria and Prussia was acknowledged by Denmark and the captured vessels were restored, the Prussian troops would evacuate the former province.

I inquired what prospect there was of a Conference and negotiations for the restoration of peace. He answered that Prussia was ready to enter into Conference immediately with the Powers who had signed the Treaty of London, and that the advance of her troops into Jutland would not affect the declaration which she had made on this subject; but if a great many lives were sacrificed in the conquest of the entrenchments of Duppel and the Island of Alsen, one of the eventualities would have occurred which will entitle the Prussian Government to increase their demands on Denmark. I said that Her Majesty's Government would not, I believed, accept such an interpretation of his declaration of the 31st of January; and as to the sacrifices which might be necessary in order to complete the occupation of Schleswig, as Her Majesty's Government considered that measure unjustifiable, they were not likely—as indeed appeared from your Lordship's language in the House of Lords—to admit that they would afford Prussia any right to depart from her engagements to Great Britain.

With reference to the occupation of Kolding, I am assured on good authority that it formed a part of Marshal Wrangel's original plan of operations, as a means of closing the narrow channel between Jutland and Funen, and preventing the Danes from obtaining supplies or reinforcements from Jutland by that route.

No. 1038.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 21, 1864.

BARON GULDENCRONE, the Danish Secretary of Legation, who has maintained semi-official relations with the Prussian Government since the departure of M. de Quaade, has received orders to leave Berlin; and he has requested me to take charge of the archives of the Legation, and to protect the interests of Danish subjects in Prussia during the absence of an accredited Agent of his Sovereign.

In accordance with the authority which I received from your Lordship some time ago for this contingency, I have complied with M. de Guldencrone's request, and we have acquainted M. de Bismarck with the arrangement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1039.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 22, 1864.

WITH reference to that part of my despatch of the 20th instant, in which I report that the proceedings of Field-Marshal von Wrangel in respect to the occupation of Altona by Prussian troops had been attributed to a mistake by General de Manteuffel, His Prussian Majesty's Aide-de-camp on a special mission to the King of Hanover, I beg to state that the following is, I understand, the more detailed explanation given by him of the affair.

From the tenour of the instructions sent on the 9th instant by the Committee of the Diet to the Federal Commissioners in Holstein to afford every facility to the additional Prussian troops which were to enter that Duchy, the Prussian Government had conceived that no difficulties would be interposed by the Federal civil or military authorities to Prussian troops being quartered at Altona, Neumünster, and Kiel, to the amount of one battalion in each town, for the purpose of keeping up the communication and forwarding the supplies of the Prussian army in Schleswig. Such being the case, Field-Marshal von Wrangel wrote to General von Hake, the Federal Commander-in-chief in Holstein, to request him to concert with him the details of this partial occupation, and was by no means prepared for the opposition offered by the latter to the proposed measure, as he

had believed him to be already sufficiently instructed to admit of it. In the meantime the Prussian troops had been put in motion, and entered Altona before the resistance of the Federal Commissioners and General von Hake was foreseen.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1040.

*Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 23, 1864.

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency immediately to address to the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs a note to the following effect.

You will state that Her Majesty's Government witness with the deepest concern the calamities of the war now existing between Austria and Prussia on the one side and Denmark on the other, and are most anxious to contribute to the utmost of their ability to the re-establishment of friendly relations between those Powers.

With this view Her Majesty's Government propose to the three Powers to authorize their Plenipotentiaries at once to meet the Plenipotentiaries of the non-German Powers and of the German Diet in a Conference to be held in London, the deliberations of which should have for their object the restoration of peace in the north of Europe. Such Conference might, Her Majesty's Government consider, hold its sittings without any suspension of the hostilities now in progress, and accordingly they do not propose such suspension as a condition of its being assembled.

If the Powers engaged in hostilities agree to this proposal, Her Majesty's Government will invite the Governments of France, Russia and Sweden, as well as the Diet of the German Confederation, to name Representatives to take part in the proposed Conference.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1041.

Count Rechberg to Count Apponyi.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by Count Apponyi, February 24.)

M. le Comte, *Vienne, le* 18 *Février*, 1864.

LES dernières nouvelles que nous transmettent vos rapports rendent compte de l'irritation et des plaintes des Ministres Anglais au sujet de notre action militaire dans le Slesvig.

Il nous est difficile d'ajouter encore quelque chose aux arguments déjà employés pour expliquer notre conduite et aux assurances déjà données pour calmer les appréhensions soupçonneuses du Gouvernement Britannique.

Si nous ne réussissons pas à dissiper entièrement les défiances des Ministres Anglais, nous pourrions au moins leur demander de nous épargner des accusations d'une injustice évidente et qui sont en contradiction avec leur propre langage.

Nous ne comprenons pas, par exemple, comment Lord Palmerston peut qualifier d'aggression "inique" l'entrée des troupes Austro-Prussiennes dans le Slesvig, lorsque le Gouvernement Anglais a si souvent admis dans ses communications écrites et verbales que le Danemark avait violé ses engagements, et lorsque encore dans la discussion du 4me à la Chambre des Communes le Premier Ministre a déclaré que les deux grandes Puissances Allemandes avaient une juste cause de guerre contre le Danemark.

Si au lieu d'user dans toute sa rigeur du droit que Lord Palmerston lui-même leur reconnait, les deux Puissances ont préféré éviter une déclaration formelle de guerre et se contenter d'une occupation à titre de gage, c'est une preuve de modération de leur part. Loin de les blâmer, Lord Palmerston aurait dû louer l'Autriche et la Prusse pour rester conséquent avec ses propres paroles.

Il est une autre assertion de Lord Palmerston que nous ne pouvons laisser passer sans observations.

La doctrine que la guerre annulle les engagements antérieures entre les partis adverses est un principe de droit international si universellement proclamé que nous sommes fort surpris de le voir tout à coup contester avec tant de véhémence.

* Similar despatches were addressed to Sir A. Buchanan and Sir A. Paget.

Il ne s'agit pas d'ailleurs ici "d'un Etat fort attaquant un Etat faible sous un prétexte quelconque, afin de s'affranchir d'obligations incommodes." Le Gouvernement Anglais reconnaît, ainsi que je viens de le remarquer, qu'il existait une juste cause de guerre contre le Danemark. Nous aurions pu nous en prévaloir pour déclarer en effet la guerre, et dire que les Traités étaient déchirés. Mais c'est précisément ce que, par esprit de modération et pour prévenir de plus grosses complications, nous n'avons pas voulu faire. Il ne tenait qu'au Danemark de retirer ses troupes du Slesvig pour qu'il n'y eût pas de guerre. Nous aurions dans ce cas pris paisiblement possession de notre gage sans pousser plus loin les opérations militaires. Il n'y aurait alors pas eu d'hostilités, et les engagements réciproques auraient subsisté dans toute leur force, c'est-à-dire, que nous aurions dû nous contenter de l'exécution pure et simple des stipulations de 1851-52.

Si la guerre a éclaté de fait, par suite de la résistance du Danemark, c'est sur lui qu'en retombe la faute et la responsabilité, et si la situation s'est modifiée à son désavantage c'est à lui seul qu'il doit s'en prendre.

Aujourd'hui le sang versé et les sacrifices supportés nous donnent le droit incontestable de ne plus nous considérer comme liés par les engagements réciproques pris en 1851-52 entre les deux grandes Puissances Allemandes et le Danemark. Mais il faut distinguer ici entre deux ordres de faits.

Il y a d'abord le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise consacré par le Traité de Londres comme nécessaire au maintien de l'équilibre Européen.

Il y a ensuite la transaction relative à la nature des liens qui doivent unir entr'elles les différentes parties de la Monarchie Danoise.

Cette transaction, objet de longues négociations entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark, a été acceptée de part et d'autre, et définie par les engagements tant de fois cités.

Le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise est encore affirmé par les déclarations identiques du 31 Janvier. Il est placé sous la sauvegarde, non seulement du Traité de Londres, mais encore sous celle de la considération—très puissante à nos yeux—qu'un remaniement de la carte de l'Europe ne doit pas s'effectuer sans le concours et l'assentiment des Puissances intéressées au maintien de l'équilibre.

Abstraction faite du Traité de Londres, cette considération et le principe qui en dépend subsistent pour nous dans toute leur force, malgré les hostilités dans lesquelles nous nous trouvons engagés avec le Danemark.

Il en est autrement pour ce qui concerne la transaction de 1851-52 sur la nature des liens qui doivent unir entr'elles les différentes parties de la Monarchie Danoise. A cette époque, par exemple, en échange de la promesse donnée par le Danemark de ne point incorporer le Slesvig à la Monarchie proprement dite, les deux Grandes Puissances ont renoncé au maintien du lien étroit qui existait jadis entre le Holstein et le Slesvig. Depuis que les hostilités ont éclaté, elles ont affranchi les deux Puissances de l'obligation qui leur était imposée par cette rénonciation, et selon les évènements de la guerre, elles se croiront autorisées à poser à cet égard au Danemark des conditions nouvelles,

C'est dans ce sens que nous revendiquons cette liberté d'action que donne la guerre et que Lord Palmerston paraît nous contester dans un de ses derniers discours.

J'ai cru nécessaire d'entrer dans ces éclaircissements pour mettre votre Excellence à même de bien préciser notre attitude et de déterminer l'étendue de nos droits, aussi bien que celle de nos devoirs.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) RECHBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

THE last news which your reports transmit to us give an account of the irritation and complaints of the English Ministers on the subject of our military action in Schleswig.

It is difficult for us to add anything to the arguments already employed to explain our conduct, and to the assurances already given to calm the apprehensions and suspicions of the British Government.

If we do not succeed in entirely dissipating the mistrust of the English Ministers, we might at least ask them to spare us accusations which are evidently unjust, and which are in contradiction with their own language.

We do not understand, for example, how Lord Palmerson can qualify as an "iniquitous" aggression the entry of the Austro-Prussian troops into Schleswig, when the the English Government have so often admitted, in written and verbal communications, that Denmark had violated her engagements, and when, too, in the debate of the 4th in the House of Commons the Prime Minister declared that the two great Powers had just grounds for war against Denmark.

If, instead of exercising in all its rigour the right which Lord Palmerston himself

admits that they possess, the two Powers have preferred to avoid a formal declaration of war, and to content themselves with an occupation as a guarantee, this is a proof of moderation on their part. Far from blaming them, Lord Palmerston should have praised Austria and Prussia for acting in conformity with his own words.

There is another assertion of Lord Palmerston which we cannot allow to pass without observation.

The doctrine that war annuls former engagements between the adverse parties is a principle of international law so universally proclaimed that we are much surprised to see it suddenly contested with so much vehemence.

Moreover, this is not a case "of a powerful State attacking a weak State on any pretext in order to release itself from inconvenient obligations." The English Government recognize, as I have just remarked, that there existed just grounds of war against Denmark. We could, in fact, have availed ourselves of them in order to declare war, and to assert that the Treaties were torn up. But this is precisely what, in a spirit of moderation and in order to avoid greater complication, we did not wish to do. It was only necessary for Denmark to withdraw her troops from Schleswig to prevent a war. We should in that case have taken possession of our guarantee without pushing the military operations further. There would then have been no hostilities, and the reciprocal engagements would have subsisted in all their force, that is to say, that we should have had to be contented with the pure and simple execution of the stipulations of 1851-52.

If war has in fact broken out in consequence of the resistance of Denmark, it is on her that the fault and the responsibility fall, and if the situation is modified to her disadvantage, it is to her charge that it must be laid.

At the present moment, the blood which has been spilt and the sacrifices which have been undergone give us the incontestable right to consider ourselves no longer bound by the reciprocal engagements taken in 1851-52 between the two Great German Powers and Denmark. But we must here distinguish between two orders of facts.

First, there is the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, consecrated by the Treaty of London as necessary to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.

Secondly, there is the transaction relative to the nature of the ties which should unite to one another the different parts of the Danish Monarchy.

This transaction, the subject of long negotiations between Germany and Denmark, has been accepted on either side, and defined by the engagements so often cited.

The principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy is again affirmed by the identic declarations of the 31st of January. It is placed under the protection, not only of the Treaty of London, but also under that of the consideration—a most powerful one in our eyes—that a re-arrangement of the map of Europe cannot be effected without the concurrence and assent of the Powers interested in the maintenance of the balance of power.

Leaving the Treaty of London out of the question, this consideration, and the principle which depends on it, subsist for us in all their force, notwithstanding the hostilities in which we find ourselves engaged with Denmark.

It is otherwise with regard to the transaction of 1851-52 respecting the nature of the ties which should unite to one another the different parts of the Danish Monarchy. At that time, for example, in exchange for the promise given by Denmark not to incorporate Schleswig in the Monarchy properly so called, the two Great Powers gave up the maintenance of the intimate union which formerly existed between Holstein and Schleswig. Since hostilities have broken out, they have liberated the two Powers from the obligation which was imposed upon them by that renunciation; and, according to the events of the war, they will consider themselves authorized to impose fresh conditions on Denmark on this subject.

It is in this sense that we claim that liberty of action which was given us, and which Lord Palmerston seems to dispute in one of his last speeches.

I have thought it necessary to enter into these explanations, in order to put your Excellency in a position fully to define our attitude, and to determine the extent of our rights as well as that of our duties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RECHBERG.

No. 1042.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received February 24.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 23, 1864.

DURING one of my late conversations with M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the Dano-German question, his Excellency said that on looking through old papers in connection

with this subject it had been found that the Vth Article of a Treaty signed between Prussia and Denmark on the 24th of May, 1715, contained a guarantee of the Duchy of Schleswig to Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 1043.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 24, 1864.

COUNT APPONYI has read and given me a copy of a despatch from Count Rechberg dated Vienna, the 18th instant.

In this despatch Count Rechberg declares that he cannot understand how Lord Palmerston can describe as an iniquitous aggression the entrance of the Austro-Prussian troops into Schleswig when the British Government has so often admitted, both by word and in writing, that Denmark had violated its engagements, and when Lord Palmerston had declared in the debate of the 4th instant that the two great German Powers had a just cause of war against Denmark.

The explanation is easy. The Government of Her Majesty are of opinion that every effort to preserve peace should be exhausted before resort is had to the alternative of war. In the case before us demands had been made by Austria and Prussia upon Denmark, and the Danish Government had, some days before the breaking out of hostilities, declared their willingness to comply with those demands.

Nay, more; France, Great Britain, and Russia had declared their readiness to sign a Protocol recording the favourable disposition of Denmark, and, as it were, binding Denmark to her concession.

Had this proposition been acceded to, hardly a doubt can be entertained that in the course of three months the obnoxious Constitution of November would have been repealed, and the conditions upon which Austria and Prussia placed the question of peace or war would have been complied with.

Indeed, it may be said with truth that with peace the Austro-Prussian terms would have been fulfilled, and with war great difficulties are interposed to any regular and legal compliance with these terms.

Thus the war was unnecessary. But an unnecessary war is an iniquitous war, and Lord Palmerston's expression is completely justified.

With respect to the moderation shown in occupation under the guise of asking a pledge or material guarantee, it is to be observed that every State has a right to resist the invasion of its own territory, and when that resistance is overpowered by cannon and musketry demolishing forts, setting fire to villages, and killing soldiers who defend their own soil, it must be owned that the occupation of a material guarantee does not really differ from war.

And as war leads the attacking forces from one advanced position to another, so the wish to secure a material guarantee has led the Austro-Prussian forces from Schleswig to Jutland.

Count Rechberg has supposed that Lord Palmerston contests the principle that war annuls anterior engagements. But he has misapprehended Lord Palmerston's meaning. It is because war annuls anterior engagements that Lord Palmerston says that to make an aggressive war for the very purpose of annulling anterior engagements, to make war for the sake of war and for the sake of putting an end to Treaties, would be a great and evident abuse of an admitted principle.

This doctrine evidently is connected with the statement Her Majesty's Government rely on, that the war of the 1st of February was a war of wanton aggression.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to perceive, however, that the Government of Austria adhere to the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, not only because it is in conformity with the Treaty of London and affirmed by the identical declarations of the 31st of January, but because it is part of the system of Europe and cannot be changed without the concurrence of Powers interested in the balance of power.

With respect to the alterations suggested by Austria in the engagements of 1851-52, Her Majesty's Government will only say at present that those engagements were made at the suggestion of Austria and Prussia, were concurred in by the King of Denmark, and were confirmed by the acceptance of the German Confederation.

A Conference of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London would be the best place for a discussion of any changes, modifications, or developments of these engagements which Austria, Prussia, Germany, or Denmark might think fit to propose.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1044.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 25.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 21, 1864.

HAVING mentioned to Count Rechberg that a report had reached London that Austria was arming her navy with the intention of attacking Copenhagen, his Excellency said that such a rumour was simply absurd, and devoid of the least foundation.

He then explained that in consequence of the orders issued by the Danish Government to capture Austrian vessels, some of the Imperial men of war would cruize in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean for the protection of commerce; and he said further that at the instance of the merchants of Trieste, it has been decided to send one large and one small ship of war to cruize in the chops of the British Channel to warn Austrian vessels, of which there were said to be 100 at this moment on their way from American ports bound chiefly to England and the North, and save them from becoming prizes of the ships of war of Denmark, which had been sent to intercept vessels sailing under the Austrian flag.

He added that the Minister of Marine understood there were two Danish gun-boats in the Greek waters, and that vessels would be sent to watch them; but I have since heard that intelligence has reached the Austrian Government that nothing is known of the two vessels at the Piræus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1045.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 25.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 23, 1864.

M. DE BILLE, the Secretary to the Danish Legation, leaves Vienna to-day for Copenhagen. He has deposited the archives of the Legation at Her Majesty's Embassy, and has recommended to my care the few Danish subjects who are resident in Austria pending the interruption of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1046.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 25.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 22, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an extract from the official newspaper of this evening, with a translation, reporting the circumstances under which Kolding has been occupied by Prussian troops, and also giving the details of combats which have taken place before Düppel on the 20th and 21st instants between the Prussian and the Danish advanced posts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

P.S.—I am told that a letter from an intelligent officer speaks of the operations before Düppel as likely to last for two months.

A. B.

Inclosure in No. 1046.

Extract from the Official "Gazette" of February 22, 1864.

(Translation.)

ON its being observed by the advance of the Prussian division of Guards that the Danish outposts had left Wonsild, Lieutenant-General Mülbe gave orders for the advance of the cavalry on Kolding so as to see if this place too were evacuated by the Danes, and that they should reconnoitre the country to the east and west, within the territory of Schleswig, to discover the enemy. A patrol of the hussars of the guard pursued the

retreating Danes to Kolding, pulled down the barricades, passed through the town, and on the heights of Petersburgh dispersed some thirty of the enemy's dragoons, and a small body of infantry. The patrol was here joined by two squadrons of hussars under Major von Sommitz, and advanced about 2 o'clock to attack the Danes in the direction of Fredericia, the latter retired skirmishing as far as Norre Bjest. The Danish infantry here made a stand, and from their position being very strong, Major von Somnitz saw no use in pressing on any further. The loss of the Danes was five dead, five prisoners, and five horses; ours—two horses dead, five hussars and one horse wounded.

The advanced guard halted in Kolding at 3 o'clock, and a line of outposts are placed from the Veile road to the Fredericia road. Lieutenant-General von Mülbe received orders, on commencing these operations, to occupy Kolding with the advanced guard, but not to go on further.

Colonel von Mertens reports from Schleswig that the demolition of the Dannewerke will be completed in a fortnight.

In a skirmish on the 20th instant, some companies of the 35th and 15th infantry and some dragoons drove back the enemy with a loss of from twenty-five to thirty killed and wounded, having themselves only one man wounded.

Yesterday, the 21st, a reconnaissance with three and a-half companies from Satrup, to see if the right wing of the enemy had altered its position, ended in a skirmish at Ravenskoppel, Stenderup; the loss on our side, one man killed and two wounded.

No. 1047.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received Ferbuary 25.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 25, 1864.

THE first part of the Report of M. von der Pfordten, the Bavarian Envoy at Frankfort, on the Holstein Succession question, which is to be voted upon in the sitting of the Diet of the 25th instant, is, as your Lordship will be aware, to the following effect:—

"That the Diet should resolve—

"1st. That the Treaty concluded in London on the 8th of May, 1852, for the purpose of establishing a new order of Succession for the States then united under the sceptre of the King of Denmark, has no binding force for the German Confederation.

"2ndly. That the execution of the Treaty has not only become impossible, in consequence of the subsequent events, and of the conduct of the Danish Government itself in respect to the German Duchies, but because the Diet is not in a position now to make this Treaty, by a supplementary recognition of it, the foundation of its Resolutions.

"3rdly. That consequently the full powers of His Majesty King Christian IX for Baron Dirckinck-Holmfeldt, which were submitted in the sitting of the 28th of November of last year, cannot be accepted on the ground of this title (the Treaty).

"4thly. That, on the contrary, the Committee for the affair of the Constitution of Holstein-Lauenburg should be charged to make, with as much expedition as possible, a further Report respecting the order of Succession in the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, with a view to a decision on the full powers in question, without, however, taking the Treaty of the 8th of May, 1852, as the basis."

I have already had the honour of explaining to your Lordship Count Platen's position in respect to this question. On the one side he has committed himself to a certain extent towards the Middle States to vote for the Resolution of M. von der Pfordten, with the view, as he alleges, of preventing a proposal for the immediate recognition of the Prince of Augustenburg. On the other side, he is unwilling to offend the Austrian and Prussian Governments, who have urged him to vote in favour of their proposal for the rejection of the above-mentioned Resolution. He has therefore decided upon a middle course, and has instructed the Hanoverian Envoy at Frankfort only to vote in favour of points 3 and 4, but at the same time to utilize the two first points in the motives upon which he grounds his vote. The Hanoverian Envoy will therefore declare that as the Diet has not acknowledged the Treaty of May 1852, and as it is not at present in a position to accede to it, Hanover votes for points 3 and 4.

This is, at least, the account which Count Platen gave me this morning of the course to be taken at Frankfort by Hanover on the 25th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1048.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 25.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 23, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 20th instant, I have the honour to report that the Second Chamber adopted, in its this day's sitting, without opposition, the proposal of M. de Benningsen for the nomination of a Joint Committee of both Houses to deliberate and report upon "the most appropriate Resolutions to be taken by the States-General in order to protect and give effect to the threatened rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, and of their legitimate Duke Frederick VIII."

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1049.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 25, 1864.

THE Ambassador of France has read to me a passage in a despatch, in which M. Drouyn de Lhuys informs him that he has assured your Excellency that the Government of France will, in all its negotiations, whatever shape they may take, maintain the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1050.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 26.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 20, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the official Notification which has been published, allowing to the 1st of April for enemy's ships to leave Danish ports.

A Notification relative to the intended blockade has been published, but as it is somewhat lengthy, it will be impossible to have the translation completed in time for this day's post, and I shall therefore forward it by the messenger next week.

Inclosure in No. 1050.

Notification.

ON a representation being made to the King, His Majesty has resolved, under date of the 13th instant, that until the 1st of April next the enemy's vessels now under embargo in the Danish harbours and fiords shall be allowed to depart unmolested, in ballast, or laden with the cargo with which they arrived, and furnished with a letter of safe-conduct to any harbour which they shall themselves designate, provided such harbour be not blockaded; under proviso of reciprocity on the part of the Governments concerned.

Ministry of Marine, February 15, 1864.

No. 1051.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 24, 1864.

IN my despatch of yesterday's date I had the honour of announcing the adoption by the Second Chamber of M. de Benningsen's motion for the nomination of a Committee of both Houses for the purpose of reporting upon the most appropriate Resolutions to be taken by them, "in order to protect and give effect to the rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, and their legitimate Duke Frederick VIII."

The report of the proceedings having now been published, I think it right to state

that after the Chamber had unanimously decided to take the motion into consideration, the Minister of Justice, M. Windhorst, the Ministerial Leader in the House, raised some objections to it. It was not, he said, the business of the Assembly of the States to occupy itself with questions of foreign policy, more particularly when they were brought forward abstractedly, and without connection with supplies to be voted by the Chambers. He made this remark in order that consequences might not in future be drawn from this case. It appeared to him doubtful whether it was expedient to discuss this question at present. At this moment more serious language was being held at the entrenchments at Düppel than in that Chamber. Although many of those present might see in the course adopted by the Great Powers objects different from those at which they themselves aimed, nevertheless all would be brought nearer to their ends by the results of the struggle. There was no question of entering that day into the details of the matter. The Committee was first to examine the subject and when it should have terminated its labours there would be time for doing so. As the proposer of the motion had observed, it was highly important that an agreement should be brought about. In order to render this possible it was desirable that the mover should generalize the object of the proposition, and not designate objects as decided which were still undecided, as was done in respect to the dynastic question. In order, therefore, to bring about an agreement between both Chambers, it was expedient to give a more general wording to the motion. For example: "Formation of a Committee for the purpose of carrying out the well-founded rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg" (which he, M. Windhorst, did not wish to see forgotten). Otherwise the task of the Committee would be limited by the adoption of an irrevocable basis for its observations. It was not want of sympathy for the cause which induced him to make this proposal, but the opinion he entertained that such a course would be more expedient.

M. de Benningsen then rose and said he had only two remarks to make in reply to the last speaker. If, he observed, the Minister of Justice put forward that, according to the Hanoverian Constitution, the Chambers were not to occupy themselves with questions of foreign policy, he must refer to the Chambers of other States, all of which had in the latter months been permitted to enter into a detailed discussion of the subject. Hanover formed a part of the German Confederation, and shared all the rights and obligations of the Federal Constitution. The Assembly of the States was authorized to discuss all the affairs of the nation, and to convey their wishes to the Government. If it was desired to co-operate in this matter with the First Chamber and the Government, it was necessary to adopt some basis. He had thuoght himself justified in assuming as uncontested that which had been taken as uncontested in other Chambers after long deliberations. If the Committee had doubts on the question of the Succession it could always report upon them.

M. de Benningsen's motion was then adopted in its original wording, without further discussion, with only three dissentient votes, which were those of the three Ministers who are members of the Chamber, namely, the Ministers of Justice, of Finance, and of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

It is believed that the First Chamber will only agree to it in the modified form proposed by M. Windhorst in the Second Chamber, consequently with the omission of the recognition of the pretensions of the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1052.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, February* 24, 1864.

BARON HÜGEL returned from the Ministerial Conferences at Würzburg the day before yesterday.

I saw his Excellency yesterday at the usual weekly reception, but could obtain from him no positive information as to the result of the Conferences. Baron Hügel appeared, however, to be satisfied with what had been arranged at Würzburg, and seemed to admit that one point agreed upon had been the mobilization of the military contingents of the States represented at Würzburg. His Excellency also said that positive instructions had been given to the Wurtemberg Representative at the Diet to vote for the Succession of the Prince of Augustenburg.

The newspapers here of yesterday evening give the following as proceeding from "a well-informed person," as the Resolutions which, on the proposal of Saxony, were finally adopted by the Conference:—

1. To concert together as to the attitude to be observed in the event of the Great Powers proposing to withdraw Holstein from the authority of the Confederation.

2. To sanction no arrangement, either in the Diet or otherwise, which infringes on the rights of "both" Duchies in any way whatever.

3. To declare that it belongs to the Confederation only and solely to decide as to the question of Succession.

4. To secure "Holstein" against every act of violence by the dispatch thither of Federal troops.

5. Lastly, to prepare for mobilization.

Baron Roggenbach appears to have frightened the assembled Ministers by certain somewhat extreme proposals for the assembly of a common Representative Assembly; and it is said that besides the above points, three Secret Articles were agreed to, fixing the attitude of the Würzburg States towards the Great Powers.

It is supposed that the first consequence of the Conference at Würzburg will be the proposal in the Diet that a strong Federal force be sent to Holstein, to be placed at the disposal of the Pretender immediately that his claim to the sovereignty of the Duchy is recognized by the Diet.

Notwithstanding the above, public opinion here seems to place but little confidence in the early attainment of the popular still most ardent desire for the recognition of Prince Frederick as Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, and for the severance of both Duchies from the sovereignty of the King of Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. J. R. GORDON.

No. 1053.

*Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 26, 1864.

IT appears from Sir Augustus Paget's report of what has passed between himself and the Danish Minister with reference to the proposal for an immediate Conference without an armistice, that the Danish Government, although not indisposed to agree to it, are nevertheless desirous to postpone an immediate decision in consequence of the prevailing excitement at Copenhagen.

Her Majesty's Government cannot deny that the request for delay may be well founded, and they are for themselves inclined to defer pressing the Danish Government for a decision until a fortnight from the present time shall have elapsed.

Before, however, they reply to this effect, Her Majesty's Government would wish to learn whether the Austrian and Prussian Governments acquiesce in the delay for the meeting of the Conference which would result from yielding to the wishes of the Danish Government, and you will accordingly ascertain Count Rechberg's opinion on that point, and inform me of it without delay.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1054.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 27.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 20, 1864.

THE Swedish Minister was informed by telegraph last night that the Austro-Prussian forces had entered Jutland. His Excellency was desired to ascertain the view taken by Prince Gortchakoff of this incident.

I saw the Vice-Chancellor this forenoon. He told me that he regarded the invasion of Jutland merely in the light of a military operation which did not invalidate in the least degree the political pledges given by the Governments of Austria and Prussia in regard to the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

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* A similar despatch was addressed to Sir A. Buchanan.

No. 1055.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 27.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 20, 1864.

I LEARN from the Vice-Chancellor this morning that in conformity with the counsels offered by his Excellency to the Cabinet of Vienna, Count Rechberg has addressed new assurances of the most explicit character to Her Majesty's Government to the effect that the engagements of 1852 will not be regarded as invalidated in consequence of the war between Austria and Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 1056.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 27.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 20, 1864.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF having sounded the Cabinet of Denmark in reference to their views concerning the proposed armistice has been informed by the Russian Minister at Copenhagen that the Danes are altogether bent on fighting.

No. 1057.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 27.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 24, 1864.

HAVING acquainted M. de Bismarck with your Lordship's suggestion that a Conference might be held immediately without a suspension of hostilities, I have the honour to inform you that the King's orders on the subject have been taken to-day, and I have been assured by M. de Bismarck that if your Lordship should instruct me to make such a proposal in writing to the Prussian Government, an official answer accepting it will be given to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1058.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 27.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 24, 1864.

WITH reference to instructions which I received yesterday from your Lordship by telegraph, I have the honour to inform you that I lost no time in addressing a note to M. Bismarck, of which I inclose a copy, conveying to the Prussian Government an invitation from Her Majesty's Government to send a Representative to a Conference, which Her Majesty's Government propose should be held in London, to devise means for the restoration of peace between Denmark and the Governments of Austria and Prussia.

I have been informed that an answer of the Prussian Government, accepting the invitation of Her Majesty's Government, will be addressed by Count Bernstorff to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 1058.

Sir A. Buchanan to M. de Bismarck.

Berlin, February 23, 1864.

THE Undersigned, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, has the honour, in conformity with instructions from Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to inform his Excellency M. de Bismarck-

Schönhausen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the King of Prussia, that the Government of the Queen his august Sovereign, afflicted by the calamities of the war in which Austria and Prussia are now engaged with Denmark, have decided to propose to those Powers to meet in Conference in London without a suspension of hostilities, in order to devise means for the restoration of peace.

The Undersigned has therefore the honour to invite the Government of His Majesty the King of Prussia to send a Representative to the proposed Conference, and he has also the honour to inform his Excellency M. de Bismarck-Schönhausen that Her Majesty's Government will address similar invitations to the Governments of France, Russia, and Sweden, and the Diet of the German Confederation.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1059.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 27.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 25, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday, I have the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a note which I have this day received from M. de Bismarck acknowledging the receipt of the invitation which I addressed to the Prussian Government on the 23rd instant, to send a Representative to a Conference to be held in London to devise means for the restoration of peace between Denmark and the Governments of Austria and Prussia.

In the inclosure, M. de Bismarck states that the Government of the King is ready to accede to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, and that the Prussian Ambassador in London will be instructed to declare to your Lordship that they accept it.

M. de Thile observed to me, however, at an interview which I had with him to-day that the Prussian Government will expect to receive a further communication from your Lordship, as to the answer of the other Powers who have been invited by Her Majesty's Government to send Representatives to the proposed Conference, and as to the time when Her Majesty's Government propose that it should meet.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 1059.

M. de Bismarck to Sir A. Buchanan.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Berlin, le* 24 *Février*, 1864.

EN réponse à la note que votre Excellence a bien voulu me transmettre en date d'hier et en me référant à ce que j'ai eu l'avantage de lui dire personnellement à ce sujet, j'ai l'honneur de l'informer par la présente que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi mon auguste Maître est prêt à accéder à la proposition d'une Conférence qui se réunirait à Londres, pour aviser aux moyens propres à rétablir la paix.

En conséquence l'Ambassadeur du Roi à Londres sera chargé de déclarer à Lord Russell que le Gouvernement du Roi adhère à la proposition que votre Excellence, par sa note en date du 23 de ce mois, lui a faite au nom du Gouvernement Britannique.

Je saisis, &c.

(Signé) BISMARCK.

(Translation.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Berlin, February* 24, 1864.

IN reply to the note of yesterday's date which your Excellency has been so good as to transmit to me, and referring to what I have had the advantage of stating to you personally on the subject, I have now the honour to inform you that the Government of the King my august Master are ready to accede to the proposal of a Conference to meet in London, to consider the means of restoring peace.

The Ambassador of the King in London will consequently be instructed to declare to Lord Russell that the Government of the King accept the proposal which your Excellency has made to them in the name of the British Government by your note of the 23rd instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BISMARCK.

No. 1060.

Rear-Admiral Harris to Earl Russell.—(Received February 27.)

(Extract.) *Berne, February* 25, 1864.

AN influential meeting took place at Lausanne last week for the purpose of expressing sympathy with Denmark, and subscriptions were raised in favour of the wounded Danes.

The speakers, men of position and intelligence in the Western Cantons, expressed their indignation at the unjustifiable aggression of great Empires on a small independent State. It has provoked angry rejoinders from the Press attached to the German movement.

No. 1061.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 27, 1864.

SINCE the receipt of your telegram stating that the Danish Government were desirous of deferring for a time their answer to the proposal which you were instructed by my telegram to make to it for the immediate meeting of a Conference, I have been in communication with the Governments of Austria and Prussia, and have explained to them the reasons, founded on the state of public feeling at Copenhagen, which induced Her Majesty's Government to consider that the Danish Government should not be pressed to give a definitive answer for a fortnight to come.

The two Powers have assented to this delay, while professing their own readiness to enter into the Conference immediately.

But while apprizing M. Quaade of the unwillingness of Her Majesty's Government to add to the embarrassments of the Cabinet of Copenhagen, of the difficulties of whose position they are well aware, by urging him at once to accept the proposed Conference, you will point out to that Minister that it is very desirable that the delay thus accorded to Denmark should be abridged as much as possible, lest fresh complications should arise which might render the labours of the Conference for the restoration of peace more difficult, if not altogether unavailing.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1062.

*Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 27, 1864.

HER Majesty's Government being anxious to neglect no chance for restoring peace to the North of Europe, have proposed to the Governments of Austria, Prussia, and Denmark, to agree to a Conference without a previous armistice, but the Danish Government have represented that in the present state of public feeling at Copenhagen it is impossible for them at once to assent to this proposal, and they have requested that they may not be pressed for an immediate answer.

Before Her Majesty's Government could reply to this request for delay, the reasonableness of which, however, they were not prepared to contest, they thought it necessary to ascertain whether the Governments of Austria and Prussia would offer any objection to a term of a fortnight being allowed to the Danish Government within which they should not be pressed for a decision.

If at the expiration of that time the Danish answer should be given in the affirmative, Her Majesty's Government would then invite the Governments of France, Russia, and Sweden to consent to take part in such Conference to be held in London, and they would also invite the Diet at Frankfort to appoint a Plenipotentiary for the same purpose.

You will inform M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

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* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Napier and Mr. Jerningham.

No. 1063.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 28, 1864.

IT appears from your telegram which reached me this morning, that the Russian Minister at Copenhagen has made to the Danish Government a communication on the subject of the proposed Conference, in support of that which, under my instruction of the 23rd instant, you had made, and has received a similar reply; and it further appears that M. Quaade thinks that the eventual acceptance of his proposal by the Danish Government, if an immediate answer is not insisted upon, is becoming more probable.

You will state to M. Quaade that the sooner the Danish Government can make up its mind to accept the Conference, the more likely is it that a favourable result will follow.

The Danish Government cannot be ignorant that in the present state of public feeling in Germany complications may arise among the Powers who compose the Confederation which might make it a matter of difficulty to arrive at a settlement of the disputed questions. At the present time Austria, Prussia, France, and Russia are prepared to take part in a Conference on the Danish question. Federal complications might produce a change, while, on the other hand, Denmark is not justified in anticipating a result favourable to her arms, if unsupported by other Powers, in the contest in which she is now engaged.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1064.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 23, 1864.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF informed me this forenoon that his intelligence both from Vienna and Berlin was of the most satisfactory character. The Austrian Cabinet had given renewed assurances in London that it adhered to the engagements of 1852, and had no designs inconsistent with the integrity of the Danish Monarchy. M. de Bismarck, on the other hand, had held language of the same character, and had formally intimated his readiness to meet the other Powers in Conference.

No. 1065.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 22, 1864.

A FEW days ago the President of the Council called upon me, and said he was much concerned to see that in the report of your Lordship's observations in the House of Lords relative to the offer of the Danish Government to propose to the Rigsraad the repeal of the November Constitution, you had omitted to say that this offer was coupled with the condition that negotiations should in the meantime take place respecting the arrangements to be substituted for the Constitution when withdrawn. He said the omission to mention this part of the bargain had produced a bad impression here, as it had led to the belief that the Government was prepared to renounce all connection with Schleswig, and to place that Duchy in the position of independence which had been offered to Holstein. For this reason his Excellency said he should be obliged to your Lordship if you could take some opportunity of stating the case as it had really been put in the despatch of the Danish Government of the 21st of January, and in the conversations which had taken place between his Excellency and me, viz., that the Danish Government had declared its readiness to propose the repeal of the November Constitution to the Rigsraad on the understanding that another organization for the Monarchy based on the arrangements of 1851-52 should in the meantime have been negotiated with Germany under the auspices of foreign Powers.

I replied that papers connected with the Danish question were about to be laid before Parliament, and I had no doubt M. Quaade's despatch would be amongst them, in which case his Excellency would obtain the satisfaction he required; but Bishop Monrad was still desirous that I should convey his wishes to your Lordship.

With reference to what passed between M. Quaade and myself on the same subject as

reported in my despatch of the 17th instant,* I have to report that his Excellency has since requested me distinctly to understand that in saying that the Danish Government were still prepared to redeem their pledge of proposing the repeal of the Constitution if Austria and Prussia would evacuate Schleswig, and enable them to make the elections, he only gave utterance to his own sentiments and was not speaking in the name of the Government, and he begged I would state this to your Lordship.

I of course undertook to do so, but as I was unable to see the practical utility of discussing this question now, I did not say any more on the subject. Whenever peace is made the arrangements which are then agreed upon will of course supplant the November Constitution, and it therefore matters very little what the Danish Government might be disposed to do in a contingency which is not likely to present itself.

I have, &c
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1066.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 23, 1864.

BISHOP MONRAD took the opportunity of his visit to me for the purpose mentioned in my despatch of yesterday's date, to speak respecting the abandonment of the Dannewerke and the future prospects of Denmark.

It would be hard, indeed, he said, considering the disproportionate forces against which Denmark had to contend, if it was attempted to deprive her of one of her best positions, in order to bring about negotiations on a basis which she could never agree to until utterly exhausted. The basis his Excellency alluded to was the political union of Schleswig and Holstein. If any such proposal was made to the Government while he was at the head of it, it would be at once rejected. In saying this his Excellency referred again to what he had told Lord Wodehouse and M. Ewers, as well as me, on a former occasion, that he was ready to do everything he possibly could to maintain peace, but that, war once begun, it would be carried on with the utmost determination. He said that by prolonging the conflict there was always a chance that events might occur in favour of Denmark, a revolution might break forth in Germany, and he had not lost all hopes of foreign support.

I conceived it to be my duty to tell Bishop Monrad, frankly and honestly, that I thought he had very little chance of it from England.

He said he was aware that such was the case at present; and under these circumstances he trusted that at least Her Majesty's Government would abstain from urging negotiations or interfering with the policy which the Danish Government was now determined to pursue.

Having thus given your Lordship a faithful account of the substance of what was said by the President of the Council at our last interview, I feel that any observations of mine in further elucidation of the intentions and feelings of the Danish Government, and I may add people, at the present moment are unnecessary.

The situation may be described in very few words—a firm and decided determination to continue the war as long as there are the means for doing so, and to reject any proposal which may now be made for an armistice and negotiations for peace. The reasons for this resolution arise, in the first place, from the fact that the national pride is at this moment smarting under what is esteemed a stain on the military reputation of the country, which must be wiped away; and, secondly, from the conviction that the most favourable basis on which Austria and Prussia might now be brought to treat would be the political reunion of Schleswig and Holstein. Such terms, indeed, it is thought, can always be obtained, even when things have got to the worst, and it is impossible to deny that there is also a party who would prefer to sever all connexion whatever between the Kingdom and the Duchies rather than agree to the arrangement in question. Denmark has suffered so much from the connection with Germany, and the events of the period since 1848, completed by the aggression which has now taken place, have so embittered the national feeling, that it is blinded to almost every other consideration. If Schleswig and Holstein are united, and the Confederation has as much right of interference in one Duchy as in the other, it is felt—and that by a very strong party, which is certainly gaining ground—that the national independence of Denmark will have departed, and that the same pretexts which have hitherto served for the interference of the German Powers in Schleswig will for the future be extended to Jutland and the Islands. With such a prospect for the future,

* No. 1012.

it is added, that it is far preferable to give up the Duchies altogether, for although Denmark would be a small State it would at least be an independent one, and able to dispose of itself as it thought fit.

There can be little doubt as to the direction in which this disposition would eventually be made, and no dynastic considerations would interfere with it.

Such is the state of things and feeling at this moment, and certainly nothing can be less encouraging for the friends of peace. How far it may be modified by the events of the war it is impossible to say. It will be my duty to watch these events and to report to your Lordship any change which I may perceive.

The defence of Dybböl will probably be such as to satisfy the national feeling of Denmark in a military point of view, and as the German Powers will then, to all intents and purposes, be in possession of the "pledge" which they profess to seek, the moment might perhaps be favourable for testing their real objects and purposes. They will have possessed themselves of the principal stronghold of Denmark on the Continent, and they will have reaped all the military renown which is likely to be gathered by two Powers of the size of Austria and Prussia when they attack one of the size of Denmark.

But with respect to the latter country, unless some very great change should take place in the views of the Government and in public opinion, I should have very little hope that any proposal which might have a chance of acceptance by Austria and Prussia would be agreed to here unless it was accompanied by an assurance that if it was accepted by Denmark and refused by the German Powers Her Majesty's Government would assist Denmark with arms.

No. 1067.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February 23, 1864.*

A GENTLEMAN on whom I can rely informs me that he had heard from General de Meza himself that he only had from 30,000 to 32,000 men under his command at the Dannewerke, and that as the line of defence was so long, and the point of attack so uncertain, it was impossible with this force to hold the position. The men were obliged to be harassed by marches and counter-marches, and the consequence was they were becoming completely exhausted.

The stand made by the Danish troops at Oversöe, when in addition to their former fatigues they had marched for about sixteen hours over slippery roads, is certainly most creditable both to their courage and their discipline.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET

No. 1068.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February 23, 1864.*

THERE have been no events of importance, in a military point of view, since I had the honour to address you last week, until yesterday. On the 18th instant, as already reported by telegraph, the Prussians crossed the frontier into Jutland, and in a skirmish with the Danish Cavalry the latter lost two or three men.

Yesterday the Prussians attacked the village of Dybböl in some force, and drove out the Danish outposts, but the Prussians were subsequently dislodged by the fire from the bastions.

The Danish loss is officially reported to be about 100 killed and wounded, and it is added that that of the Prussians was considerable.

From the quantity of pontoons, &c., which are apparently being collected by the enemy, the Danish Government are under the impression that an attack on Fünen is contemplated. The passage of the Little Belt between Snöghoi and Middelfort is scarcely over a thousand yards. Troops are being collected in Fünen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1069.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 24, 1864.

I HAVE lost no time, in compliance with your Lordship's instructions received this morning, in addressing a note to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs proposing to the Danish Government to send a Representative to a Conference which Her Majesty's Government is desirous should assemble in London without a suspension of hostilities, to devise means for restoring peace between Austria, Prussia, and Denmark.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of my note to M. Quaade.

Your Lordship will have learnt from my despatch of the 23rd instant how little disposed the Danish Government now is for negotiations, and for this reason I was desirous of seeing M. Quaade before sending in my communication, in order that I might make to him such verbal representations in support of it as might have appeared to me calculated to weigh in the decision now to be taken by the Danish Government.

M. Quaade had however already left his residence to attend a Council of State, and I have therefore forwarded to him there my official note.

Inclosure in No. 1069.

Sir A. Paget to M. Quaade.

Copenhagen, February 24, 1864.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to inform his Excellency M. Quaade, His Danish Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, that he has received instructions from Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Seeretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to make the folowing communication to the Danish Government.

Her Majesty's Government, influenced by the calamities of the war now existing between Denmark on the one hand, and Austria and Prussia on the other, propose to those Powers to meet in Conference in London, without suspension of hostilities, in order to devise means for the restoration of peace. Her Majesty's Government will invite France, Russia, and Sweden, and the Diet of Frankfort, to send Representatives to the Conference.

The Undersigned has the honour to request M. Quaade to bring this communication without delay under the consideration of the Danish Cabinet, and to inform him at his Excellency's earliest convenience of the result of their deliberations.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1070.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 23, 1864.

THE French Ambassador having been instructed to address inquiries to Count Rechberg as to the passage of some of the allied forces into Jutland, learnt from his Excellency to-day that the Austrian Government was not yet in possession of the details connected with this subject, but regretted the circumstances and was unable, as he had as yet received only a short telegram from Berlin, to explain the immediate cause which led the troops to cross the frontier, and could only attribute it to military considerations and to the necessity of guarding against the incessant molestation to which they might otherwise be exposed from the Danish forces.

His Excellency does not expect the allies will move beyond Kolding, but he observed in speaking to me on this subject that guarantees should be obtained from the Danish Government not to disturb the allies in their present position, in which case he was of opinion that the allied troops would not move beyond the places which they at present occupied.

Count Rechberg has written in this sense to Berlin, and I understand that the Austrian Government and even the military authorities consider that under existing circumstances any further advance into Jutland is to be deprecated.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1071.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 24, 1864.

IN the course of a conversation which I have just had with Count Rechberg, he informed me, with reference to my despatch of yesterday, that he had received some further account from Berlin on the subject of the passage of the Prussian troops across the frontier into Jutland, and that it has been explained as a military necessity consequent on the menacing position occupied by some Danish forces, to whose attacks the allies would have been continually exposed if they had been allowed to remain where they were.

His Excellency gave me to understand that he did not apprehend the troops would advance further; but the explanation from Berlin was not clear, and he could not say whether Prussia would think it necessary to require guarantees against a renewed attack from the side of Jutland, or whether these guarantees were to extend also to the general question of the war and to other military positions in Schleswig.

The intentions of Prussia were evidently not explicit on the point, but Count Rechberg, it is clear, regrets the occurrence, and has made this opinion known to M. de Bismarck.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1072.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 23, 1864.

I HAVE addressed to Count Rechberg a note, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, proposing, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, that a Conference shall be held in London, without a suspension of hostilities, by Austria, Prussia, and Denmark, and by the Representatives of France, Russia, Sweden, and the German Confederation, to devise means of restoring the peace of Europe, which has been disturbed by the war that is being waged with Denmark by the allied forces of Austria and Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 1072.

Lord Bloomfield to Count Rechberg.

Vienna, February 23, 1864.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, &c., has the honour to inform his Excellency Count Rechberg, &c., that Her Majesty's Government witness with the deepest concern the calamities of the war now existing between Austria and Prussia on the one side, and Denmark on the other, and are most anxious to contribute to the utmost of their abilities to the re-establishment of friendly relations between those Powers. With this view Her Majesty's Government propose to the three Powers to authorise their Plenipotentiaries at once to meet the Plenipotentiaries of the non-German Powers and of the German Diet in a Conference to be held in London, the deliberations of which should have for their object the restoration of peace in the North of Europe. Such Conference might, Her Majesty's Government consider, hold its sittings without any suspension of the hostilities now in progress; accordingly they do not propose such suspension as a condition of its being assembled.

If the Powers engaged in hostilities agree to this proposal, Her Majesty's Government will invite the Governments of France, Russia, and Sweden, as well as the Diet of the German Confederation, to name Representatives to take part in the proposed Conference.

In submitting this proposal to the Imperial Government as instructed by Earl Russell, the Undersigned avails, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1073.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 25, 1864.

COUNT RECHBERG has expressed to me his highest satisfaction at the prospect of Conferences being held in London to consider the means of restoring peace, and settling the differences between Germany and Denmark, and he trusts there will be no delay in carrying into effect the proposal of Her Majesty's Government.

I told his Excellency that I thought it was to be regretted the Conferences could not be preceded by an armistice; and he replied that this point was the first which must naturally be brought under consideration, and that he had been glad to hear from Berlin that the Prussian Government appeared no longer to insist on military possession being given of the Island of Alsen, and would be satisfied with its neutralization during the Conferences. He quite approved of this project, and is evidently desirous that an end should be put to the war as soon as practicable.

No. 1074.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 25, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a note which I have received from Count Rechberg, in reply to that which I addressed to his Excellency by your Lordship's instructions on the 23rd instant, a copy of which is forwarded in my despatch of the 23rd instant.

The Imperial Government fully participate the desire of Her Majesty's Government to put an end to the calamities of the war; they accept the propositions of Her Majesty's Government, and are ready at once to enter into Conference with the Powers who signed the Treaty of London of the 8th of May, 1852, and the German Confederation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 1074.

Count Rechberg to Lord Bloomfield.

Vienne, le 25 *Février*, 1864.

LE Soussigné, &c., a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note par laquelle son Excellence Lord Bloomfield, &c., l'informe que son Gouvernement propose aux Gouvernements d'Autriche, de Prusse, et de Danemark de se réunir en Conférence à Londres, sans suspension d'hostilités, pour aviser aux moyens de rétablir la paix, et que la France, la Russie, et la Suède, ainsi que la Confédération Germanique, seront invitées à prendre part à ces Conférences.

Le Gouvernement Impérial partage entièrement le désir du Gouvernement Britannique de mettre fin le plus tôt possible aux calamités de la guerre.

Le Soussigné s'empresse en conséquence de porter à la connaissance de Lord Bloomfield que le Gouvernement Impérial accepte la proposition de la Cour de Londres et se déclare prêt à entrer dès à présent dans des Conférences auxquelles participeraient les Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852, et la Confédération Germanique.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) RECHBERG.

(Translation.)

Vienna, February 25, 1864.

THE Undersigned, &c., has had the honour to receive the note by which his Excellency Lord Bloomfield, &c., informs him that his Government propose to the Governments of Austria, Prussia, and Denmark to meet in Conference in London without any suspension of hostilities, to consider the means of restoring peace, and that France, Russia, and Sweden, as well as the Germanic Confederation, will be invited to take part in these Conferences.

The Imperial Government thoroughly participate in the desire of the British Government to put an end as soon as possible to the calamities of war.

The Undersigned consequently loses no time in informing Lord Bloomfield that the Imperial Government accept the proposal of the Court of London, and declare themselves ready to enter at once into Conferences in which the Powers signatary of the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, and the Germanic Confederation, shall take part.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) RECHBERG.

No. 1075.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 25, 1864.

I HAVE taken an opportunity of reading to Count Rechberg your Lordship's despatch of the 15th instant, recording a conversation which your Lordship had held with Count Apponyi on the occasion of his communicating to you an instruction which he had received on the subject of the orders issued by the Danish Government to their cruizers to capture Austrian and Prussian vessels.

The only observation made by Count Rechberg when I had finished reading this despatch to him was on the expression "unjustifiable proceeding," which your Lordship has employed to qualify the attack made by Austria and Prussia upon the Duchy of Schleswig.

He said that if the representations of Her Majesty's Government had been disregarded by any country during the number of years Denmark has evaded her engagements to Germany, he much doubts whether their patience would not have been exhausted much earlier, and they would not have long before taken measures to obtain satisfaction.

No. 1076.

Count Rechberg to Count Apponyi.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by Count Apponyi, February 29.)

M. le Comte, *Vienne, le* 25 *Février*, 1864.

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre ci-près à votre Excellence copie de la note que m'a adressée Lord Bloomfield pour proposer au Gouvernement Impérial la réunion immédiate des Conférences.*

Je joins également ici copie de ma réponse à l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique.†

En adhérant aussi promptement à la proposition Anglaise, le Gouvernement Impérial donne une nouvelle preuve de l'esprit conciliant qui l'anime.

Le Cabinet de Berlin s'est aussi empressé d'accepter l'invitation de l'Angleterre.

Les deux Grandes Puissances se montrant ainsi disposées à entrer dès à présent en négociations, nous espérons que le Gouvernement Britannique usera de toute son influence à Copenhague pour amener le Gouvernement Danois à ne point retarder par des exigences déplacées l'ouverture des Conférences proposées.

Nous nous efforcerons de notre côté de représenter à nos Confédérés Allemands l'urgence de procéder à une transaction qui, tout en donnant satisfaction aux légitimes griefs de l'Allemagne, puisse mettre définitivement fin à un conflit soulevant de graves questions internationales dont l'Europe se préoccupe à juste titre.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) RECHBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Vienna, February* 25, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency herewith a copy of the note which Lord Bloomfield has addressed to me proposing to the Imperial Government the immediate meeting of a Conference.*

I also inclose a copy of my reply to Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador.†

In adhering in this prompt manner to the English proposal, the Imperial Government give a new proof of the conciliatory spirit which animates them.

The Cabinet of Berlin has also hastened to accept the invitation of England.

The two Great Powers showing themselves thus disposed to enter at once into negotiations, we hope that the British Government will use all their influence at Copenhagen to

* Inclosure in No. 1072. † Inclosure in No. 1074.

induce the Danish Government not to delay the opening of the proposed Conference by ill-timed demands.

We will make every effort on our part to represent to our German Confederates the urgent necessity of proceeding to a transaction which, whilst affording satisfaction to the legitimate complaints of Germany, may definitively put an end to a conflict which raises grave international questions, such as must justly occupy the attention of Europe.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RECHBERG.

No. 1077.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Munich, February* 24, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Baron Schrenk returned to Munich on the evening of the 20th instant, from attending a Conference of the Minor German States at Würzburg.

The Conference was attended by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, Baden, Grand Ducal Hesse, and Nassau. I had an interview with Baron Schrenk yesterday, and inquired of his Excellency what had been the result of these Conferences. I said that I trusted his Excellency would not consider me indiscreet in addressing to him this question. He must be aware that the public press had attributed various motives to these Conferences which, if authentic, might seriously compromise the internal peace of Germany. The object, therefore, of my interpellation was not to gratify personal curiosity; but to be enabled to refute the false statements of the Press and to inform your Lordship of the true purpose and result of the meeting at Würzburg.

Baron Schrenk replied that the reports of the Press of what had taken place at Würzburg were greatly exaggerated, and mostly false. There had been, for instance, no proposals submitted either for a general mobilisation of the several armies, nor for the convocation of a Common Parliament with a Directory, as reported in some of the German newspapers. His Excellency said that the several Governments represented at Würzburg had discussed and agreed upon the mode in which the Holstein Succession question should be treated at the Diet, and the course to be pursued to bring this question to a speedy conclusion. He further stated, but in rather vague terms, that there had been an agreement taken with reference to the reinforcement of the Federal army in Holstein, with a view to safeguard the rights of the Duchies; but he did not state of what nature this agreement was. He said, however, that the proposal in question would only be taken by a vote of the Diet in common with Austria and Prussia, and he gave me to understand that no measures of this nature would be enforced against the will of the two German Powers.

As far as I could gather from his Excellency, the result of the Conferences has been rather of a negative than of a positive character, and from expressions which fell from him as well as from the general tone of his observations, I could perceive that everything will be avoided which could bring about a collision between the forces of the Diet and those of the two German Powers.

It is further evident to me, that the more critical the position of Germany becomes as regards Europe, the greater is the desire of the Bavarian Government to harmonize with Austria and Prussia. The fear of the revolutionary party is becoming every day greater, both in the regions of the Court and with the Conservative party, and is weakening the effervescence in favour of the Schleswig-Holstein cause. The absence of the Representatives of several of the Minor German States at the Würzburg Conference offers another proof that the German Governments are beginning to pause and reflect on the dangers of a schism in Germany, which may eventually lead to the triumph of the Democratic party, and the destruction of the Minor Sovereignties.

Baron Schrenk stated that the mobilisation of another corps d'armée in Prussia and its concentration on the Saxon frontier had not been viewed without alarm. M. de Bismarck had gone so far as to declare that if a continual opposition and embarrassment was caused to the communication through Holstein with the Prussian army, Saxony would be held responsible, and that the Prussian troops would in such case enter Saxony and occupy Dresden.

Baron Schrenk observed to me that the demand of the Prussian Government to garrison Altona and Kiel with Prussian troops was strategically uncalled for and mortifying to the Federal troops, as it reflected on their military efficiency. The affair was so far

momentarily arranged that Prussia had carried her point and the Diet had yielded, but this incident had produced great ill-will and animosity against the Prussians, and might have led to the most serious consequences if the Federal authorities had not displayed the greatest calmness and conciliation.

There is a feeling here among my German colleagues that the embargo laid by Denmark on all German vessels, which is viewed as an act of war against the Diet, may possibly change the whole character of the present relations between the Federal authorities and the two German Powers in Holstein, and they entertain a hope that in consequence of all Germany being now at war with Denmark, a community of action may be established between the two German Powers and the Diet.

I may further inform your Lordship that the general impression produced on my German colleagues here as to the result of the Würzburg Conference is a favourable one. Baron Schrenk, I am informed, has expressed himself in very conciliatory and moderate language, both to the Austrian and Prussian Representatives, although he could not inform them of the decisions taken by the Conference until the King his Sovereign should have given his assent to them.

I must not fail to mention to your Lordship that Baron Schrenk expressly stated that the negotiations at Würzburg could not have gone beyond the mode of treating the Holstein Succession Question at the Diet, as it was not possible for them to know what course would be taken by the two German Powers in the event of the Diet recognizing the claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg. During the last few days a doubt has arisen whether there would be a majority of the Diet in favour of the claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg, and this doubt has been somewhat strengthened by the non-attendance at Würzburg of several of the minor States. It has been even stated to me that several of those States, hitherto the zealous partizans of Prince Frederick, would not regret to find themselves in a minority as the easiest mode of their escape from a most difficult and dangerous position. But Baron Schrenk did not confirm this impression, and is of opinion that the Diet will declare in favour of the rights of Prince Frederick.

There is, however, a decided halt on the part of the King and the Conservative party here, who fear to advance further in this question lest the revolutionary party should get the upper hand and profit of the opportunity to carry out their subversive designs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 1078.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, February* 24, 1864.

I HAVE had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship telegrams in answer to the question whether the Prussians were fortifying Kiel.

The fortress of Friedrichsort lies on the west side of the bay, about eight English miles from Kiel. The Danes had no guns there; but in consequence of two Danish cruizers having appeared in the bay, which were suspected of a design upon Friedrichsort, the Prussians placed a detachment of Infantry and Artillery in the place, and mounted several cannon, 24-pounders, upon the walls. The Prussians have also restored and occupied with a company of soldiers an old entrenchment used by the Danes in the last war, and afterwards rased, at Laboe, on the east side of the bay opposite Friedrichsort; but this scarcely deserves the name of a fortification, being intended merely to serve as a protection against the Danish ships of war.

The Prussians have extinguished the lights of the lighthouses in Friedrichsort, their right to do which can hardly be disputed so long as they hold the Duchy of Schleswig.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 1079.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, February* 25, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to apprize your Lordship that the Danish Government has instituted a blockade, which takes effect from and after this day, of all ports and harbours

on the east coast of Schleswig and Holstein, with the exception of Neustadt, Alsen, and Arö, so long as those parts of the country shall not be subjected to the Royal authority. The port of Neustadt, in Holstein, is understood to be excepted on account of its shallow water. The Islands of Alsen and Arö still remain in the possession of Denmark.

The Rules applicable to this and to any other blockade which the Danish Government may establish are those published by the Ministry of Marine at Copenhagen, under date of the 16th instant, and differ little from the usual Regulations in such cases. The same Rules authorize the capture of enemy's and suspicious ships at sea, making exceptions in favour of the neutral flag, and of neutral goods on board of enemy's ships, in conformity with the principles laid down in the Declaration of Paris, dated April 16, 1856.

Nothing is yet known here of any blockade by Denmark of the mouths of the Elbe or Weser, or of the Prussian ports.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 1080.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *Hamburgh, February* 27, 1864.

THE demonstrations in Schleswig in favour of the Augustenburg Succession, to which I have referred in former despatches, have continued during the last ten days. A list is about to be published of all the addresses and deputations received by the Duke from both Holstein and Schleswig since the cessation of the Danish Government in the Duchies, and when ready I shall do myself the honour to forward the same for your Lordship's information.

In the meantime I ought to state that yesterday a so-called monster deputation, consisting of above 1,200 representatives of all the towns and rural districts in Schleswig, arrived at Kiel with an address of allegiance and congratulation to the Duke, under the title of Frederick VIII, who, of course, received them gratefully, and made them a speech, concluding with a remark that although the wishes of the country were as yet far from realized, they could not fail to be so by unity and perseverance, and that the only possible solution was freedom from Denmark. Great importance was attached to this last Schleswig deputation on account of the numbers and respectability of the persons of whom it was composed.

No. 1081.

Mr. Murray to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Dresden, February* 25, 1864.

I SAW M. de Beust on his return from the Würzburg Conference, being curious to learn what information he would be disposed to communicate as to its proceedings and results.

The chief ostensible object in view seems to have been, as I had the honour of suggesting to your Lordship in my despatch of the 14th instant, to arrange a programme by which the secondary States in Germany might be enabled, by their united action, to exercise such a pressure upon Austria and Prussia as should bring those Powers under the control of the Diet in respect to their Schleswig-Holstein policy. The Saxon Minister seems to think that this object was promoted, if not attained, by the Conference; while the telegraphic notices that have reached this place from other parts of Germany would lead to a contrary impression. His Excellency does not make any secret of the dissatisfaction with which he has viewed the proceedings of Austria and Prussia in the Duchies; and, according to his view, they have placed themselves in a dilemma from which they will find it difficult to escape without damage to their consistency. I am led to infer from his language that the Governments represented at the Conference will use their utmost exertions to prevent the final settlement of the Succession in the Duchies being decided otherwise than by the majority of the votes at the Diet, and in the maintenance of this principle they expect to attain two objects—the support of the masses and of the Press in Germany, and, as resulting therefrom, the recognition of their own importance and patriotism.

A brief summary of the objects and results of the Würzburg Conference appears in this day's Dresden Government journal, and concludes with these words:—"The Governments therein represented were guided by a common principle, namely, on the one hand to avoid everything which might be construed into a desire of impeding the military action of the German Great Powers in Schleswig; while holding firmly, on the other hand, to the views which they had heretofore maintained on the question of right, and using every means provided by the Federal Constitution to carry their views into effect."

Before this despatch reaches your Lordship there is no doubt that the measures proposed and adopted at the Würzburg Conference will have transpired, and have reached you in a more full and complete form than the sketch which I have traced above.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 1082.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 22, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that General Manteuffel has left Berlin for Vienna, it is said, for the purpose of coming to an arrangement with the Austrian Government as to the course to be pursued in Jutland by the allied army in consequence of the invasion of that province by the troops of Prussia.

With respect to the circumstances under which the advance of the Prussian army took place, I have reason to believe that the Commander-in-chief having announced his intention to occupy Kolding, the Austrian Government objected, and in deference to their wishes the order of the 15th, not to cross the frontier, was sent to Marshal Wrangel.

I have already reported to your Lordship in my despatch of the 21st instant, that the Prussian Government seemed inclined, nevertheless, not only to sanction the continued occupation of Kolding, but to occupy the whole province of Jutland as a means of indemnifying themselves for the capture of German vessels by Danish cruizers. The language of Lord Palmerston, however, in the House of Commons, and a question which the French Ambassador has been instructed to address to M. de Bismark, as to the cause of the invasion of the province, and inquiring whether the Prussian troops will be withdrawn, appears to have had some influence on the opinions of the Government.

His Excellency has since informed me that the troops will continue to occupy Kolding as necessary for their security and shelter, unless the Danish Government will engage not to disturb the occupation of Schleswig by inroads into the Duchy from the north, but the intention of a further advance into the province seems to be abandoned for the present, and I have reason to believe that the King will address a letter to Marshal Wrangel censuring his conduct, and enjoining the necessity of his being more careful in future that the orders which he receives from Berlin shall be duly executed.

No. 1083.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 27, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 20th instant* I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the King received the Schleswig Deputation four days ago.

It is said that M. de Bismarck, who saw the whole deputation before it was presented to the King, was very reserved in his language, and declined making any promises to them, observing that Prussia was acting with Austria, and that she was unwilling to go far in concessions to the wishes of the Schleswig-Holstein party. I am assured also that on its being suggested to his Excellency that Prussia might act independently of Austria in the matter, he added that such a course was impossible, as if it had not been for the concert which has been established with Austria, England would in all probability have already afforded material assistance to Denmark.

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* No. 1018.

No. 1084.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February 27, 1864.*

HIS Royal Highness Prince Charles, who is Grand Master of the Order of Malta, left Berlin for Schleswig yesterday, it being one of the duties of the Grand Master to inspect the Military Hospitals and to superintend the care of the wounded during war.

As His Royal Highness is also Grand Master of the Artillery, it is said that he intends to be present at the opening of the fire of the Prussian batteries on the Danish entrenchments at Düppel.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1085.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February 27, 1864.*

I HAVE received your telegram acquainting me with the disinclination of the Danish Government to give an immediate answer to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government that a Conference should meet in London to devise means for the restoration of peace between Denmark and the Governments of Austria and Prussia without hostilities being suspended; and stating that Her Majesty's Government wish to allow Denmark a fortnight to come to a decision, if this delay is not objected to by the Governments of Austria and Prussia.

I lost no time in seeking an interview with M. de Bismarck and communicating to his Excellency the substance of your Lordship's message.

He said that as a Conference must meet sooner or later Prussia will be as ready to attend one in a fortnight hence as she is at present, and that he therefore saw no reason why your Lordship's proposal should be objected to; but new incidents might occur during the interval and the present hostilities in Schleswig might merge into a Federal war.

His Excellency said he would, however, speak to the King and to the Austrian Minister on the subject, and he had little doubt that your Lordship's proposal would meet with His Majesty's assent.

I then called on Count Karolyi, and having told him what had passed between me and M. de Bismark, I inquired whether he had received any instructions on the subject. He said that he had none, but that it appeared to him, if the Danish Government were unwilling to agree to the Conference at once, there could be no objection, on the part of his Government, to their being allowed a fortnight to send in their answer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1086.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February 27, 1864.*

I AM informed that the Austrian Government are unwilling to modify their refusal to grant Danish vessels in Austrian ports permission to leave up to the 1st of April, unless the Danish Government grant an equal period of freedom from capture to Austrian vessels at sea; but I am assured that all Danish vessels in the ports of Prussia will nevertheless be released. It appears that the Government, in concert with other German maritime States, are disposed, if they meet with reciprocity from Denmark, to adopt the rules laid down by Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France upon this subject in 1854, according to which Danish ships now on their voyage to a German port would be free from capture. This, however, is an arrangement of which all the advantages would probably be on the side of Germany.

No. 1087.

Count Bernstorff to Earl Russell.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by Count Bernstorff, February 29.)

Londres, le 27 Février, 1864.

LE Soussigné, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, a l'honneur d'informer son Excellence M. le Comte Russell, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, que le Gouvernement du Roi son auguste Maître, désirant mettre le plus tôt possible fin à la guerre avec le Danemark, n'hésite pas à accepter la proposition que le Gouvernement de la Reine lui a fait faire par la note de Sir Andrew Buchanan, en date du 23 de ce mois, ainsi qu'aux Gouvernements d'Autriche et de Danemark, de se réunir, sans suspension des hostilités, en Conférence avec la Diète de la Confédération Germanique et les Gouvernements de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Russie, et de Suède, afin de délibérer sur les moyens de rétablir la paix.

En portant ce qui précède à la connaissance de M. le Comte Russell, le Soussigné est chargé de lui exprimer en même temps le désir du Gouvernement du Roi de connaître l'époque où le Cabinet Britannique croit que la Conférence pourra se réunir.

Il saisit, &c.

(Signé) BERNSTORFF.

(Translation.)

London, February 27, 1864.

THE Undersigned, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Prussia, has the honour to inform his Excellency Earl Russell, Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the Government of the King his august Master, desiring to put an end as soon as possible to the war with Denmark, do not hesitate to accept the proposal which the Queen's Government have made to them by Sir Andrew Buchanan's note, dated the 23rd of this month, and also to the Governments of Austria and Denmark, to meet, without any suspension of hostilities, in Conference with the Diet of the Germanic Confederation and the Governments of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, in order to deliberate on the means of restoring peace.

In bringing the above to Earl Russell's knowledge, the Undersigned is instructed to express to him at the same time the desire of the Government of the King to know the time at which the British Government think that the Conference could meet.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) BERNSTORFF.

No. 1088.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, February* 27, 1864.

THE day after the return of Baron Hügel from the Würzburg Conference, Deputy Hölder gave notice of a question he would address to his Excellency as to the results of deliberations there, with a view to guide the Chambers in coming to a decision upon the Vote of Credit which the Government had applied for, for the War Department, referred to in my despatch of the 19th instant.

Baron Hügel yesterday replied to this question by the statement which I have the honour to forward herewith in translation.

The first portion of Baron Hügel's statement agrees pretty exactly with the account of the Würzburg Conference derived from the newspapers here which I had the honour to communicate to your Lordship in my despatch of the 24th instant, but I beg to invite your Lordship's attention particularly to the latter portion of Baron Hügel's statement, where his Excellency distinctly declares the improbability of South Jutland ever being again surrendered to Denmark.

Baron Hügel took occasion during the same sitting to warn the Chamber against any step which might tend to bring Wurtemberg into a conflict with the two Great Powers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. J. R. GORDON.

Inclosure in No. 1088.

Newspaper Extract.

Baron Hügel's Reply, in Sitting of Chamber of Deputies of February 26, 1864, to Questions by Deputy Hölder as to the result of the Conference at Würzburg.

(Translation.)

THE resolutions adopted at Würzburg obtained the fullest concurrence of all those who were present; the newspaper accounts, on the contrary, are destitute of all foundation.

As regards the Succession question, in the first place, it was determined to take steps to propose in the Diet that the London Protocol ("Protokoll") possessed no obligatory force for the Confederation; this resolution will have been discussed in yesterday's sitting in the Diet.

Further, steps were decided to be taken in order to hasten as urgently as possible the final declaration of the Diet respecting the right of Succession. The speedy execution of the same will place the Chamber in possession of their nature.

Further, a motion to be proposed to the Diet by Wurtemberg and Saxony was determined on for the immediate assembling of the Holstein Estates, and this motion also will have been made in Frankfort yesterday.

Another object of discussion was the reinforcement of the Federal troops in Holstein, and with regard to this it was decided to bring forward a motion in Frankfort for the reinforcement of the Federal army by troops, to be placed under the command of a Federal General. This motion will also be proposed without delay, and the earliest vote possible upon it will be earnestly pressed.

In addition to these special statements, the Minister thought himself called upon to communicate the following information:—

The most reliable information justified the conclusion that a speedy termination of the contest in Schleswig was not to be expected; that on the contrary Denmark was resolved to oppose to the demands of Prussia and Austria, and thus to those of the German Confederation, the most obstinate resistance. If the blood of so many brave soldiers were not to be spilt in vain, there could be no longer any question of the Duchies being again surrendered to the Danes.

In like manner the Minister could not conceal the fact that the more the war is prolonged the more are the anxieties and dangers of an European war increased. In view of this the conviction was dominant at Würzburg that it was the duty of the Governments of the Middle States to avoid everything which might render more difficult union among the German States, but on the other hand to resist with determination every attack, from whatever quarter it came, which might be made on the rights established by the Federal Act.

This was the fundamental thought of all the deliberations at Würzburg.

No. 1089.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February 26, 1864.*

I HAVE learnt from a source on which I can rely, that a joint proposition was brought forward in the Diet yesterday by Austria and Prussia, that they should take the military command, and participate in the Civil Government of Holstein.

What are the intentions of these Governments in making such proposals, except it be for the purpose of wresting the Government altogether from the Federal Commissioners, it is not easy to imagine; for in the present temper of the secondary States, it is not to be supposed that the Diet will either surrender the military command in that Duchy, or admit the administrative participation which is demanded.

I have further learnt, in reference to the Diet's sitting yesterday, that the results of the Würzburg Conferences were very evident in the systematic uniformity which characterized the proceedings of the Representatives of the States which had met in those Conferences.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 1090.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 26, 1864.

M. VON DER PFORDTEN'S Report to the Diet on behalf of the Committee which was presented at the sitting of Thursday the 11th instant, as I had the honour of informing your Lordship by my despatch of the 13th instant, was brought to the vote yesterday.

On the first two paragraphs the division was equal, seven votes to seven. On the last two, there were nine votes for adoption, and five for rejection. The first two paragraphs are, consequently, held to be rejected.

The Diet's majority affirming the principle of paragraphs 3 and 4, the Committee will now prepare the Report on the Succession.

That no misapprehension may exist as to the nature of the vote of yesterday, I beg to annex in original and translation, the report as voted upon in yesterday's sitting; and your Lordship may rely on my close attention to the progress of this affair, which, it will be seen, is advancing towards a solution very nearly at the rate which I had foretold for it in my despatch of the 30th January.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 1090.

Vote in the Frankfort Diet on M. von der Pfordten's Report of February 11, 1864.

(Translation.)

THAT the High Federal Diet should resolve:—

1. That the Treaty concluded upon the 8th of May, 1852, in London, with the object of settling a new order of Succession to the States at that time united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, is in no degree of binding force upon the Germanic Confederation.

2. That the execution of the Treaty has not only been rendered impossible through later events and the conduct of the Danish Government itself with respect to the German Duchies, but that the Diet is also not in a position at present to take this Treaty, by subsequent recognition, as the basis of its resolutions.

3. That, consequently, the full powers delegated by His Majesty the King Christian IX of Denmark to Privy Councillor Baron Dirckinck-Holmfeldt, and laid before the Diet in the 23rd sitting of the 28th of November last, cannot be accepted on these grounds.

4. That rather the Committee on affairs relating to the Holstein-Lauenburg Constitution should be instructed to make a further report with the least possible delay on the Succession to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, with the object of bringing about a decision on the full powers now lying before the Diet, without taking as basis the Treaty of the 8th May, 1852.

No. 1091.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 26, 1864.

THE German public prints state that Austria and Prussia have adopted in principle the proposals of Her Majesty's Government for Conferences on the Danish question, with the reserve of the Diet's sending a Plenipotentiary to the proposed Conferences.

If this is the case, your Lordship must be prepared for much cavil and difficulty being raised on the ground foreshadowed in my despatch of the 11th ultimo.*

It will be almost impossible for the Diet to be agreed as to what instructions shall be given to their Representative in respect of the London Treaty of 1852, and M. von der Pfordten's views in reference to that Treaty not having proved acceptable in the Diet, as reported in my despatch of this day's date, he will probably only be more obstinate in adhering to them, if he finds that by so doing he can thwart an arrangement that is acceptable to Austria and Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

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* See Part IV, No. 686.

No. 1092.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February 27, 1864.*

YOUR Lordship will probably have learnt from other and more authentic sources the results of the Conference of the Ministers of certain of the secondary States of Germany which recently took place at Würzburg.

According to the information which I have been able to collect, and which is principally derived from Count Platen, it would appear that the following were amongst the more important Resolutions adopted at the Conference with a view to a common action on the part of the allied Governments:—

To bring about a speedy decision on the part of the Diet on the Holstein Succession question, and if the Report of the Committee should not be brought under discussion within a certain time, to submit to the Diet as their own proposal the conclusions of the second part of the Report of M. von der Pfordten, the Bavarian Envoy, for the recognition of the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Holstein, and the admission of his Representative to a seat in the Assembly; to take up the proposal already made to the Diet by Saxony for strengthening the Federal troops in Holstein by reserves formed from the 7th and 8th corps d'armées of the German Confederation—that is to say, of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and other South German troops; and in the meantime for the allied Governments to make preparations for mobilizing a part of their forces; to propose at the Diet the convocation of the Holstein States.

The latter proposal was already brought forward in the sitting of the Diet of the 25th instant.

In a conversation which I had with Count Platen yesterday, he repeated his objections to such a convocation, saying that he did not consider the Diet competent to decree it, as it was a measure which belonged alone to the attributes of the Sovereign. It may therefore be hoped that the Hanoverian vote will be given against the proposal.

On the other hand, your Lordship will have learnt that in the same sitting of the Diet Austria and Prussia made a motion, upon which a vote was to be taken in eight days, for the transfer of the Command-in-chief of the Federal troops of Execution in Holstein to the Commander-in-chief of the united Austro-Prussian forces, and for the nomination of two further Commissioners for Holstein by Austria and Prussia.

This motion is no doubt a counter move to the resolutions of the Würzburg Conference, and if adopted will have important results, inasmuch as Austria and Prussia, with the probable assistance of the Hanoverian member of the Federal Commission in Holstein, will acquire the supreme direction of the affairs of that Duchy, which, if they are honestly disposed, will greatly facilitate a final settlement on the basis of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

Count Platen expressed to me yesterday his concurrence with the motion, and will recommend the support of Hanover being given to it. Indeed, his Excellency is, I believe, in great part the originator of the idea. At all events he pointed out to me a long time ago that the best and the legal course for Austria and Prussia to adopt was to carry out the nomination, which had been reserved by a previous Resolution of the Diet, of Commissioners of their own. He observed that it was too early for him to judge how far the proposal would unite a majority in its favour, but he seemed to be of opinion that it might possibly do so.

Count Platen had not yet heard that the proposal of Her Majesty's Government for a Conference without an armistice for the settlement of the disputes between Germany and Denmark had been made to the Diet. I nevertheless did not fail to express my hope that when it should be made Hanover would vote for it. His Excellency did not disapprove of a Conference, but apprehended that in view of the varying results which the progress of the war might entail it might not lead to the attainment of the desired object.

He repeated to me that what he continued to desire was a settlement on the basis of a personal union of Holstein, Schleswig, and Lauenburg with Denmark, and nothing more nor less.

I should observe, however, that his Excellency has always admitted that the purely Danish portion of Schleswig ought to be allowed to follow the fate of Jutland.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1093.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Hanover, February* 27, 1864.

I HAVE already had the honour of reporting to your Lordship that the second Hanoverian Chamber had adopted a proposal of one of its members, M. de Benningsen, the President of the National Verein,—"To name a joint Committee composed of seven members of each of the two Chambers for the purpose of speedily deliberating and reporting upon the most appropriate Resolutions to be taken by the States-General in order to protect and to give effect to the threatened rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and of their legitimate Duke, Frederick VIII."

This Resolution of the Second Chamber came under discussion in the First Chamber yesterday, and the debate upon it was continued and brought to a close this day. The opinion was very generally expressed that it was not for the Hanoverian Chambers to pronounce themselves upon the disputed claims of the Prince of Augustenburg, and various amendments to the Resolution were proposed. The word "threatened," as applied to the rights of Schleswig and Holstein, was replaced by the epithet "injured," because the former might imply that those rights were threatened by the great German Powers, and the passage relating to the so-called Duke of Schleswig-Holstein Frederick VIII was expunged, so that the Resolution as passed by the First Chamber was the following:—"To name a joint Committee composed of seven members of each of the two Chambers for the purpose of speedily deliberating and reporting upon the most appropriate Resolutions to be taken by the States-General in order to protect and to give effect to the injured rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein."

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1094.

Earl Russell to Mr. Jerningham.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 29, 1864.

THE despatch of which the inclosed is a copy was read to me on the 20th instant by Count Wachmeister.*

My answer was to the effect that the object of the Treaty of 1852 was to secure the balance of power and maintain the peace of Europe by international engagements.

These objects were of as much importance to France and to Russia as to Great Britain, but neither Power appeared disposed to give material aid in support of the integrity of Denmark.

I said besides, that hitherto Austria and Prussia had professed to abide by the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and to enter Schleswig only in order to hold that Duchy as a material pledge.

At the same time I admitted that Sweden has peculiar interests and closer sympathies than any other country with Denmark, and Her Majesty's Government did not pretend to say what the course of the Swedish Government ought to be.

It is clear, however, that the hopes held out by German agitators to the people of Schleswig and of Holstein of a total separation from Denmark, and other circumstances, have given a graver complexion to the Dano-German affairs, and may hereafter require fresh resolutions and combinations.

You shall be informed of any changes that may take place.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1095.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

Sir, *Copenhagen, February* 25, 1864.

IN compliance with your Lordship's instructions I addressed a note yesterday to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, proposing a Conference in London without a previous suspension of hostilities.

* No. 988

I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that I have since seen Bishop Monrad and M. Quaade, who stated to me that such is at present the state of feeling in Denmark that the accepting of negotiations at this moment might not only be fatal to the Ministry, but even have yet more serious consequences.

On the other hand the Danish Cabinet would be extremely sorry to have to refuse a proposal of such a nature coming from Her Majesty's Government, but under the present circumstances, if forced to give an answer, they can have no option but to refuse.

Such being the state of the case, the Danish Government would be very glad if Her Majesty's Government would not insist on an immediate reply being given to this proposal. Later events may perhaps enable the Danish Government to take advantage of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1096.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 25, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th instant, in which I had the honour to report that, in spite of the outbreak of hostilities in Schleswig, the Danish Secretaries of Legation at Vienna and Berlin, and the Austrian and Prussian Secretaries here, were ordered to remain at their respective posts in an unofficial capacity, I have now to state that Baron Blittersdorf and Count Wesdehlen left Copenhagen yesterday, the Danish Secretaries having previously been recalled from Vienna and Berlin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1097.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 26, 1864.

IN obedience to your Lordship's despatch of the 19th instant, I have read that despatch to M. Quaade, and have given him a copy of it.

His Excellency made no comment, either while I was reading or when I delivered to him the copy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1098.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 26, 1864.

AFTER seeing Bishop Monrad and M. Quaade yesterday I called upon my French and Russian colleagues to inquire if they had received any instructions to advise the Danish Government to accept the Conference proposed by Her Majesty's Government.

Neither of them had at that time received any orders to this effect, but Baron Nicolay's arrived this morning by telegraph, and he lost no time in communicating them to M. Quaade, who has since brought them before his colleagues.

The Russian Government state that they as well as Austria and Prussia have accepted the invitation to the Conference, and that the Emperor ardently hopes that Denmark will not decline it; and a promise is given that if it is accepted, the Emperor will warmly support the integrity of the Danish Monarchy as well as the honour and interests of His Danish Majesty.

Baron Nicolay, who has again seen M. Quaade since the meeting of the Cabinet, has just been to tell me that his Excellency referred him to the answer he had given to me yesterday, but appears to think there is a better chance to-day of the proposal being accepted if a little time is given for reflection, and an answer is not pressed for immediately.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET

No. 1099.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 26, 1864.

M. QUAADE called upon me shortly after receiving the note which, in compliance with your Lordship's instructions, I addressed to his Excellency on the 24th instant, proposing a Conference of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London, with a Representative of the Diet, to be held in London without a suspension of hostilities, in order to devise means for restoring peace between Denmark, Austria, and Prussia.

His Excellency had received my communication at the Council of State, and was then on his way to a Conference of Ministers, where he intended to submit the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to the consideration of the Cabinet. His Excellency gave me, however, very little hope that the Danish Government would be able to accept the proposal, for the feeling in the country was such that he did not think the Government was strong enough to resist the clamour which would arise if they were to consent to negotiations at this moment. It was not only the existence of the Government which would be menaced, he said, but other questions and interests of far more serious importance, in short the dynasty, which might be involved. For himself, he said, he should not be disinclined to agree to the present proposal, but he thought it right to tell me at once the objections with which it would probably be met, and he must acknowledge they were well founded, on the part of the President of the Council and the rest of his colleagues.

In regard to the objections mentioned by his Excellency they are too patent to admit of dispute, but I said that I trusted they would not be the sole considerations on which the Government would take their decision. Every country, I said, was subject to moments of excitement, but it was the duty of the Governments to place themselves above the popular enthusiasm, and to take a calm and dispassionate view of the general interests of the nation, and that if the Danish Government did this I could not believe they would come to the conclusion that they had anything to gain by a prolongation of the war.

M. Quaade, on leaving me, promised to come back after the sitting of the Cabinet. He accordingly did so; and said that the result had been as he had anticipated, but as yet no formal decision had been taken, and he expressed a desire that I should see the President of the Council, and I accordingly called on Bishop Monrad yesterday morning.

His Excellency begged that I would take all he was about to say as preliminary, for no decision had been come to by the Cabinet, nor was the King's pleasure known. His Excellency then spoke of the internal situation of the country, the state of public feeling, and the position of the King.

I said his Excellency appeared to me to attach too much importance to the chances of outward support. I submitted, therefore, to his Excellency that the prospects of foreign support were by no means certain, and that if such was not forthcoming, Denmark, at the end of a longer or a shorter period, would have to make peace, after having incurred a useless expenditure in both blood and treasure, without any other result but that of obtaining worse terms than she might be able to secure now.

Bishop Monrad replied that there were certain conditions which a country might accept without dishonour when it had not farther means of resistance, but which were impossible before that time. His Excellency asked what basis the Conference was to treat upon.

I said no basis had been specified; the Plenipotentiaries would meet and an effort would be made by the mediating Powers to establish a ground for an understanding. The acceptance of the Conference therefore did not, I said, engage the Danish Government to anything beyond this—they would retain perfect freedom of action and could withdraw from the Conference if the terms proposed were judged inacceptable. I quoted several instances of negotiations during hostilities, and I mentioned especially those at Vienna during the Crimean war.

Bishop Monrad was convinced, he said, that no terms to which Germany would consent could be accepted by Denmark now, and he did not therefore see the use of entering a Conference for the purpose of leaving it. He said too, with reference to the negotiations which had taken place at Vienna, that the case was quite different. None of the Powers there represented were engaged in the struggle for life or death, like Denmark at the present moment; and the fact of negotiations for peace going on during hostilities was not calculated to produce the same effect on the public mind, because no national existence was at stake.

Bishop Monrad added, however, that it would be with extreme regret he should

decline the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, and asked whether it might not be possible to avoid insisting upon a reply. If the question was left open events might occur which might possibly enable the Danish Government to take advantage of the proposal later.

M. Quaade expressed to me the same wish, and stated that my insisting upon an answer might be a serious cause of embarrassment to the Government.

No. 1100.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 26, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship the translation of an address which is to be presented to the King by the Rigsdag, urging His Majesty to prosecute the war with vigour, and not to suffer the union existing between the Kingdom and the Duchy of Schleswig to be weakened.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 1100.

Address of the Rigsdag to the King of Denmark.

(Translation.)

Most gracious King!

IN the deep sorrow at the sudden death of your predecessor, of blessed memory, it has been a comfort and a consolation to see your Majesty treading in the footsteps of the departed King by asserting our freedom and independence in the presence of foreign representations and demands for the withdrawal of the Constitution of the 18th of November of last year. The outbreak of war, however, soon destroyed the hopes of a peaceful development of our relations.

After the German Diet, under the name of Execution, had occupied your Majesty's German Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg with the troops of the Diet, and under their protection had permitted a revolution to develop itself in favour of an illegal Pretender, the Great Powers of Germany have sent their army across the frontier of the Kingdom of Denmark, in order, as they say, to take in pledge the Danish country of Schleswig, which was in 1721 again incorporated under, and thereby guaranteed to, the Crown of Denmark, and over which neither Germany nor its Great Powers have ever possessed any authority. After two honourable engagements our brave army has fallen back before a superior force, and evacuated that frontier defence which has been ours for a thousand years. It holds now but a small portion of Schleswig. The enemy have extended themselves over the rest of the country, and suffered foreign companies and revolutionary subjects to expel many of your Majesty's faithful officials and upset the legal authority; during the last few days news has reached us that they have forced their way into Northern Jutland.

Most gracious King!

Under such serious circumstances your Majesty's faithful Parliament feel a strong desire to express themselves frankly and openly to their King in the name of the nation who has elected them.

A war carried on against a superior force will demand great and heavy sacrifices, but it can be maintained with a hope of a favourable issue when confidence exists between King and people.

In this eventful hour we must seek our consolation in the knowledge that the people's cause is the King's cause, that your Majesty will faithfully defend our freedom and independence, and not allow foreign authority to extend itself over the domain of Denmark, or suffer the union between the Kingdom and Schleswig to be weakened.

After the distinct declaration on the part of your Majesty's Government the nation may rely that the whole resources of the country will be devoted to carrying on the war, and that your Majesty will use your utmost endeavours to make it clear to Europe that our national life and independence must never be sacrificed. Your Majesty may rely that the blessings of peace have strengthened the love of the nation for their country, and its readiness to come forward with any sacrifice for Denmark's right and honour.

When mutual reliance thus unites King and people, both can with undaunted courage view the changes and the dangers of war.

Success attend our King! Success attend our gallant army and our beloved Fatherland!

No. 1101.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, February* 27, 1864.

IN my despatch of this morning, I reported to your Lordship a conversation which I had had with M. de Bismarck, as to the wish of Her Majesty's Government to allow the Danish Government a fortnight to decide whether they can accept the invitation of Her Majesty's Government to a Conference to be held in London for devising means for the restoration of peace.

As I had reason to believe that M. de Bismarck had an opportunity, after my interview with him, of speaking to the King on the subject, I have since inquired of his Excellency whether I might inform your Lordship that the Prussian Government had no objection to the proposed delay being allowed to Denmark, and he replied that the Prussian Government are ready now for a Conference, and it may be that they will be so in a fortnight hence, but that he is unable to enter into any engagement as to the latter term.

No. 1102.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, February* 29, 1864.

THE French Minister at this Court has, within the last day or two, received two despatches from his Government of the 25th and 27th instant respectively on the affairs of Schleswig and Holstein.

In the first of these despatches, M. Drouyn de Lhuys refers to the demand of assistance addressed by the Danish Government to the French Government on the ground of the guarantee given by France in 1720, in regard to the possession of the Duchy of Schleswig, to the Danish Crown, but says that the French Government did not consider themselves at present called on to examine the value of that engagement, because Austria and Prussia, before crossing the Eider, had declared that the only object of their invasion of Schleswig was in order to obtain a pledge for the execution of the Agreements of 1851 and 1852, and had, in their identic communications of the 31st ultimo, given the assurance of their intention to maintain the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy; and because, in view of these declarations, there was no reason to suppose that they contemplated to separate Schleswig from the Danish Crown.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, in the course of his despatch, states that your Lordship, in answer to a similar demand of assistance from the Danish Government, had replied that Her Majesty's Government did not consider the present to be an opportune moment for entering into the consideration of the British Guarantee of 1720 of Schleswig to Holstein.

His Excellency adds at the conclusion of his despatch that he had written to the French Minister at Copenhagen in the sense of his preceding observations.

In the second despatch, M. Drouyn de Lhuys states the intention which Her Majesty's Government had announced, when they should have received the assent of the belligerents to a Conference without an armistice, of inviting France, Russia, Sweden, and the German Confederation to take part in it. He then refers to the readiness which Austria is stated to have expressed to agree to such a Conference, founded on her declared intention of maintaining the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and to the probable accession of Prussia to it, but enounces doubts as to the German Diet being disposed to consent to it on account of the hostile views towards Denmark entertained by many of its members.

In conclusion, M. Drouyn de Lhuys observes that when, at the given moment, Her Majesty's Government shall submit the question of the Conference to the French Government, the latter will be found ready to participate in any serious attempt at a pacification.

These despatches appeared to me to be conceived in the same sense as the recent declarations of Her Majesty's Government in Parliament on the questions of the international guarantees of Schleswig and of the proposed Conference.

No. 1103.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 29, 1864.

I HAD the honour to receive late on Saturday afternoon your Lordship's telegram, informing me that the Danish Government, owing to the state of public opinion at Copenhagen, were unable to return an immediate answer to the proposal of a Conference, and that your Lordship had asked the Austrian and Prussian Governments to consent to the delay of a fortnight for the receipt of this answer. Should it be favourable, your Lordship would carry out your intention of inviting France, Russia, Sweden, and the Germanic Confederation to name Representatives to attend the Conference.

In pursuance of your Lordship's instructions, it being then too late to see M. Drouyn de Lhuys, I wrote to him, and yesterday I called upon him and gave him the substance of your telegram.

His Excellency said that he had received advices from Copenhagen, corroborative of the information which your Lordship had received as to the state of public opinion in that capital. He added, that he should wait for the official proposal to consent to a Conference before saying more upon that subject; but nothing fell from his Excellency which would induce me to suppose that when the time came he would object to one.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 1104.

Mr. Elliot to Earl Russell.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord, *Turin, February* 24, 1864.

THE newspapers have lately announced a pretended offer on the part of the Italian Government to go to the assistance of Denmark.

M. Visconti Venosta and M. Minghetti have both mentioned the report to me as one which it was not necessary seriously to contradict.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 1105.

Consul-General Crowe to Earl Russell.—(Received March 3.)

My Lord, *Leipzig, March* 1, 1864.

I HAVE to inform your Lordship that M. von Beust, Prime Minister of the King of Saxony, M. von Watzdorff, Prime Minister of the Grand Duke of Weimar, and M. von Seebach, Minister of His Royal Highness the Duke of Saxe Coburg-Gotha, all arrived here on the 28th ultimo, and after a Conference returned the same day to their several homes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. A. CROWE.

No. 1106.

Mr. Murray to Earl Russell.—(Received March 4.)

My Lord, *Dresden, March* 2, 1864.

VARIOUS reports have recently been circulated in Germany, and have found their way into the newspapers touching the threatening language held by Prussia to Saxony before and since the Würzburg Conference, and also touching the results supposed to have arisen therefrom. It has not transpired here whether General de Manteuffel was actually the bearer of a comminatory letter from the King of Prussia to the King of Saxony, but there is little doubt that the message which he brought partook of that character, and it has had the effect of causing considerable uneasiness in this city. A possible occupation of Saxony by Prussian troops has been spoken of, and it has been reported that the Crown jewels and other treasures in the "Green Vaults" were packed up ready for

removal to the fortress of Königstein. Although there is doubtless great tension in the present relations between the two Courts, the above-mentioned reports are much exaggerated, and the last of them groundless, as the "Green Vaults" were visited yesterday by an acquaintance of mine, and the jewels and other treasures were exhibited in their usual places.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 1107.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 4, 1864.

I HAVE to state to you, with reference to your telegram, that the early meeting of the proposed Conference might probably lead to the prohibition of such forced contributions as those to which you allude as being exacted from the inhabitants of Jutland by the German forces now in that province.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1108.

Sir A, Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 5.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, March* 3, 1864.

IT is rather singular that neither the archives of the Diet or of the Prussian Legation can supply a copy of the entire Act of Renunciation of the Duke of Augustenburg of the 30th of December, 1852, of which your Lordship has directed me to endeavour to obtain an official copy.

The document is published at page 57 of the "Staats-Archiv" of Ludwig Karl Ægidi and Alfred Klanhold (Hamburgh, Otto Meissner, 1864), in the number for January and February.

If it is wished to have this document translated *in extenso*, it will take a long time, as it contains more than five pages of closely-printed matter, most of which is unimportant, wholly relating to pecuniary matters and details.

I therefore beg your Lordship's special instructions on this point. In the meantime I beg to inclose a translation which Mr. Mitford has made of the two most essential paragraphs, which will also be found at page 458 of the printed Protocols of the Diet relating to the sitting of 21st November last, which I have already had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship's office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 1108.

Extract from the Report of the Sitting of the Diet of the 21*st of November*, 1863.

(Translation.)

Denmark in re Holstein and Lauenburg.—The Envoy must, in the name of his Government, protest in the most decided manner against every claim of members of the Ducal Line of Augustenburg to succession to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg as completely unfounded, nor can he omit to add how, in order to provide against all possible future pretensions of the sort, Duke Christian Augustus of Augustenburg gave assurances to the Danish Government, in a document of the 30th December, 1852, of which Articles 2 and 3 are as follows:—

"2. Moreover we engage, for our person and our family, not only for the future to take up our abode without the dominions and country of His Majesty, in which it is self-understood we and our successors neither can nor will acquire any landed property; but we

"3. Vow and promise, besides, for ourselves and our family, on our Princely word and honour, to undertake nothing calculated to disturb or endanger the peace in His

Majesty's dominions. Likewise we engage ourselves in no way to oppose any present or future resolutions of His Majesty regulating the Succession to all countries now united under his sceptre, or the eventual organization of His Majesty's Monarchy."

No. 1109.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 28, 1864.

IN conformity with the sense of your Lordship's telegram, I waited on Prince Gortchakoff this forenoon, and stated to his Excellency that the Cabinet of Copenhagen desired to defer for a time their reply to the overture of Her Majesty's Government for a Conference in London, in consequence of the excitement prevailing among the people of Copenhagen. I added, that Her Majesty's Government had charged Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Vienna and Berlin to ascertain whether there would be any objection to postpone any demand for a decision on the part of the Danish Government for the period of a fortnight.

Prince Gortchakoff remarked on this subject that his co-operation was not required by Her Majesty's Government; he had, therefore, merely an expression of opinion to make. His impression was that the delay desired by the Danish Cabinet, and advocated by Her Majesty's Government, was impolitic. The meeting of the Conference might be an unpalatable remedy, but it was necessary for the welfare of Denmark. That remedy ought to be taken at once by a bold resolution; if deferred, its acceptance might be rendered more difficult. Time in this matter was more than usually precious, and every delay exposed us to the hazards of some unknown contingency. In his opinion the Cabinet of Copenhagen ought rather to have been pressed to assent at once.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 1110.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 27, 1864.

WHEN I communicated to Count Rechberg the wish of Her Majesty's Government that a fortnight should be allowed to the Danish Government, on account of the excited state of public feeling at Copenhagen, to decide as to their answer to the invitation to attend a Conference in London, his Excellency said that he made no objection to the delay, but he deeply regretted it because the question of an armistice would be thereby postponed, and the difficulties at Frankfort further increased.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1111.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 3, 1864.

THE Austrian Government have not published the address from Schleswig which was presented to the Emperor on the 28th ultimo by a deputation of inhabitants of that Duchy; but Count Rechberg has mentioned to me that it was not expressed in terms which accorded with the opinions of the Imperial Government, and that the allusions to the question of the Augustenburg Succession were regrettable.

After the expression of thanks for the delivery of Schleswig from the yoke of Denmark the following three points, I understand, are urged by the deputation on the Emperor's consideration :—

1. The means of effecting the complete separation of Schleswig from Denmark as a consequence of the extinction of the old line;

2. The recognition of the ancient law of Succession by virtue of which the Augustenburg line inherits the Government of Schleswig, as well as of Holstein;

3. The inseparable union of Schleswig and Holstein existing in accordance with ancient rights.

The Emperor is said to have replied in substance as follows:—

"It gives me the greatest satisfaction to see persons belonging to the Duchy of Schleswig before me. In common with the King of Prussia I have taken up the cause of your country, of which the rights have been injured, both because distinct assurances impose upon me the duty of so doing, and because Germany takes the deepest sympathy in the fortunes of Schleswig, which for centuries has been intimately connected with a German country. I rejoice with you at the success of the brave allied army, which has put a stop to the trials which have hitherto been borne by you and your countrymen. The magnitude of the sacrifices which have been made in your cause affords you a fresh pledge that your country will receive no mere temporary relief, but that lasting satisfaction will be given to its just claims. Providence has imposed upon me obligations which claim prior attention to the satisfaction of a wish which is dangerous to the general peace of Europe. I confidently hope, however, that an honourable future will be assured to the Duchies, and one which will satisfy all principles of right and all conditions of prosperity."

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1112.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 3, 1864.

I HAVE taken an opportunity of reading to Count Rechberg your Lordship's despatch of the 24th ultimo, transmitting to me the copy of one addressed by his Excellency to Count Apponyi respecting some observations made by Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons with regard to the unjustifiable entrance of the Austro-Prussian army into Schleswig.

His Excellency made no remarks as I proceeded to read your Lordship's despatch, and when I had finished, I offered to leave it with him in case he might desire to conside, it at his leisure. He replied that there would be no use in prolonging this correspondencer and he evidently preferred its being dropped.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1113.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 29, 1864.

I SAW in the papers some days ago that the Prussians were levying contributions in Kolding and its neighbourhood, but I would not report it to Her Majesty's Government until I had been enabled to ascertain its correctness.

I am now, however, enabled to give your Lordship the following information.

The Prussian outposts on the 27th ultimo were immediately outside the town on all sides except the south. There were at one time there between 6,000 and 7,000 men, but the number was reduced on the 22nd to about 3,500, which number still remains in the town. Besides these there are about 1,500 men outside the town within the Jutland frontier.

The town authorities have had to deliver rations for these men up to the present time to the value of from 1,200 to 1,500 rigsdalers daily.

An arrangement has been made, that after the 1st of March a magazine is to be established in Kolding, to be furnished at the expense of the town and country conjointly, and from this the whole of the German troops in Jutland are to be supplied,

The number of rations returned by the Prussian authorities as required after the 1st of March, was for 5,350 men and 1,600 horses daily.

P.S. March 1.—Since writing the above, your Lordship's despatch of the 24th ultimo, inclosing a copy of Sir Andrew Buchanan's of the 20th, has arrived, from which it appears that the information I have communicated above is in conformity with the intentions expressed by M. de Bismarck to Her Majesty's Ambassador, as a measure of retaliation for the seizure of Prussian ships by the Danish cruizers, a doctrine which, if once admitted and carried out to its logical conclusion, may end in the confiscation of the whole of the property in Jutland, and when this has been done, if Denmark should

still continue to resist, to the permanent conquest of that Province by Prussia as compensation for the losses of Prussian subjects and the sacrifices of the Prussian Government in the present war.

No. 1114.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 2, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th ultimo, I have the honour to inclose a translation by Mr. Kirkpatrick of the answer returned by His Danish Majesty to the Address of the Rigsdag.

Inclosure in No. 1114.

The King of Denmark's Answer to the Rigsdag.

(Translation.)

My faithful Rigsdag!

I THANK you for the sentiments you have expressed. I rely upon you, upon my trusty Danish people. I will stand fast and hold out to the uttermost. I will do all in my power to obtain a Peace worthy of Denmark.

I will not sanction the withdrawal of the existing political union between the Kingdom and Schleswig. I will be a free King ruling a free people. The King is only free when the nation is independent. The nation is only free if the existing constitutional relations are maintained and developed.

I trust in the Almighty God that there may one day be engraved with truth upon my tomb, "No heart beat more truly for Denmark."

God be with you!

No. 1115.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 2, 1864.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram I immediately informed M. Quaade that Her Majesty's Government, unwilling to cause embarrassment to the Danish Government, and sensible of the difficulties by which that Government is surrounded, will not press for an answer to the proposal for a Conference for a fortnight from the 27th ultimo, and I have also communicated to his Excellency the purport of your Lordship's further telegram on this subject.

I have urged upon both M. Quaade and Bishop Monrad how very desirable it is that the Danish Government should lose no time in notifying their acceptance of the proposed Conference, pointing out to them how much more difficult complications in Germany might make it for Austria and Prussia to treat upon reasonable terms. I have informed their Excellencies that Austria, Prussia, and France, were now quite ready to come to the Conference, but I did not think it necessary to allude to Russia, as your Lordship is aware that the Imperial Cabinet has already made a representation to the Danish Government in support of the Conference.

No. 1116.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 2, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that an engagement took place at Skjödegaard and Skjödebjerg, half way between Varde and Fredericia, between a squadron of the Danish 3rd Dragoon Regiment and two squadrons of German Hussars.

The losses on the Danish side were 6 wounded, 3 missing, and 5 horses. They took about 30 prisoners and 2 officers.

General Gerlach having been appointed to succeed General De Meza assumed the chief command of the army yesterday morning.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1117.

Mr. Jerningham to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Stockholm, March* 1, 1864.

I LEARN from Count Manderström that the King is to leave for Christiania on the 9th instant in order to open the extraordinary session of the Storthing on the 14th for the consideration of military measures, and that His Majesty will probably be absent about three weeks.

The King is to be preceded, accompanied, or followed by M. Sibbern, the Norwegian Minister of State, Count Manderström, Baron de Geer, Minister of Justice, M. Lagersbrale, Minister of the Interior, and one of the military Members of the Cabinet.

No. 1118.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, March* 1, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 27th ultimo, I have to report that Baron Hügel told me this morning that throughout his statement to the Lower Chamber on the Würzburg Conference (transmitted in the above despatch) he alluded only to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, and made no reference to Schleswig.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. J. R. GORDON.

No. 1119.

Mr. Gordon to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, March* 1, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 19th ultimo, reporting the demand made by this Government for a vote by the legislature of a limited credit for military purposes, I have the honour to report that the Chamber of Deputies has acceded to the recommendation of their Committee to agree to this credit with a slight reduction.

The sum voted is 680,000 florins, and the most important of the objects which the Government has in view is the application of this grant in the purchase of horses for the train.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. J. R. GORDON.

No. 1120.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Munich, March* 1, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith a summary of the resolutions voted at a large popular meeting held at Erlangen, at which 7,000 persons were present, in favour of the Schleswig-Holstein cause.

Your Lordship will perceive that a censure is passed therein on the Bavarian Government for their apathy and want of energy in the cause of the independence of the Duchies, and the opinion is expressed that the national cause can only be furthered in Bavaria by the immediate convocation of the Chambers and the mobilization of the army.

From private information which I have received I am enabled to confirm the opinion expressed to your Lordship in my despatch of the 24th ultimo, stating that the Ministry were not disposed to advance further in the question of Schleswig-Holstein, and that a fear of the Revolutionary party had lately produced a desire for a better understanding between the minor States of Germany and the two great German Powers.

I am consequently disposed to believe that the result of the meeting at Erlangen will be to deter the Government from any active measures in the sense of the Resolutions passed rather than to induce them to act in concurrence with them.

At the same time the position of the Government, as regards the public opinion of the

country, is one of difficulty and embarrassment, and they are consequently obliged to exercise great caution so as not to expose themselves to any violent popular ebullition.

I may here remark to your Lordship that the idea of the formation of a third Power in Germany (for the headship of which Bavaria has always been ambitious) has lately been proved impracticable.

This third group, which was to have consisted of all the minor States and which has been known under the name of "the Bambergers" and "the Würzburgers," is now divided in itself, as was shown by the absence of Hanover, Oldenburg, and Electoral Hesse at the Conference at Würzburg, and again by the divergence of their votes at the Diet on the occasion of discussing the four points of the Report of the Committee on the Schleswig-Holstein Succession.

It must therefore be apparent that if the Bavarian Government had ever looked to the realization of a third Power in Germany, or as it is usually called the "Trias," under her auspices, this hope must be now regarded as illusory, and to this circumstance may be possibly owing the desire of the Bavarian Government to resume their former cordial understanding with Austria and to harmonize with the policy of the two great German Powers.

Inclosure in No. 1120.

Report of Meeting at Erlangen on the Schleswig-Holstein Question.

(Translation.) *Erlangen, February* 28, 1864.

THE general meeting of the people in the Schloss Garten amounted to above 7,000 persons.

The following resolutions were adopted :—

1. Schleswig-Holstein governed as an independent German territory by its rightful Duke Frederick VIII is the solution demanded by the honour and interests of Germany from the German-Danish conflict; any other is unworthy and illegal. (Proposed by Professor Marquardsen, the manufacturer Medicus, and the Deputy Carl Barth.)

2. As the steps hitherto taken by the Bavarian Government for carrying out the policy expressed in the Royal Declaration of the 17th December, 1863, in concord with the entire Bavarian people, have proved themselves to be insufficient, we deeply regret that the course clearly laid down for the stronger unity of the pure German States has not been followed up with energy, and we expect that by the immediate convocation of the Bavarian Chambers, and by the calling into activity the Bavarian armed forces, the serious gravity of the present position will be met. (Proposed by Deputy C. Crämer and Advocate von Pölnitz.)

3. Even now we are convinced it only requires the fulfilment of the national duty of perseverance in an undeviating determined action on the part of the German people and of those Governments which have proved themselves true to the national cause, and especially in an open confidence of the latter in the willingness to make sacrifices on the part of the German nation and its different branches in order to bring about a national and rightful solution of the Schleswig-Holstein question, and with it that of the honour and existence of Germany. (Proposed by Deputy Dr. Völk, the President Marquardson, the Vice-President Medicus, from Munich, and Dr. Müller, from Ratisbon.)

No. 1121.

Mr. Murray to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Dresden, March* 4, 1864.

IN reference to the letter from the King of Prussia to the King of Saxony, alluded to in my despatch of the 2nd of March, as having been, according to general report, of a comminatory nature, I asked M. de Beust yesterday to give me such information as he might feel himself at liberty to communicate on the subject.

His Excellency told me that he had seen the letter, and that although the King of Prussia therein expressed his regret that the Saxon Government did not coincide in the opinions that he had formed, and in the measures which he had found himself compelled to adopt in respect to the Schleswig-Holstein question, the tone of the letter was perfectly courteous and friendly.

His Excellency's expressions in conclusion were :—"Il n'y avait pas l'ombre de menace ni de pression."

No. 1122.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Hamburgh, March 4, 1864.*

THE Austrian-Prussian army in the north of Schleswig has been inactive during the last fortnight, with the exception of some slight skirmishes at the outposts. The Prussian forces under Prince Frederick Charles still occupy the Sundewitt district before the Düppel entrenchments, and batteries have been erected on the small peninsula of Broacker, which threaten Sonderburg in Alsen, but no general attack upon the Danish entrenchments has yet taken place, nor is it known here when the operations are to begin. A reconnaissance was made on the 2nd instant at Rackebüll, east of Rübel, which led to a fight, in which four Prussian companies were engaged, and retired with very slight loss. The unfavourable state of the weather and the wetness of the soil are alleged by some persons as reasons for the inaction of the allied army, but others think that Field-Marshal Wrangel has a plan of operations different from that of a general assault or storm of the Düppel entrenchments.

The allies continue to hold Kolding, in Jutland, whilst the Danes use their position at Fredericia to assist Alsen and to supply their army in Alsen from that part. The Danes have lately landed troops in the Island of Fehmarn, which as they consider belongs to Schleswig, though locally it lies on the coast of Holstein and is peopled by Germans. This latter position whilst held by the Danes enables them to menace Holstein, and it seems singular that the Prussians should have allowed them to occupy it.

It is reported here that the allies being desirous of putting their troops in Schleswig into cantonments, have proposed to the Danes to consent to that arrangement, and to refrain from attacking them from Jutland in the flank. If the Danes should not be found willing to agree to this proposal the allies will, it is said, find themselves obliged on strategical grounds to advance further into Jutland, and at all events to take Fredericia.

In the Federal army which occupies Holstein there is a strong feeling of resentment against Prussia, on account of the recent appearance of her troops in that Duchy, and some persons seem to believe that the Prussian Government has plans of aggrandizement in the Duchies which would be wholly inconsistent with its Federal engagements. The character of the King of Prussia is, however, considered a great security against any such schemes being carried out, His Majesty's sense of honour and justice being too strong to permit his sanctioning any schemes of conquest in Holstein or Schleswig contrary to the duty of Prussia towards the Confederation, or to the professions with which Austria and Prussia began the campaign.

No. 1123.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March 4, 1864.*

THE Hanoverian "Gazette" of this day publishes two notifications of the Minister of Finance and Commerce bearing the date of the 3rd instant.

The first states that, according to a Resolution of the Danish Government, German ships upon which an embargo has been laid in Danish ports or bays shall be permitted to proceed without let or hindrance, in ballast or with the cargoes with which they entered, with a safe-conduct, to such non-blockaded port as they select, until the 1st of April of this year, on the condition of réciprocity being granted by the Government in question. The Hanoverian Government having in like manner given until the 1st of April next to the Danish vessels, upon which an embargo has been laid in Hanoverian ports or waters, permission to depart without impediment, and thus granted reciprocity to the Danish Government, the Minister of Finance makes this publicly known. He adds the communication that the Hanoverian Government will likewise permit those Danish vessels which took in a cargo in a foreign port with the destination for a German port before the publication of the order for the embargo, to carry out their voyage to such port without molestation, and there discharge their cargo, and afterwards to clear out from thence without hindrance.

The second notification announces that the Austrian Government have ordered the equipment of a squadron of the Imperial navy, a part of which will cruize on this side of Gibraltar as far as the "Canal de la Manche," and the duty of which will be to protect not only Austrian, but likewise Prussian and other German merchant flags against attacks from Danish men-of-war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1124.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March* 5, 1864.

IT will be known to your Lordship that on the one hand Hanover voted in the sitting of the German Diet of the 3rd instant, as my correspondence will have led your Lordship to anticipate, in favour of the Austro-Prussian proposal concerning the command-in-chief of the Federal troops in Holstein, and the nomination by Austria and Prussia, of two further Commissioners for that Duchy, which proposal, however, was not adopted, but was referred to the Committee; and that, on the other, the Hanoverian Envoy made in the same sitting, in connection with the above-mentioned vote, the subjoined motion, upon which a vote was to be taken in eight days:—

"Although the German Confederation is not at war with Denmark, the Danish Government have nevertheless ordered that German ships, without distinction of flags, should be captured as prizes on the high seas by their ships.

"By this measure, the Danish Government have virtually proceeded to hostile acts against the German Confederation. For it presupposes that ships under German flags belong to hostile States, and according to the indubitable principles of the law of nations, the capture and the appropriation of ships as prizes can only take place when a state of warfare already exists between the States to which the ships to be captured belong. The Royal Government think it therefore necessary that the German Diet should not any longer leave unnoticed those hostile attacks of Denmark upon the flags and the property of the States of the Confederation, and therefore make the following proposal:—

"That the Diet should resolve that a summons should be addressed by the President of the Diet to the Royal Danish Government, within fourteen days to restore the ships under German flags which may have been captured on the high seas, and to repeal the order for their capture, as otherwise the German Confederation will take the proper measures for vindicating its injured rights."

Count Platen had made a complete secret to me, as well as to the other foreign Ministers, as I learn, of the intention of his Government to make this proposal to the Diet, and it was consequently through the newspapers that I first heard of it.

I had some conversation with his Excellency on the subject of it yesterday morning, during the course of which I expressed my regret that he should again be taking the lead at the Diet in bringing forward motions against Denmark.

His Excellency replied that by making this proposal he had prevented the production of another of a less moderate character which was in contemplation on the part of some of the German Governments, and which would at once have committed the Diet to declare war upon Denmark if she did not restore the captured ships. His Excellency observed that it was impossible for him to remain inactive whilst Denmark was capturing Hanoverian ships, and that as Hanover had no navy with which to exercise reprisals at sea, she and Germany would be driven to making war by land, and he adverted to the occupation of Jutland as a means of retaliation against Denmark. He felt confident that his motion would be adopted by the Diet.

Until Denmark took maritime measures against Hanover, the Hanoverian Government appeared anxious to avoid any step which might bring on a war between her, or rather between the Confederation and Denmark, but it now appears that they are more inclined to associate themselves to the warlike policy of the Middle German Governments.

It may, however, I think, be doubted how far it would suit Austria and Prussia, whose object it is to keep the conduct of the war in their own hands, to admit the Diet to participate in it.

The foregoing statement of the Hanoverian proposal at the Diet is that which was made yesterday by the Minister of Justice in the Second Chamber, in reply to a question of M. de Benningsen, and is more detailed than the account which was given me by Count Platen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1125.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March* 5, 1864.

SUBSEQUENTLY to the date of my despatch of the 27th ultimo, the Second Chamber agreed to the amendments of the First Chamber to the proposal which it had

originated for the appointment of a Joint Committee of both Houses to report upon the Schleswig-Holstein question, the most important of these amendments being the omission of all reference to the claims of the Prince of Augustenburg.

Both Chambers then proceeded to elect the seven members from each to compose the Committee. In the meetings of the latter which have taken place, considerable differences of opinion showed themselves, the members belonging to the Second Chamber urging the advocacy of the pretensions of the Prince of Augustenburg, those belonging to the First Chamber being equally firm in opposing any recognition of them. The result of the deliberations has, I am informed, been an agreement upon a somewhat vague resolution to be proposed to the Chambers, in which the name of the Prince does not find a place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1126.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, March 5,* 1864.

IN the ordinary sitting of the Diet on the 3rd instant, the joint proposition of Austria and Prussia to assume the military command in Holstein, and to appoint Civil Commissioners of their own to share in the Government of the Duchy, as reported in my despatch of the 26th ultimo, was voted upon, but did not obtain a majority, and the voices being equally divided, the proposition was referred to the Holstein Committee.

At the same time, propositions were made by Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt, which were also referred to the Committee to be reported upon conjointly with that of the two Great Powers.

The proposition of Bavaria, I am informed, was to reinforce the Federal Corps of Execution in Holstein, and to establish Federal reserves.

That of Hesse-Darmstadt was to the effect that Federal troops should take part in the operations in Schleswig.

There was also, as I learn, a Hanoverian proposition relating to the seizure of German merchant traders by Danish ships of war, inviting the Diet to pronounce such seizure a *casus belli.*

This was also referred to the standing Committee.

There is an impression that the Hesse-Darmstadt proposition is purposely made with the view of involving the Confederation in the hostilities now in progress in Schleswig, in support of the proceedings of Austria and Prussia; and the measure is regarded as being of a conciliatory nature to the two Great Powers, and as showing the readiness of the minor States to embark in all the risks those Governments are incurring by their aggression on Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 1127.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, March 5,* 1864.

I LEARN on good authority that M. Von der Pfordten was prepared to present his report in favour of the Succession of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg to Holstein and Schleswig in the Diet's sitting of the 3rd instant, but that his Excellency received orders from his Government by telegraph, either just before or during the sitting, to abstain for the present from taking farther steps in the matter.

The Bavarian Government has so committed itself to the support of the Prince's pretensions that it would be rash to infer they had abandoned the cause, but there are certain indications that the secondary States finding it impossible to make head against Austria and Prussia, are trying conciliation, and abstaining from pressing this question may be one of the means taken for showing their altered policy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 1128.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, March 5, 1864.*

WITH reference to the instruction that I should transmit to your Lordship an official copy of the Duke of Augustenburg's Act of Renunciation of the 30th of December, 1852, I have the honour to state, that I have compared the the translation inclosed in my despatch of the 25th November, 1863, with the printed copy published in Ægidi's "State Archives" (which is, as I am informed on good authority, authentic), and have found that it is a correct rendering of the original Act.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 1129.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March 3, 1864.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 27th ultimo, I have the honour to inclose herewith copies of the Address presented to the King of Prussia by the Schleswig deputation on the 23rd ultimo, and of His Majesty's reply, with translations by Mr. Lowther and Mr. North.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 1129.

Extract from the "Kreuz Zeitung" of March 3, 1864.

Address of the Schleswig Deputation.

(Translation.)
Most Gracious King!

WE are constrained now to express unreservedly to you, as our innermost conviction, that the people of Schleswig hold it to be their country's right that it should form, united with Holstein, an independent State, and be hereditary in the line of the House of Olden burg, according to the law of primogeniture. We recognize this principle only in the person of Duke Frederick of Augustenburg, our rightful Lord. We hold the faster to our Duke's rights because we see in them the only means of freeing us, for ever and completely, from all connection with Denmark, and of precluding any further disturbance of the peace. We can affirm that we hereby loyally echo the expressed sentiments of the peaceable and reflecting population of the country, who are penetrated by a sense of their rights, in proportion as violence and anarchy are foreign to their natures. We have full confidence in the wisdom of your Majesty, which has led so many brave soldiers to glory, and will through your gallant army accomplish results in accordance with the rights of our country. We shall return to our homes carrying in our hearts an inextinguishable joy if we can take back the prospect that your Majesty will protect our country's rights in this manner, and thereby found its independence.

Answer of the King of Prussia.

I receive with pleasure from your mouth the expression of the feelings with which the population of Schleswig has greeted my troops and their gallant Austrian comrades. The thanks for the speedy results which you have obtained are due to the Almighty Disposer of battles. I take the warmest interest in the welfare of your Duchy, bound to me by so many ties. We must gain pledges to secure for the future the rights and interests of the Duchies. We hope to attain this end, and also to settle the question of the dynasty mooted in your address. These matters cannot be settled without the interference of the Confederation and of the European Powers, and I cannot forestall events. Of this you may be well assured, that the trials of which you complain shall not recur if God further blesses our counsels and our arms. Keep fast this hope, and assist me and my allies in securing, under God, a happy future for the Duchies.

No. 1130.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 5, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir Augustus Paget, inclosing the copy of a note which I have received from M. de Bismarck, requesting me to inform the Danish Government that, in conformity with Resolutions adopted by the Frankfort Diet, the Prussian Government are ready, on condition of reciprocal treatment on the part of Denmark, to raise the embargo on Danish vessels in Prussian ports, and to permit them to leave until the 1st of April next. The Prussian Government are also willing to agree that all Danish ships which may have taken in cargo in a neutral port, before the notification of the embargo, for a port in Prussia, shall be allowed to pursue their voyage and discharge their cargo, and leave again unmolested.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1130.

Sir A. Buchanan to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Berlin, March* 1, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a note which has been addressed to me by M. de Bismarck, in which his Excellency, referring to a unanimous vote of the Frankfort Diet on the 25th instant, requests me to communicate through you to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs the decision of the Prussian Government to raise the embargo laid on Danish ships in the ports of Prussia as soon as they shall be informed that the Danish Government shall adhere to these proposals, and that the ships of Denmark in Prussian ports and those of Prussia in Danish ports should be respectively allowed to return home.

His Excellency further informs me in this note that Danish vessels which had, before the decree of embargo was known, shipped cargoes for Prussian ports shall be allowed to proceed to their destination, deliver their cargoes, and leave again unmolested, on condition of reciprocal treatment on the part of Denmark.

The Prussian Government desire to learn as soon as possible what the decision of the Danish Government on the subject may be, and I have to request, therefore, that you will make me acquainted with it with the least possible delay.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1130.

M. de Bismarck to Sir A. Buchanan.

(Translation.)

THE Danish Ministry of Marine has made known by a proclamation of the 15th instant that up to the 1st of April next, enemy's ships in Danish harbours and bays already placed under an embargo may, upon the understanding of reciprocity on the part of the Governments concerned, depart free and unhindered with a pass to any port they may designate other than one blockaded.

The Diet has since unanimously decreed at its sitting of the 25th instant, on the condition of reciprocity, that not only shall Danish ships upon which an embargo has been laid be allowed a term of six weeks up to the 1st of April to clear, but also that those Danish vessels which before the notification of the embargo shall have shipped a cargo in a foreign harbour, destined for a German port, shall be allowed to proceed on its voyage to such port, there to discharge its cargo, and to clear outwards unmolested by any German State.

This decision was come to upon the supposition that the Danish Government would, following the principles of international law, pursue a similar course.

The Undersigned begs Sir A. Buchanan, &c., to communicate the above to the Danish Government, and to endeavour to bring about the adoption by them of a similar course as that indicated in the above-mentioned resolution of the Federal Diet.

As soon as this is agreed to by the Danish Government the Prussian Government will be ready to put the principle of the said Resolution of the Diet into force in Prussia.

As it is in the interests of all parties that this matter should be settled as soon as possible, the Undersigned has the honour to request Sir A. Buchanan to be so good as to give it his immediate attention, and to request an early reply to his communication.

(Signed) VON BISMARCK.

No. 1131.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 5, 1864.

WITH reference to my telegram of this day's date, I have the honour to inclose herewith translation of an article from the official "Provincial Correspondenz," in which the probability of a joint action of Austrian and Prussian troops is referred to.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 1131.

Extract from the "Provincial Correspondenz."

(Translation.)

THE first object of the united measure of the two great German Powers, the occupation of Schleswig as a security, being accomplished in its most important points, the conduct of Denmark, however, rendering necessary the determined prosecution of the war even beyond the frontiers of Jutland, the *entente cordiale* of Austria and Prussia will probably shortly prove itself in fresh deeds. The negotiations concerning their further united attitude, for which our King has sent General Manteuffel to Vienna, have, as far as we know at present, been most prosperous, and are near to their complete termination.

No. 1132.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, March* 5, 1864.

I AM assured on good authority that General Manteuffel may be expected here this evening or to-morrow morning on his return from Vienna, after having come to a satisfactory understanding with Austria, as to the prosecution of the war by the invasion of Jutland, and it is even said by the siege of Fredericia and an eventual occupation of Funen.

This information is in some degree confirmed by a report which has reached me this morning of 17,000 men being under orders for the seat of war.

On the other hand, I can state positively that M. de Bismarck says no immediate measures are about to be taken for the invasion of Jutland, although the idea of occupying the whole Province as a means of obtaining compensation for Prussian losses at sea is far from being abandoned, and there is every prospect of Austria and Prussia coming to an arrangement for carrying it out.

His Excellency has also mentioned that in the meantime 6,000 Prussians are on their way to Holstein to strengthen the military position of Austria and Prussia in that Duchy, and I believe these troops will enter Holstein on the pretence that they have been furnished by Prussia instead of a reserve of 6,000 Austrians, which it was proposed at Frankfort that Austria should provide for the occupation of the Duchy.

With respect to Duppel, contradictory reports are in circulation. The position, however, is acknowledged by all parties to be extremely strong, and not likely to be taken without a siege of some duration, and a considerable sacrifice of men, while its capture might not ensure by any means that of the Island of Alsen.

There is also a report in circulation that Fredericia should be besieged simultaneously with Duppel, as it is said that assistance might be afforded from one position for the defence of the other, if one only were attacked.

I may also take this opportunity of mentioning that the Prussian Government are not without hopes of being able to turn their naval resources to account, and of resisting the blockade of their ports or any other naval operations undertaken by Denmark, by bringing a larger force into action on any given point.

No. 1133.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 7, 1864.

FROM accounts which have reached Her Majesty's Government from Berlin, it appears that M. Bismarck has alluded to the possibility of an armistice being concluded, and Her Majesty's Government will be glad to know whether in this respect the language of Count Rechberg corresponds with that of the Prussian Minister, and if so on what conditions his Excellency considers that an armistice may be established.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1134.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 7, 1864.

THE statements which are made in various quarters respecting the maritime preparations of Austria render it desirable that your Lordship should ascertain from Count Rechberg what direction the Austrian Government propose to give to their naval forces. More especially does it interest Her Majesty's Government to know what amount of Austrian force is to be employed in the North Sea, and whether it is intended that Austrian cruizers should visit the Cattegat or the Baltic.

Your Excellency will endeavour to obtain full information on these several points.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1135.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 8, 1864.

THE Governments of Austria and Prussia, according to the accounts which have reached Her Majesty's Government from Berlin and Vienna, are willing to agree to an armistice on one of the following bases, either—

1. That the military *status quo* should, during the armistice, be maintained in Schleswig and in Jutland; or,

2. That the Danish troops should evacuate Schleswig, and the German troops should evacuate Jutland.

In either case hostilities by sea to be suspended.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that if the Cabinet of Copenhagen would accept either of the proposed bases and agree at the same time to enter into a Conference for the adjustment of pending differences with the German Powers, the result would probably be the conclusion of a peace on very fair and reasonable conditions.

It is not, however, desirable that you should press the Danish Government for a final answer to the proposal which you have already made to it for a Conference, until you shall have received the detailed instructions for the guidance of your language which I propose to send to you by messenger to-morrow.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1136.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 9.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, March* 5, 1864.

WITH reference to my previous despatch of this day, I have the honour to add that I have seen M. de Bismarck this evening, and have been informed by his Excellency that orders will be issued immediately for the advance of the Prussian army into Jutland, and the complete occupation of the Province.

He said assurances will, however, be given to Her Majesty's Government that the declaration of the 31st of January will be maintained, and that Prussia will be ready at any time to agree to an armistice on the military *status quo*, or on the condition of the evacuation of Jutland by the troops of Germany, and of Schleswig by those of Denmark, and the cessation of hostilities at sea.

I also learnt from him that siege operations against Düppel will be commenced as soon as the necessary preparations have been completed. I therefore observed that it appeared to me the capture of Düppel would be a political error, as Denmark might be more disposed to consent to the administrative union of the south of Schleswig with Holstein, if she had reason to believe that Düppel was impregnable.

No. 1137.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 7, 1864.

YOUR Lordship is doubtless fully informed by Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen and Her Majesty's Consul-General for Holstein, of the proceedings of the Austro-Prussian authorities in Schleswig, and of the measures which they are taking to organize the Duchy as a German Province in union with Holstein. The removal of a monument from the churchyard at Flensburg, which has been greatly complained of at Copenhagen, has, I have reason to believe, been disapproved of here, and I am told that M. de Zedlitz has been censured for acting in the matter without asking for instructions, and has been ordered to take measures for the safe keeping of the monument, and for preventing the bronze of which it is composed from being made into medals as was intended, for purposes of political agitation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1138.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, March* 7, 1864.

AN account has been received here this morning from Prince Frederick Charles's head-quarters at Gravenstein, which mentions that no doubt was entertained in the Prussian camp that by the end of this week the army would be in a situation to begin its operations seriously upon the Düppel entrenchments. The Prussian Colonel Colonier, who had been sent to Berlin to urge despatch with the artillery to be sent from thence, had returned to the camp with the intelligence that the required artillery was already on its way, which is confirmed by the fact that yesterday and the day before six Prussian battalions with artillery and train passed through Hamburgh, and to-day more are expected. The strength of these new Prussian reinforcements will, I understand, be that of a full brigade of 6,000 men.

No doubt is entertained here that an understanding has been come to between Austria and Prussia, according to which the allied forces are to advance into Jutland, and at all events besiege Fredericia, which is indispensable to them in a strategical point of view.

The Danish Government is said to be much irritated against that of Hamburgh in consequence of the latter having closed the Danish post-office existing in this city under an old Treaty, and sequestrated the money which was found therein. But this step was not taken until after the Danish Government had issued its orders for the embargo, and for the capture of all German ships whatever at sea. Hamburgh has already been put to the expense of employing cruizers to warn its ships arriving in the British Channel, and must suffer severely in case of a blockade of the Elbe; of which, however, nothing is yet officially known here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 1139.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received March 9.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 8, 1864.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS has received by telegraph from Vienna and Berlin explanations and assurances similar to those furnished to your Lordship with reference to an advance of the Austro-Prussian army into Jutland, and his Excellency has been promised a development of these explanations and assurances by despatches to be addressed to the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors here.

No. 1140.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 9, 1864.

I AM sorry to find that M. Quaade thinks the chance of the Conference being accepted is very small.

I must request you, before you require on the 12th instant that the answer should be given on that day, to state to M. Monrad and M. Quaade the very great imprudence, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, of throwing away a fair chance of settling a question in regard to which the whole of the Powers of Germany are ready to contend in arms against Denmark, and neither France, nor Great Britain, nor Russia, nor Sweden are ready, in present circumstances, to fight in her support.

It seems scarcely possible that at a later period Denmark would have a better opportunity of making peace.

As matters stand at present, Austria and Prussia are ready to abide by the notes of the 31st of January, and to maintain the integrity of the Danish Monarchy,

It is to be expected, certainly, that Austria and Prussia will propose the union of Holstein and Schleswig, and will argue that the war, which both parties have now accepted, has cancelled the engagements of 1851-52.

It will be for the neutral Powers to support those engagements with modifications adapted to present circumstances and to suggest such an organization of the Monarchy as may tend to permanent peace and the strength of Denmark as an independent State, together with the contentment of the German subjects of the King.

The Danish Ministers must recollect that when war is once made the terms of peace must depend on the events of war, and it is not to be expected that the Danish portions of the Monarchy will be able long to sustain a contest against the 40,000,000 of Germany who may soon be combined against them. But even the forces of Austria and Prussia alone would be found more than a match for any army which Denmark can furnish. At sea, indeed, the Danish navy may harass the commerce of Germany, but it is not likely a country so extensive and so rich as Germany would long suffer an inferiority at sea which would lower her in the eyes of Europe.

The Danish Government may perhaps think that Austria is likely to be compelled by her own embarrassments to withdraw from operations against Denmark, but even if she were to do so, and if Prussia were left to act alone, Prussia would be too strong for Denmark. But the chances are that, if Prussia found herself in want of assistance, the smaller German States would go and help her, and if they did it would be for objects beyond those of Austria, and Denmark would gain nothing by such a change.

On a calculation of chances then, it appears to Her Majesty's Government to be the interest of Denmark to accept a Conference and to agree to an armistice, which might now be obtained, founded on the present military *status quo*.

At the same time Her Majesty's Government do not pretend to dictate any course to an independent State like Denmark, which that State is not willing to follow. Had Her Majesty's Government been willing to bind Great Britain to afford material assistance to Denmark, Her Majesty's Government would have had the right, in return for that assistance, to prescribe the manner in which Denmark should fulfil her engagements to Germany. But, as Her Majesty's Government have never offered material aid, so, on the other hand, they have never gone beyond offering advice to Denmark with the most sincere desire to enable her to maintain her integrity and independence, but without any promise of material support.

It will be for the Councillors of the King of Denmark to consider whether the present advice of the British Government shall be accepted. If accepted, France, Russia, and Sweden, certainly, and Germany probably, will accept the proposal of a Conference.

If refused, Her Majesty's Government cannot feel any confidence that a condition of things equally good for Denmark can be looked for at a future time.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1141.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March* 8, 1864.

I LEARN that the Austrian and Prussian Ministers at this Court have both, in conformity with instructions from their Governments, urged the Hanoverian Government to vote against the Saxon proposal for the convocation of the Holstein States, upon which a decision is to be taken in the appointed sitting of the German Diet on the 10th instant, or at least in favour of its being referred to the standing Committee on the affairs of Holstein.

Count Platen, whose opinions, as your Lordship is aware, are opposed to the proposal, has, as I also understand, intimated to the above-mentioned Ministers that the Hanoverian vote will be given in favour of its reference to the Committee.

The ground upon which such a reference to the Committee will be advocated, will no doubt be the necessity of the Federal Commissioners in Holstein giving more explicit and detailed explanations of the motives which have induced them to recommend the convocation of the States, and the proposal once in the hands of the Committee, Austria and Prussia will be easily enabled to keep it there, and delay, nay probably altogether prevent, a decision upon it contrary to their views.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1142.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 9.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, March* 8, 1864.

I TOOK an opportunity of inquiring to-day of Count Platen what chances there were of the adoption by the Diet of the proposal made by Hanover on the 3rd instant, and upon which a vote is to be taken on the 10th, for the issue of a summons to Denmark "within fourteen days to restore the captured German ships, and to withdraw the order for their capture, as otherwise the German Confederation would take the proper measures for vindicating its injured rights;" and, moreover, what would be the nature of those measures now that, if the newspaper reports were correct, Austria and Prussia had agreed to proceed to the occupation of Jutland.

In regard to the first point, his Excellency replied that he had no information from which he could judge whether the Hanoverian proposal was likely to be adopted, nor was he cognizant of the course which Austria and Prussia would pursue in respect to it. He hinted that it might possibly be referred to the Joint Committee of the Diet.

In regard to the second point, his Excellency said that he could not tell me what the measures in question would be; that he had employed the general term of "proper measures," in order, from its moderation, to render it easier for Her Majesty's Government and the other foreign Governments who were desirous of not seeing an extension of the war, to interfere, should they be so disposed, at Copenhagen in order to obtain a revocation of the objectionable measure by the Danish Government; but that it was not to be expected that if it were not withdrawn, Germany would look on whilst her vessels were being captured without using such reprisals as were at her disposal.

I then observed, that I concluded the measures he contemplated would consist in a declaration of war by the German Confederation against Denmark, and in a participation by it in the Austro-Prussian invasion of Schleswig and Jutland; a course, I remarked, which might have very serious consequences.

His Excellency's only answer was, the repetition that he could not tell me what the proper measures might be. He admitted, however, the serious consequences which a declaration of war by the German Confederation might entail.

No. 1143.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 10.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, March* 8, 1864.

THE proposition made by the Hesse-Darmstadt Government in the Diet's sitting of the 3rd instant, reported upon in my despatch of the 5th instant, has been published, and I have the honour to inclose a translation of the text, by Mr. Mitford.

This proposition, as I have already stated, is considered as a conciliatory movement on the part of the minor States towards Austria and Prussia, and your Lordship will at once see its importance, as if the Diet adopts, and Austria and Prussia admit its applicability, the whole Confederation becomes at once engaged in open hostility with Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 1143.

Motion made by the Hesse-Darmstadt Representative in the Sitting of the Diet of March 3, 1864.

(Translation.)

THAT the High Diet, while still keeping open the question of Succession should, in order to restore united action, embracing Schleswig as well as Holstein, as rendered necessary by the late warlike proceedings of Denmark, resolve :—

1. To send, with the concurrence of Austria and Prussia, an appropriate amount of troops, chosen with especial regard to the contingents forming the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th corps d'armée, to co-operate in the occupation of Schleswig, already partially effected by Austria and Prussia, which troops should be placed under the orders of the Austro-Prussian Commander-in-chief.

2. That the corps of Execution in Holstein be likewise strengthened by Federal troops from the above-mentioned contingents, and that the corps so strengthened be handed over to the Commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army.

That the Diet further—

3. Sanction the appointment of two additional Civil Commissioners for Holstein on the part of Austria and Prussia, with the proviso that the civil administration of Schleswig be also extended by representatives of those Governments who, in conformity with paragraph 1, send troops to Schleswig.

4. That the Military Commission be instructed with as little delay as possible, to propose the measures necessary for carrying these resolutions into effect.

No. 1144.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 10.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 8, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of a correspondence with translation by Mr. Wyndham, relative to the entrance of German troops into Jutland, between the Danish Commanding officer in that province and Marshal Wrangel, which has been published in the journal of this morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 1144.

Extract from the "Staats Anzeiger" of March 8, 1864.

(Translation.)

ON the 29th ultimo the following letter from the Danish Lieutenant-General Hegermann-Lindencron was delivered at the outposts of the Prussian Infantry division of the Guard by a Danish Staff Officer :—

"Excellency,

"In accordance with instructions from the Government of my Sovereign, I have the honour to bring to your Excellency's notice that the town of Kolding, as also the villages

of Seest, Hjarup, and several villages and districts lying to the North, which are held and burdened with requisitions by the allied Prussian and Austrian troops, are within the frontier of Jutland.

"I request your Excellency to honour me with an answer, as a proof that I, in conformity with my instructions, have made this communication.

(Signed) "VON HEGERMANN-LINDENCRON.

"To his Excellency Field-Marshal von Wrangel."

The Field-Marshal sent the following reply:—

"In reply to your Excellency's letter of the 29th instant, the town of Kolding, and some neighbouring villages to the south of Kolding-Au, are temporarily held by our outposts as a protection to the troops occupying Schleswig.

"The requisitions for the troops quartered on the territory of Jutland go, in accordance with the regulations for victualling of the troops, to the Hardevogt, who is at liberty to adopt such measures as he may think fit to obtain the supplies from the inhabitants of Jutland. If your Excellency wishes to see the people of Jutland released from this burden, which it is my desire to see, the Danes must first of all cease from capturing German merchant-vessels at sea.

"In making this communication to the Danish Government, I have, &c.

(Signed) "VON WRANGEL."

The above letter was delivered in person by Captain Count Hardenberg on the 2nd instant to Lieutenant-General Hegermann-Lindencron, at his head-quarters at Peterholm.

No answer has as yet been received to it.

No. 1145.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 10, 1864.

HER Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen inclines to the opinion that the Danish Government might be disposed to enter into Conference on the basis of the arrangements of 1851-52, and to agree to an armistice on the basis of the military *status quo*.

I have to instruct your Excellency to state to M. Drouyn de Lhuys that the co-operation of the French Minister, with those of England and Russia, at Copenhagen, might greatly contribute to induce the Danish Government to accept the Conference and armistice on these bases.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1146.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, March* 10, 1864.

YOU appear, from your telegram, to be inclined to think that the Danish Government might accept, as the basis of an immediate Conference, the arrangements with Austria and Prussia, set forth in the correspondence of 1851-52, and might also agree to an armistice on the basis of the military *status quo*.

The proposal which Her Majesty's Government have desired you to submit to the Cabinet of Copenhagen is, that Conferences should be held, to which Denmark would be party, in order to devise means for bringing the war to a conclusion; but if the reply of the Danish Government should be such as you think possible, Her Majesty's Government will not object to recommend the Governments of Austria and Prussia to accept the counter-proposal.

No. 1147.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 8, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an extract of the "Kreuz Zeitung," with a translation by Mr. Wyndham, stating the corps of garrison artillery which have been sent or are ready to proceed to Schleswig for siege operations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 1147.

Extract from the "Kreuz Zeitung."

(Translation.)

THE following corps have lately been mobilized:—The 1st garrison company of the brigade of the Artillery of the Guard; the 3rd garrison company of the Brandenburg Artillery Brigade No. 3; the 8th garrison company of the Westphalian Artillery Brigade No. 7; and the 2nd garrison company of the Artillery Brigade of Guards, have been put upon a war footing. These divisions of artillerymen, of which a portion are already on their way to Schleswig, are ordered for the attack on the Düppel fortress, or on the fortress of Fredericia.

No. 1148.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, March* 9, 1864.

INFORMATION has been received here that the allies have advanced further into Jutland, and that the head-quarters of the Austro-Prussian army are now at Kolding.

I have this morning had the honour to forward to your Lordship a telegram reporting an engagement between the Austrians and Danes on the road leading from Viele to Horsen, which places lie north of Kolding.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 1149.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 11, 1864.

I HAVE to instruct you to point out to the Danish Minister that an early acceptance of a Conference, and also of an armistice, would, under existing circumstances, be the most advantageous course for Denmark to adopt; and you will say that it appears to Her Majesty's Government that Denmark would do well, in accepting the Conference, not to put forward any specific basis, but merely agree to take part in a Conference having for its object, as suggested by Her Majesty's Government, to devise means for putting an end to the war.

From communications which have been made to me in identic terms by the Ambassadors of Austria and Prussia, and which purported to explain the position of the two Powers in respect to the war, I gather that their decision to advance further into Jutland is sought to be justified on military grounds, which are alleged to render such a measure necessary for the protection of the flank of the force engaged in besieging Düppel; but that, in other respects, and notwithstanding the maritime operations of Danish cruizers against German shipping, the two Powers still maintain the position which they announced in the declaration made on the 31st of January last to the British Government.

It appears from the same communication that the two Powers are still prepared to enter into Conference, and that they are willing to agree to an armistice, on either of two bases, one of which is: that Schleswig should be evacuated by the Danish forces, and Jutland by those of Austria and Prussia; the other is that, pending the duration of the Armistice, the military *status quo* should be maintained on both sides.

The acceptance, however, of an armistice on either of these bases is contingent on its being extended to the sea as well as to the land, and on the mutual restoration by the belligerents of vessels captured by them previously to the commencement of the Armistice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1150.

*Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 11, 1864.

COUNT APPONYI and Count Bernstorff have come to me to-day and read to me a despatch identical in language respecting the present position of Austria and Prussia in respect to the war with Denmark.

The despatch dwells principally on four points :—

1. That strategical reasons connected with the siege of Düppel, and the necessity of protecting the flank of the besieging force, have induced the Austrian and Prussian Governments to give orders to their forces to advance into Jutland.

2. That notwithstanding this change, and the capture of German ships by Denmark, the attitude of the two Powers remains the same. This assurance is understood to allude to the despatches of the 31st of January.

3. That Austria and Prussia are ready to agree to an armistice, either on the basis of the evacuation of Jutland by the Germans, and of Schleswig by the Danes, or on the basis of the actual military *status quo*. In either case the armistice to extend to the sea, and captured vessels on both sides to be restored.

4. The four Powers are still ready to agree to a Conference.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1151.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 12.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, March* 10, 1864.

THE Diet will not hold its ordinary sitting to-day, but will meet on Saturday.

As far as I can ascertain, the Report of the Holstein Committee on the several propositions of Austria and Prussia, of Bavaria, and of Hesse-Darmstadt, with which I had the honour of acquainting your Lordship in my despatch of the 5th instant, will be presented on that day.

It is generally believed that the Hesse-Darmstadt proposition will be recommended to the adoption of the Diet, so far as regards giving the military command in Holstein to Field-Marshal Wrangel (which the Prussians, it is understood, will assume, if it is not conceded to them), as well as that portions of other Federal contingents should share in the operations in Schleswig; but it seems doubtful whether the admission of Austrian and Prussian Civil Commissioners in Holstein will not be objected to.

There is a great effort being made at present by the parties favourable to the Augustenburg claims to assemble the States of Holstein and Schleswig, and it is sought, as I am informed, to induce the Diet, by means of reports from their Commissioners in Holstein, to sanction the convocation of those Bodies.

The chief reason for this move is, that it is hoped those Provincial Assemblies would at once recognize Prince Frederick of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, in anticipation of the Diet's decision in that matter.

Austria and Prussia, as I learn, contend that the Provincial States of the Duchies are not competent to deliberate on the question of Succession, and are opposed to the Diet's sanctioning their convocation, but it is not certain that their opposition will be effective.

I had the honour of stating in my despatch above referred to that M. von der Pfordten had been stayed in bringing up his Report by orders from his Government received during the sitting.

I can, at any rate, venture to acquaint your Lordship that I have heard from an authentic source that the question of the competency of the Diet to entertain the Succession question will be discussed before the Assembly entertains the personal part of the

* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Napier, Mr. Jerningham, Lord Bloomfield, and Sir A. Buchanan.

question, and that the validity of the Augustenburg claim will be thoroughly sifted, if the competency of the Diet to entertain it is admitted.

There is some hope that the preliminary question of the Diets's competency will produce an even division of votes, eight *versus* eight, in which case the casting vote of the President will decide in the negative.

No. 1152.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 12.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March* 10, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 5th instant, I have the honour to inclose a translation of the Address to the King on the Schleswig-Holstein question, as drawn up by the Joint Committee of the Hanoverian Chambers, to serve as an answer to that part of the Speech from the Throne on the opening of the session which relates to that subject.

Your Lordship will perceive that this address, although it does not pronounce the name of the Prince of Augustenburg, assumes an agreement between the King and the Chambers not only to uphold the rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg, but more particularly "the rights of Schleswig-Holstein to independence, to political union, and to the legitimate Sovereign appointed by the law of Agnatic Succession in force in the Duchies, and acknowledged by the Confederation."

This is a somewhat bold assumption, as the Prince of Augustenburg is evidently alluded to in the latter part of the phrase, whereas it is well known that the King has never pronounced himself in favour of the pretensions of the Prince, or shown himself in the least disposed to countenance them.

On my observing to a member of the First Chamber that I thought it would have been more straightforward if the Address had at once declared for the Prince of Augustenburg, he replied that the phrase was an elastic one, for it might be equally be applied to the House of Gottorp, as represented by the Emperor of Russia, by those persons who considered that branch of the Holstein family to have the best claims to the Succession.

The further phrase, in which it is said that right, and only right, should be taken as the basis of a verdict to be pronounced by the German Confederation on the constitutional rights of a Federal country, is evidently directed against the Treaty of London of May 1852, to which the Hanoverian Government are bound by a solemn accession.

However, as it is not the Hanoverian Chambers who will give the casting vote in the decision of this great European question, no great importance need be attached to the expression of their views.

The Address was adopted in the First Chamber with only three dissentient voices. It received the support of Baron Hammerstein, the Minister of the Interior. His Excellency said that now that the dispute with Denmark had assumed larger dimensions, that German ships had been attacked, and that Hanover had made a proposal at the Diet for an eventual declaration of war against Denmark, it was only natural and proper that the Chamber should convey their views to the Government. He likewise declared his general concurrence with the contents of the Address, and added, that although he should have preferred in some instances a different wording, he nevertheless did not hesitate to vote for it on account of the unanimity with which it had been decided upon in the Committee. Finally, he stated that he had not found in the Address a demonstration such as had been attributed to it by one of the Speeches against the Great German Powers, for, had he done so, he would not have been able to vote for it.

The Address was brought under discussion in yesterday's sitting of the Second Chamber, and was passed unanimously.

M. Miquel, a deputy belonging to the party of the National Verein, in stating that he and his party would vote for the Address, expressed his regret that it did not go further, namely, that it did not recognize the Duke Frederick of Augustenburg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and pronounce itself in favour of a declaration of war against Denmark. He then proceeded to condemn the policy of the two Great German Powers on this question. The aspect of affairs was gloomy, but all hopes of those Powers entering upon a national policy ought not to be abandoned. This would be brought about by the middle States constituting themselves as an independent Power alongside of them. The establishment of a personal union between the Duchies, and Denmark would only be an adjourned battle, and every effort should be made by Germany to

wrest the Duchies from Denmark. He would prefer an adjournment of the question to a solution in an anti-national sense. Better times and men must then be hoped for.

M. Windhorst, the Minister of Justice, said that, although he had reservations in respect to particular points of the Address, he would not oppose its general tendency. He then expressed his regret at the attacks which had been made upon the Great German Powers, and which ought to have been avoided. He defended the cautious policy which had been adopted on this question, and more particularly an execution rather than an occupation of Holstein having been resorted to, and a seizure of Schleswig as a pledge instead of a declaration of war having taken place. The Government were answerable for their measures; the people had only to express their feelings, for which nobody was responsible. History would pronounce the right judgment on the measures of the Government. The Government were not afraid of that judgment.

After other speakers had been heard, M. de Benningsen, the President of the National Verein, rose: he said he thought it was still possible to give effect to the real interests of Germany. The differences between the Government and the popular Assemblies and Party were not as great as they were asserted to be. He was thankful to the Government for not having associated themselves to the endeavours of some of the South German States for the re-establishment of a third Power alongside of or opposed to the Great German Powers. Foreign countries would always wish such a third Power to be formed. He believed, however, that this question was disposed of. The reserved attitude of Hanover had been valuable. He would take it for granted that the conduct of Hanover in abstaining from entering into the plan had been guided by a regard for real German interest, and that she was not influenced by specific Hanoverian interest, when she now now sought a mediation. This mediation (between the different States of Germany) could only be of value if it took place on the basis of the rights and interest of the German nation. It was to be hoped that the whole of Germany would proceed to warlike action against Denmark.

M. de Benningsen's object in speaking so favourably of the Government apparently is to endeavour to establish an influence over them, and draw them by degrees into his more violent policy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

Inclosure in No. 1152.

Address of Hanoverian Chambers to the King on the Schleswig-Holstein Question.

(Translation.)

THE States have learnt with feelings of gratification from the speech from the Throne, held in your Majesty's name, that your Majesty will persevere in your endeavours to cause full effect to be given to the rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg, and whilst constantly seeking to prevent the threatened disunion among the members of the Confederation, will omit nothing firmly to uphold the Federal Constitution, and with it the independence of the Kingdom.

The States consider it their duty hereby publicly and solemnly to declare in the name of the whole Hanoverian people:—

That your Majesty has not been deceived in the expectation of being able to count upon the readiest co-operation of the States in these endeavours;

That it is an exalted feeling for the States and for the nation to know that they are agreed with their King in the endeavour vigorously to uphold the rights of the said Duchies, and above all the grievously injured rights of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein to independence, to political union, and to the legitimate Sovereign appointed by the Law of Agnatic Succession in force in the Duchies and acknowledged by the Confederation;

To know that they are agreed with their King in the conviction that without the power which the bond of their union gives to the German States, the independence and integrity of our Kingdom would be endangered; and, that as in all the storms which threaten the existence of the Confederation the validity of its rights appears to be its surest if not its only support, so the exalted vocation of every German Prince renders it imperative upon him to employ all the means at his disposal in order that, when the Confederation is called upon to pronounce a verdict upon the Constitutional rights of a Federal country, right and only right shall be taken as the basis of this verdict.

In this way alone, according to the conviction of the States, is the union of Germany to be re-established and with it the surest protection against external enemies to be found.

And should it, according to the decrees of the Almighty, be necessary that the rights of the German Fatherland should be fought for in bloody combat, your Majesty's loyal people will remain true to their King in this combat for the rights of the German people, for their independence and their honour.

No. 1153.

Earl Cowley to Earl Rnssell.—(Received March 12.)

My Lord, *Paris, March* 10, 1864.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS informed me this afternoon that the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors had communicated to him identic despatches explanatory of the intentions of their respective Governments in ordering a further advance into Jutland, and of the conditions under which they would agree to an armistice and enter into Conferences for the establishment of peace.

Similar despatches will have been communicated to your Lordship.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that he had confined himself, in replying to Prince Metternich and to Count Goltz, to noticing the encroachments which step by step the two Powers were making on their first declarations. He had seen, he observed, with regret the invasion of Schleswig, and with still greater regret the attack upon Jutland, and all he could do under present circumstances was to take notice ("prendre acte") of the fresh assurances given that there was no intention of dismembering the Danish Monarchy.

His Excellency added that as it seemed to be the wish of the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors that the dispositions of their Governments should be made known at Copenhagen he would send M. Dotezac the substance of their communications.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 1154.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received March 12.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 11, 1864.

I WAS to have had an interview with M. Drouyn de Lhuys this morning, but his Excellency, in consequence of an extraordinary Council of Ministers, wrote to put me off until to-morrow, almost at the same moment that I received your Lordship's telegram desiring me to express to his Excellency the wish of Her Majesty's Government that he should join in recommending to Denmark the acceptance of a Conference and armistice. I wrote to him, therefore, last night, to inform him of the desire of Her Majesty's Government, and I requested him at the same time to see me for a few minutes after the Council to-day. M. Drouyn de Lhuys is too much engaged to receive me, but he will write to Copenhagen relative to the disposition shown at Vienna and Berlin to agree to a Conference and armistice.

No. 1155.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received March 13.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 12, 1864.

ACCORDING to the intention which I expressed in my despatch of yesterday's date I called this afternoon on M. Drouyn de Lhuys, for the purpose of obtaining some more definite knowledge of the nature of the instructions which he had promised to send to Copenhagen. I found that he had simply conveyed to the knowledge of the Danish Government the substance of the communication lately made to him by the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors, with a general vague assurance that the French Government would always be ready to co-operate in the work of restoring peace, and, moreover, that the despatch to M. Dotezac embodying this intelligence would not be sent off before to-morrow. Under these circumstances I did not hesitate to tell M. Drouyn de Lhuys that one cause of hesitation on the part of the Danish Government to accept a Conference was the uncertainty whether a Conference was desired

by the French Government, and I asked him whether he would not take measures to put an end to this uncertainty. His Excellency replied that there ought to be no doubt in the mind of the Danish Ministers of the sincere desire of France to assist by means of a Conference, or in any other way, to re-establish peace, and if he had not pressed the acceptance of a Conference on the Danish Government, it was because he would not take upon himself the responsibility of advising a measure which might not eventually be attended with success.

I had taken with me a copy of your Lordship's despatch of the 9th instant to Sir Augustus Paget, meaning to make use of it if I should find that the communication of it to M. Drouyn de Lhuys would be productive of any good, and hoping that I might induce him to concur in it. I read it to him. He said that his despatch to M. Dotezac was very much in the same sense. I then observed that time was very precious, as to-day was the day on which the answer of the Danish Government was to be given, and his despatch would evidently not reach its destination for several days. Would he, I added, telegraph to M. Dotezac that he had seen the instructions to Sir Augustus Paget, that he concurred in them, and that if Sir Augustus Paget would show them to him (M. Dotezac) he was to speak to the Danish Ministers in the same sense? In that case I said I would take upon myself to ask Sir Augustus Paget by telegraph to communicate his instructions to his French colleague.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys having readily consented to take this step, I returned home and sent a telegram to Copenhagen.

I hope that your Lordship will approve what I have done in the desire to save as much time as possible.

No. 1156.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 4, 1864.

HAVING met Count Rechberg accidentally this evening, his Excellency told me that in consequence of the great inconvenience to which the trade of Germany would be exposed if the Danish Government established an effectual blockade of Hamburgh and Bremen, it had been decided by the Imperial Government to send a sufficient naval force to the North Sea to prevent this intended interference with the general interests of the commercial community. His Excellency said also that as all the late intelligence from Denmark tended to show a determination to resist the demands of Germany by every means in her power, both by land and sea, the war must be continued with increased vigour, and the allies would advance further into Jutland. It was hoped thereby to bring the question at issue to an earlier termination.

Count Rechberg is anxiously engaged at this moment in endeavouring to dissuade the Diet at Frankfort from declaring war against Denmark, which was its intention in retaliation for the orders issued by the Government at Copenhagen to capture all German vessels, and I understand that the two Great Powers expect the advance into Jutland and the despatch of some Austrian ships of war to the North Sea, will prove to the Confederation the inutility of a declaration of war on their part, which could only remain inoperative, because the troops of Austria and Prussia are already in possession of the country through which the Federal armies would have to pass, and because the Confederation has of itself no power to make reprisals at sea.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1157.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 5, 1864.

I CALLED to-day on Count Rechberg, and heard from his Excellency that the negotiations which he had been conducting with General Manteuffel relative to the war with Denmark were on the point of conclusion, and that the General would return to Berlin to-morrow. In consequence of the little expectation which existed that the Danish Government would negotiate on a basis to which Austria and Prussia could agree, a further arrangement of the military proceedings of the two Great German Powers had become necessary.

The object of this arrangement, Count Rechberg assured me, in reply to inquiries which I addressed to him, was, though advancing into Jutland, nevertheless to localize the war as much as possible, and it was not intended that the troops should advance further than was necessary for strategical purposes, and to secure the safety of the allied forces, while at the same time greater pressure was brought to bear on Denmark. His Excellency wished me also to believe that there was no understanding, as has been rumoured, between Austria and Prussia with regard to general European eventualities, the engagements between the two Powers relating solely to the affairs of Germany as connected at this moment with those of Denmark.

Count Rechberg then told me that Admiral Wüllersdorf would proceed to the British Channel and North Sea as soon as the squadron which he was to command could be got ready; that it was to consist of the "Kaiser," ship of the line, 90 guns; "Schwarzenberg," frigate, 50 guns; "Radetzky," frigate, 32 guns; "Dandolo," corvette, 22 guns; "Frederick," corvette, 22 guns; "Elizabeth," gun-boat aviso, 6 guns; and that he thought the squadron which is to rendezvous at Lisbon will reach the British Channel about the 6th of April.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1158.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 7, 1864.

I AM able to inform your Lordship that the Austrian Government has no intention whatever of sending any ships of war into the Baltic or Cattegat, or beyond the Elbe; the object they have in view in sending a squadron to the Channel and North Sea being to protect German vessels from being captured by Danish cruizers, and also to keep the trade of the Elbe and Weser free from blockade. The number of Austrian vessels of war employed in the North Sea will no doubt depend on the disposition of the naval forces of Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1159.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 7, 1864.

IN Count Rechberg's despatch which left Vienna to-day for London and Paris announcing the intention of carrying the war into Jutland, his Excellency endeavours to explain that the objects of the advance of the allied forces are strategical, and that the resolution has been taken in consequence of the little disposition evinced at Copenhagen to satisfy the demands of Germany, and also on account of the system of maritime warfare adopted by the Danish Government against the trade of Germany.

The Austrian Government are, however, as anxious as ever for an armistice, and are willing to negotiate on the condition that Düppel and Alsen are evacuated by the Danish forces, and that any portion of Jutland that may be occupied by the allies shall be evacuated by them, and that all maritime warfare shall cease, captured merchant-vessels be restored, and embargoes raised. They also propose to negotiate an armistice on the condition of the military *status quo*.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1160.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 8, 1864.

I HAVE seen Count Rechberg since the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, and also a copy of the despatch which he has addressed to Count Apponyi for communi-

cation to your Lordship explaining the advance into Jutland, and declaring the readiness of the Imperial Government to negotiate and conclude with Denmark an armistice on the conditions stated in my despatch of yesterday. His Excellency said that identic despatches had been sent from Vienna and Berlin to London, Paris, St. Petersburgh, and Stockholm.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1161.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 10, 1864.

I HAVE given your Lordship in my despatch of the 5th instant, the names of the six Austrian ships of war that will shortly sail from the Adriatic for the British Channel and North Sea, under the command of Admiral Wüllersdorff, and Count Rechberg has informed me that the Admiral is instructed to interfere as little as possible with British merchant-vessels, and that he has been told that the first and main object he is to have in view, and the one for which the squadron is despatched, is the protection of German trade in general, and that the question of making prizes is quite a secondary one.

I understand that six more Austrian vessels are to be fitted out as soon as possible for service in the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, and the Levant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 1162.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 9, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a translation, by Mr. Kirkpatrick, of an extract given by the newspapers of a speech made by Bishop Monrad on his election for the Island of Falster to the Folkething, the Second Chamber of the new Rigsraad.

The elections for the First Chamber (Landsthing) will take place on the 29th of this month.

Inclosure in No. 1162.

Extract of Bishop Monrad's Speech at Nykjobing on being returned for the Folkething.

REFERRING to the events of the last two months, Bishop Monrad stated that, having done his utmost to preserve peace, he could with a clear conscience undertake the war, and would carry it on by all the means in his power for the rights and independence of the country; that the country must not be discouraged, even if it underwent greater losses than those already incurred, but must be sustained by the righteousness of its cause and trust in the Almighty, who would make justice triumph in the end. It was impossible, whilst the war was going on, to say what eventual conditions peace would bring with it.

On being asked if he would endeavour to withdraw the Constitution of November 18, and if he would replace it by something else, Bishop Monrad answered that the policy of the Government was announced in His Majesty's answer to the address of the Rigsdag. He would fight with the utmost determination for the independence of the country, and for the preservation of the bond between the Kingdom and Schleswig. In no case would he lend his hand to disuniting this bond.

No. 1163.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 10, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the following communication has been published by the Ministry of War.

On the morning of the 8th instant, the 20th Regiment of Infantry, which was doing outpost duty at Elbodal, was attacked by the enemy with a force composed of all arms. The outposts were severely pressed at Heise Kro and Henneberg, where the company "Dane" was forced out of its line of retreat, and after a determined resistance taken prisoner near Snoghoi. The Danish outposts fell back and took up an outpost position behind Erritsö, at a distance of about 8,000 yards in front of the fortified camp. The enemy has occupied Sundalshuse, Fuglesang, Skov, and Stonstrup. Simultaneously with the attack on the outposts in front of Fredericia, the enemy appeared at 9 o'clock in the morning in considerable force in front of the outposts of the 4th Division. Between 3 and 4 o'clock a considerable battle took place with Infantry and Artillery behind Veile, but as the position was no longer tenable after the evacuation of Veile, it was given up at 5·15 P.M., and the retreat directed northwards followed by the enemy with ten or twelve pieces of artillery as far as the rising ground near Juelsberg. General Wilster and three officers are wounded and two are missing. The loss on the part of the 4th Division is not supposed to be great. Up till 10 A.M. yesterday, nothing had taken place in front of Fredericia nor in Sundeved.

The force of the enemy before Fredericia on that day was about six battalions, one or two squadrons, and one battery. Their reserve force is not known. They are now falling back towards Veile.

From Middelfort it is stated, 10 A.M. Wednesday, that the enemy is falling back with strong columns of Infantry on the high road between Erritskov and Borupskov. No other forces can be discerned with glasses from the church tower. The enemy quitted Snoghoi at 7 A.M. Fires were observed at two places between Snoghoi and Fredericia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1164.

Mr. Ward to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Hamburgh, March* 11, 1864.

THE Prussian brigade, with artillery and train, mentioned in my despatch of the 7th instant, has finished its passage through this city into Holstein, and the entire strength of the Prussian forces in the Duchies is thereby raised, as I am credibly informed, to four divisions, equal to two army corps, containing rather less than 60,000 men, as the strength of the battalions does not, on an average, exceed 800 men. The Austrians, after deducting their losses, have still an army of 25,000 in Schleswig and Jutland, and the Federal army in Holstein remains at 12,000 in number; consequently the total force which the German Powers are now employing against Denmark may be fairly estimated at 95,000 men, including the Cavalry and Artillery, as well as the Infantry regiments.

One Prussian brigade is, I understand, to remain in Holstein, besides the Federal troops; but another brigade is to be added to the Prussian army corps in the Sundewitt, which is destined to besiege the Düppel entrenchments, so that this latter army may consist of from 28,000 to 30,000 men. The rest of the Austrian-Prussian army of occupation, including the Cavalry, has either advanced into Jutland or remains on the frontier of that province. The Austrian reinforcements, at one time expected, have never arrived.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WARD.

No. 1165.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March* 12, 1864.

AS will be known to your Lordship, the Bavarian Government, acting upon the decisions taken at the recent Conference of certain German States held at Würzburg, intend bringing forward at the Diet, as a motion of their own, the conclusions of the second part of the Report made by M. von der Pfordten in the Special Commission on the Holstein Succession question, urging the recognition of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg as Duke of Holstein, and the admission of his Representative to a seat in the Assembly.

It being expected that this motion will be brought forward in this day's sitting of the Diet, should the Bavarian Envoy have already received his new credentials, the Austrian and Prussian Ministers, as I have learnt, yesterday conveyed to Count Platen the earnest wish of their Governments that the Hanoverian vote should be given against it, and received from his Excellency the assurance that Hanover would not vote for it, but for its being referred, in the first instance, to the Committee.

Count Platen's views are in favour of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and opposed to a recognition by the Diet of the pretensions of the Prince of Augustenburg. He is of opinion that the Diet has a right to examine the question of the Succession in Holstein, and, pending such examination, to suspend the admission of the Representative of the King of Denmark, but that it is not competent to decide that question by a mere majority.

I had some conversation with his Excellency on the subject of the Bavarian motion yesterday, when he informed me that Hanover would vote for referring it to a Committee. Should this course be adopted, a new Reporter would have to be named, as it would be impossible for M. von der Pfordten, after the rejection of his proposal, to retain that charge, and the whole question would then be maturely considered.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1166.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, March* 12, 1864.

THE Prussian Minister at this Court went over to Brunswick yesterday for the purpose, as I am credibly informed, of urging the Duke's Government to vote against the motion of Bavaria, to be brought forward in to-day's sitting of the German Diet, for the recognition of the Prince of Augustenburg as Duke of Holstein, but did not succeed in the object of his mission; the Minister for Foreign Affairs having acquainted him that Brunswick would vote for the Bavarian proposal, and was desirous of seeing the claims of the Prince recognized as soon as possible by the Confederation.

If my further information is correct, as I believe it to be, the Prussian Minister intimated to the Brunswick Government that Prussia would not submit to a vote by a majority of the Diet for the recognition of the Prince of Augustenburg, and pointed out the consequences which such a vote might have for the Confederation.

I understand that the Austrian Minister has visited Brunswick for a similar purpose.

No. 1167.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March* 12, 1864.

THE Hanoverian Government, as I have already had the honour of reporting to your Lordship, have made a proposal at Frankfort, upon which a vote is to be taken in this day's sitting of the German Diet, for the issue of a summons to Denmark to restore the captured German ships within fourteen days, as otherwise the Confederation will take the proper measures for the vindication of its injured rights.

With reference to this proposal the Hanoverian Government submitted two days ago to the Chambers, in secret sittings of both Houses, a demand for a credit of

300,000 dollars (45,000*l.*), as I am informed for the purpose of meeting the expenses of equipping the strand batteries at the Hanoverian mouths of the Elbe ("Brunshausen"), the Weiser and the Ems, and of mobilizing four battalions of about 500 men each, in order to man them. They have likewise demanded a vote of 20,000 dollars (3,000*l.*) monthly, for the maintenance of these additional troops, if peace should be preserved, and of 40,000 dollars (6,000*l.*) monthly, for a similar object in case of war breaking out.

These demands are now being examined in the competent Committees of the two Houses, and as soon as they shall have been disposed of, which it is believed will be the case in a very few days, the Chambers will be prorogued until the latter end of April, in order to allow time for the several Committees to report upon the various measures which have been laid before the Parliament.

I took an opportunity of remarking to Count Platen to-day that I thought he was assuming a grave responsibility by taking the initiative in making a proposal which had been characterized by his colleague the Minister of the Interior, in the First Chamber, as having for its object an eventual declaration of war by the German Confederation against Denmark, and which could really hardly have any other meaning, and I pointed out the dangerous consequences of the extension which the war Austria and Prussia were now waging would thus receive.

His Excellency would not admit the justness of this warlike interpretation of his proposal, and observed that I should do justice to him in the end.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1168.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, March* 12, 1864.

I CALLED yesterday on M. de Bismarck, when his Excellency was good enough to read to me his despatch to Count Bernstorff of the 7th instant, explaining the grounds upon which the Governments of Austria and Prussia have decided to extend the war into Jutland, and stating the terms on which they will be disposed to accept an armistice and enter into Conferences for the restoration of peace.

I availed myself also of the opportunity to inquire into the nature of the arrangements which General Manteuffel, who returned to Berlin from Vienna a few days ago, is said to have effected with the Austrian Government, and I was told that those arrangements had reference only to the war with Denmark, but that of course Prussia could not abandon Austria if she were exposed to the hostilities of other Powers in consequence of her co-operation with Prussia in the measures which had been taken against Denmark. I said Austria might however get into trouble before the summer without the intervention of a third Power, and I asked whether in the event of simultaneous movements against her sovereignty in Venetia and Hungary, she would receive assistance from Prussia. M. de Bismarck replied, that no engagements had been entered into on that subject between the two Powers, but nevertheless Prussian assistance would not be withheld from Austria if her safety as an European Power required it. He did not however, he said, believe that Austria had anything to fear from Hungary, as the Emperor could disarm the discontent of his Hungarian subjects, who had no sympathy with Polish and Italian revolutionists, by granting whatever they could reasonably ask for, and he had no doubt that this would be done if there was any probability of an insurrectionary movement in the country. I replied, that if the Emperor could thus strengthen his position at home, he ought not to wait till danger was at the door; and I then inquired how the negotiations of Austria and Prussia were progressing at Frankfort.

His Excellency said that they were going on upon the whole favourably; that on the 3d instant, as has been announced by M. von Beust in the Saxon Chambers, M. Von de Pfordten ought to have brought forward the Würzburg proposals, but the Bavarian Government, yielding to the remonstrances of Austria and Prussia, had instructed him by telegraph to withdraw them; his doing so had, however, given rise to indignant remonstrances on the part of the other members of the Würzburg Conference, and new orders having been sent to M. Von der Pfordten to bring forward the proposals, it was now to be seen whether the policy of the late King of Bavaria would be adopted by his successor.

No. 1169.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 12, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 5th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a despatch which I have received from Sir Augustus Paget, conveying to me for communication to M. de Bismarck the answer of the Danish Government to the proposal of the Prussian Government, that the immunity from capture proposed by Denmark of the vessels of either State in the ports of the other should be extended to vessels proceeding to them with cargoes loaded previous to the original declaration of embargo. Your Lordship will learn from the inclosure that the Danish Government decline this proposal, but are still willing to abide by their own one, and I have already learnt confidentially from M. de Thile, that as soon as the Prussian Government receive officially the Danish note, the embargo will be raised in the ports of Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1169.

Sir A. Paget to Sir A. Buchanan.

Sir, *Copenhagen, March* 8, 1864.

I LOST no time in communicating to M. de Quaade your Excellency's despatch of the 4th of March, relative to the question of embargo on Danish ships in Prussian harbours, and the capture of Prussian ships at sea by Danish cruizers, and I have now the honour to inclose a copy of a letter which I have received from M. Quaade on this subject.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1169.

M. Quaade to Sir A. Paget.

Monsieur, *Copenhague, ce* 8 *Mars*, 1864.

PAR la lettre que vous a adressé M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Berlin, j'ai appris que le Gouvernement Prussien, conformément à une decision de la Diète de Francfort du 25 du mois passé, est disposé à lever le séquestre mis sur les navires Danois dans les ports de la Prusse, aussitôt qu'il sera informé que le Gouvernement du Roi maintient l'offre de permettre aux navires Prussiens qui ont été mis sous séquestre dans les ports Danois d'en sortir librement jusqu'au 1 Avril. En même temps Sir A. Buchanan a porté à votre connaissance que le Cabinet de Berlin est prêt à permettre aux capitaines Danois qui, avant que la mesure de séquestre fut connue, auraient dans un port étranger pris des cargaisons.

Le Cabinet de Berlin ayant exprimé le désir d'apprendre jusqu'à quel point le Gouvernement du Roi est disposé à traiter les navires Prussiens sur le même pied, je vous prie de bien vouloir communiquer à Sir A. Buchanan, pour l'information du Gouvernement Prussien, que les dispositions consignés dans la publication du Ministère de la Marine du Roi en date du 15 du mois passé demeureront en vigueur, mais que nous ne sommes pas à même de donner à ces dispositions une plus grande étendue, en les appliqnant, conformément à l'Arrêté Fédéral du 25 du mois passé, aux navires en cours de navigation et destinés pour des ports Danois.

En vous remettant sous ce pli la lettre de Sir A. Buchanan du 24 du mois passé, ainsi que celle du 1 du courant avec annexe, j'ai l'honneur d'ajouter qu'aussitôt que le Gouvernement du Roi aura appris la décision définitive que prendra dans cette affaire le Cabinet de Berlin, des ordres seront donnés pour que le séquestre mis sur les navires Prussiens dans les ports Danois soit levé.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) G. QUAADE.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Copenhagen, March* 8, 1864.

FROM the letter which the English Ambassador at Berlin has addressed to you, I learn that the Prussian Government, in conformity with a decision of the Diet of

Frankfort of the 25th ultimo, are disposed to raise the embargo placed on Danish vessels in the ports of Prussia, so soon as they are informed that the King's Government adhere to their offer of permitting the Prussian vessels which have been placed under embargo in Danish ports to leave them freely until the 1st of April. At the same time Sir A. Buchanan has brought to your knowledge that the Cabinet of Berlin is ready to permit Danish captains who, before the embargo was made public, had taken in cargoes in a foreign port to proceed to their destination and discharge their cargoes.

The Cabinet of Berlin having expressed a desire to learn how far the King's Government are disposed to treat Prussian vessels on the same footing, I beg you to be so good as to communicate to Sir A. Buchanan, for the information of the Prussian Government, that the arrangements inserted in the publication of the Royal Ministry of Marine of the 15th ultimo will remain in vigour, but that we are unable to give these arrangements a further scope, by applying them, in conformity with the Federal Resolution of the 25th ultimo, to vessels on their voyage and destined for Danish ports.

Whilst returning to you herewith Sir A. Buchanan's letter of the 24th ultimo, together with that of the 1st instant and its inclosures, I have the honour to add that as soon as the King's Government have learnt the definitive decision which the Cabinet of Berlin may take in this affair, orders will be given for the raising of the embargo on Prussian vessels in Danish ports.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. QUAADE.

No. 1170.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, March* 12, 1864

THE death of the King of Bavaria would have been a grave occurrence in Germany at any time, but happening, as has been the case, during a political crisis of unusual gravity, the serious nature of the event is greatly enhanced.

Bavaria has, as your Lordship is aware, taken the lead in the sort of coalition which has sprung up against the two leading German Powers since the death of the King of Denmark opened the prospect of detaching the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig to the vast majority of the Germanic race.

These aspirations have found one of their ablest and most energetic advocates in the Diet in the person of the Bavarian Minister, Baron von der Pfordten, whose efforts have systematized and concentrated the scattered forces directed to the common object of establishing the Augustenburg claim to the right of Succession in the Duchies. and contesting the validity of the Treaty of London of 8th May, 1852.

Any change in the policy of the Bavarian Cabinet which brings about conciliation with that of Vienna must necessarily bring about a modification of the views Bavaria has hitherto pursued in the Diet on the Danish question, and would restore that preponderance, the displacement of which has been dangerous to the Diet's existence, by inducing the Great Powers to act adversely to the majority.

No. 1171.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 15, 1864.

THE Danish Government have more than once expressed their anxiety to be assured of the course which the French Government would take in regard to the proposal of a Conference.

From Lord Cowley's most recent account it would seem that the Danish Minister at Paris has been enabled by M. Drouyn de Lhuys to apprise his Government that, while it was the wish of France that the Diet at Frankfort should be invited to send a Representative to such a Conference, as Her Majesty's Government intend to do, yet if the invitation were to be refused, France would nevertheless be ready to take part in the Conference, although she would think it necessary to stipulate that the Protocol should be kept open, so as to admit of the Diet, if so inclined, becoming at any future time a party to it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1172.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir. *Foreign Office, March* 15, 1864.

HER Majesty's Government are glad to find from your Report by telegraph that there is reason to hope that after a few days more have elapsed the assent of the Danish Government will be given to a Conference. Her Majesty's Government, when the principle of a Conference is once admitted, will be prepared to recommend, as it appears to be the wish of the Danish Government, that the engagements of 1851-52 should form the basis of its deliberations. Nevertheless, if these engagements should not be deemed adequate to the exigencies of the present time, the Conference must be free to modify them as circumstances may seem to require.

The French Government are well disposed towards a Conference, and, as regards Her Majesty's Government, while they may have opportunities of rendering great service to Denmark in a Conference, their desire to benefit her would be rendered of no avail if she will not consent to one.

It cannot admit of question, however, but that Denmark by delaying to agree to a Conference, incurs a risk of events occurring which might alter much to her disadvantage her present position; and therefore it is that Her Majesty's Government recommend the Cabinet of Copenhagen to give an early answer not only on the point of a Conference, but on that also of an armistice of which the military *status quo* should be the basis.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1173.

Earl Russell to Lord Napier.

My Lord. *Foreign Office, March* 15, 1864.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF appears to be prepared to recommend the Danish Government to accept the military *status quo* as the basis of an armistice, if Her Majesty's Government will offer the same advice; and I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are quite ready to do so.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1174.

Mr. Jerningham to Earl Russell.—(Received March 16.)

(Extract.) *Stockholm, March* 7, 1864.

AFTER informing me to-day that this Government would accept the invitation to a Conference in London on the Danish question, were circumstances to admit of its being sent, Count Manderström observed that he much doubted the adhesion of Denmark, considering the various matters connected with the pending operation of Düppel.

His Excellency added that one great advantage of a Conference would be the means of testing the real intentions of Prussia regarding the present crisis, which still appear to him very far from clear.

Count Manderström stated that he had already informed Count Wachtmeister of Sweden's willingness to take part in a Conference.

No. 1175.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 16.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, March* 14, 1864.

ALL the questions which came before the Diet in the sitting held on Saturday were left undecided, voting being either indefinitely postponed or the whole question, in most cases, recommitted for further examination.

M. von der Pfordten's Report on the Succession question underwent the first fate.

His Excellency pressed for a vote within eight days, but Austria and Prussia intimated that they had further communications to submit to the Committee, and wished the Report to be withheld, as modifications might be necessary.

The Bavarian Minister objected to this course, but, after much discussion, no time was fixed for the vote being taken, and a supplementary Report may therefore be made if there is matter for it.

The Hanoverian proposition respecting captured merchant-vessels, with demand on Denmark for their restitution, as well as for release of those detained by embargo, was again referred to the Committee.

A similar course was taken as to the Hesse-Darmstadt proposition for employment of Federal troops in Holstein; with the Bavarian proposition for reinforcing the troops of Execution in Holstein, and establishing reserves composed of the 7th and 8th Federal army corps, and with the joint Austrian and Prussian proposition for devolving on their Commander in-chief the military command in Holstein as well as in Schleswig, and for their naming Civil Commissioners for Holstein.

I have no further comment to make on these proceedings than that they indicate the gradually increasing influence of the two Great Powers, and their capacity for delaying decisions when unable to make their own views prevail, and their growing strength is perhaps equally indicated by leaving their own proposition still in the hands of the Diet's committee.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 1176.

M. de Bismarck to Count Bernstorff.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by Count Bernstorff, March 19.)

M. le Comte, *Berlin, le 7 Mars*, 1864.

LE Gouvernement du Roi notre auguste Maître avait espéré que des dispositions plus conciliantes seraient manifestées par le Gouvernement Danois. Les deux grandes Puissances Allemandes se seraient empressées dans ce cas de suspendre leur action militaire de se prêter à des négociations.

Nous devons constater avec regret que notre attente a été déçue. L'attitude de la Cour de Copenhague, son refus de participer aux Conférences proposées par l'Angleterre, nous impose le devoir de persévérer dans l'emploi des mesures coërcitives auxquelles nous avons eu recours.

D'importantes considérations stratégiques ont motivé l'autorisation donnée au Commandant-en-chef de l'armée Austro-Prussienne d'avancer dans le Jütland pour assurer la position de ses troupes et pour tenir en échec les Danois rassemblés à Frédéricia, en les empêchant de menacer les flancs de l'armée ou de consacrer toutes leurs forces à la défense des lignes de Düppel.

Les deux Puissances ont d'autant moins hésité à permettre ce mouvement stratégique, qu'elles étaient en droit d'exercer des représailles pour la détermination prise par le Gouvernement Danois de capturer sur mer les navires appartenant non-seulement aux belligérants, mais aussi aux autres Etats de la Confédération Germanique.

L'extension donnée aux opérations militaires ne change d'ailleurs rien aux déclarations antérieures du Gouvernement du Roi sur son attitude dans le conflit actuel.

Afin de mieux prouver que ses dispositions conciliantes sont sincères, et que ses intentions n'ont pas varié, le Gouvernement du Roi se déclare en même temps prêt à conclure avec le Danemark un armistice sur la base, soit de l'évacuation réciproque des positions de Düppel et d'Alsen par les troupes Danoises et du Jütland par l'armée Austro-Prussienne, soit de *l'uti possidetis* militaire. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, le Gouvernement du Roi met aussi comme condition à cet armistice la suspension des hostilités sur mer, avec la restitution des prises faites de part et d'autre, ainsi que la levée de l'embargo mis sur les bâtiments qui se trouvent dans les ports.

De plus, le Gouvernement du Roi se déclare également prêt à entrer en Conférences avec les Puissances intéressées, pour aviser aux moyens de rétablir la paix.

Je vous invite à donner lecture de la présente dépêche à M. le Comte Russell.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) BISMARCK.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Berlin, March 7*, 1864.

THE Government of the King our august Master had hoped that a more conciliatory disposition would be manifested by the Danish Government. The two great German

Powers would in that case have hastened to suspend their military action and to enter into negotiations.

We must record with regret that our expectations have been deceived. The attitude of the Court of Copenhagen, and its refusal to take part in the Conferences proposed by England, impose on us the duty of persevering in the employment of the measures of coercion to which we have had recourse.

Important strategical considerations have given rise to the authorization granted to the Commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian army to advance into Jutland in order to secure the position of his troops, and to hold in check the Danes concentrated at Fredericia, by preventing them from menacing the flanks of the army, or devoting all their forces to the defence of the lines of Düppel.

The two Powers have hesitated the less in allowing this strategical movement as they had the right to make reprisals for the determination taken by the Danish Government of capturing at sea the vessels belonging not only to the belligerents but also to the other States of the Germanic Confederation.

The extension given to the military operations does not in other ways alter the previous declarations of the King's Government with regard to their attitude in the present conflict.

In order the better to prove that their conciliatory disposition is sincere and that their intentions have not varied, the King's Government declare themselves at the same time ready to conclude with Denmark an armistice on the basis, either of the reciprocal evacuation of the positions of Düppel and Alsen by the Danish troops, and of Jutland by the Austro-Prussian army, or of the military *uti possidetis*. In either case, the King's Government make the suspension of hostilities at sea, together with the restitution of the prizes made by either party, as well as the raising of the embargo placed on vessels in port, a condition of this armistice.

Moreover, the King's Government declare themselves equally ready to enter into Conference with the Powers interested, to deliberate on the means of restoring peace.

I request you to read the present despatch to Earl Russell.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BISMARCK.

No. 1177.

*Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 17, 1864.

HER Majesty's Government, in proposing that a Conference should be held in the German and Danish war, were of opinion that it was not necessary to lay down any specific basis for such Conference, but simply to announce that the object of it was to restore peace to the north of Europe.

The Danish Government, as I learn from Sir Augustus Paget, agree to accept a Conference, but on the basis of the transactions of 1851-52, and they will not agree to an immediate armistice.

In this state of things Her Majesty's Government now recommend,—and they trust that the Governments of Austria and Prussia, desirous of the restoration of peace, will agree,—that the transactions or engagements of 1851-52 shall be recognized as the point of departure for the deliberations of the Conference, but that they should not be restricted to those transactions. The Conference on its assembling should, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, direct its attention to the consideration in what way an armistice may at once be established between the belligerent parties.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1178.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received March 18.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 12, 1864.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF asked me to call on him this forenoon, when his Excellency acquainted me that the Governments of Austria and Prussia had imparted to

* A similar despatch was addressed to Sir A. Buchanan.

him, in language almost identical, that they were prepared to accede to a suspension of hostilities with Denmark on the terms embodied in the following alternative.

They would accept an armistice on the basis that the Danish forces should evacuate the entrenchments of Düppel and the Island of Alsen, and that the Austro-Prussian forces should evacuate the province of Jutland; or on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, the military *status quo* at the moment of the signature of the armistice.

In either case the prizes made at sea should be reciprocally restored, and the embargo should be removed.

Prince Gortchakoff informed me that he had at once communicated the overture of the German Powers to the Danish Cabinet without any expression of opinion. In his judgment, however, the alternative which would probably be most acceptable to Denmark was that of the *uti possidetis*. If Her Majesty's Government would immediately strongly recommend at Copenhagen the conclusion of an armistice on this basis, he was prepared to act in the same sense.

I stated to the Vice-Chancellor that in my humble judgment, subject to the decision of Her Majesty's Government, the basis of the *status quo* was certainly most consistent with precedent and with honour, and that the Danish Cabinet would do well to close with terms involving no sacrifice of which the most jealous Government need be ashamed; terms, however, which every successive day would probably render less favourable to Denmark.

I have, &c

(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 1179.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 18.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 16, 1864.

THE latest reports from Swinemünde state that no Danish vessels have yet appeared off that port; but a Danish ship of war off Cammin appears to have prohibited fishermen from laying down nets on that part of the coast.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1180.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March .)

(Extract.) *Vienna, March* 18, 1864.

I HAVE just had an interview with Count Rechberg, when I stated to his Excellency the substance of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, in which you inform me that the Danish Government are willing to accept a Conference on the basis of the negotiations of 1851-52, but without an armistice. Count Rechberg said that he would immediately communicate with the Prussian Government, but could not give any definite answer until he became acquainted with the opinions of the Cabinet of Berlin. He felt, however, assured that neither Prussia nor Germany would agree to enter into Conference on the basis of the negotiations of 1851 and 1852. Austria and Prussia, he observed, agreed to the basis of the Treaty of London, and were, moreover, bound by their declarations to maintain the integrity of the Danish Monarchy; he himself would be willing to negotiate on the above bases, but Her Majesty's Government must be aware that he could not separate from Prussia, and it was useless to think of arriving at a settlement of the question without the acquiescence of Germany in the final arrangement. In order, therefore, to obtain her assent, as well as that of Prussia, to attend the Conference, he thought it would be advisable to avoid defining any basis, and simply to invite the Powers to meet in Conference for the purpose of effecting the restoration of peace.

His Excellency went on to say that Austria could no longer be satisfied with the mere fulfilment of the engagements of 1851 and 1852, as demanded before the commencement of hostilities; more would now be required. He regretted to say that the opinions in Germany were as much opposed as ever to the Treaty of London, and that in spite of the efforts of Austria and Prussia, no serious impressions had yet been made, and without the concurrence of the Confederation a permanent settlement of the Danish question was impossible. With a view, therefore, to set the question at rest, it would be essential to frame the invitation to a Conference in such general terms as to insure the attendance of a Representative of the German Diet.

The foregoing was the answer given by Count Rechberg, and I told his Excellency that I should hasten to report it to your Lordship.

No. 1181.

Mr. Jerningham to Earl Russell.—(Received March 19.)

(Extract.) *Stockholm, March* 11, 1864.

HAVING observed to-day to Count Manderström, when taking leave of me before his departure to-morrow morning for Christiania, that I understood it to be the policy of the Danish Government, so far at least as could be gathered from the language of its head, Bishop Monrad, to persist in hostilities with the two German Powers until other great Powers, and particularly England, should be drawn into the war, his Excellency appeared to consider such a calculation far from unnatural, and even as not unlikely to succeed.

With regard to the proposed Conference, Count Manderström seemed to think still that almost its only advantage would be the obligation of Prussia and Austria to place in evidence their real intentions, while Denmark would hardly be able to benefit by any success which might attend her arms during the negotiation, considering the unlimited reinforcements at the service of the two Powers.

I replied that, were the Conference to assemble, an understanding might become possible, which otherwise would be out of the question, while each Power would, of course, be at liberty to abandon the discussion if so disposed.

His Excellency then spoke of the apparent intention of Prussia to attack Fredericia, adding that Baron Rosenberg had remarked to him, that, were it to take place, it would be, like the occupation of Kolding, merely for strategic reasons; a line of argument, Count Manderström observed, which might gradually lead to the occupation of Copenhagen.

His Excellency further agreed in my remark, that the possession of Fredericia seemed to threaten the Island of Funen, and so to cut off the retreat of the Danish army, if forced from the position of Düppel, and eventually unable to hold the Island of Alsen.

No. 1182.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March .)

(Extract.) *Vienna, March* 19, 1864.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday, Count Rechberg has informed me that he has heard from Berlin on the subject of the Conference proposed by Her Majesty's Government, and that his anticipations as to the objections that would be raised by M. de Bismarck have been fully realized. The Prussian Minister, he said, was unwilling to adopt the engagements of 1851 and 1852, as the point of departure of future negotiation, but Count Karolyi seemed, nevertheless, of opinion that M. de Bismarck's objections might be overcome by the employment of more general terms in the wording of the invitation. His Excellency requested me again to represent to your Lordship the earnest desire of the Austrian Government to enter into Conferences, with a view to puttiug an end to the war as soon as possible, and he remarked again also on the inutility of framing the invitation in any but the most general terms.

No. 1183.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 19, 1864.

COUNT RECHBERG will not require to be informed by your Excellency that the appearance of Austrian ships of war in the Cattegat and the Baltic would cause great irritation in the public mind in this country; but although your Excellency has already been assured by the Austrian Minister that there is no intention on the part of the Imperial Government to send ships to those quarters, Her Majesty's Government think it nevertheless desirable, more especially now that there is a probability of a Conference being held, that you should again point out to Count Rechberg the exceedingly bad impression which would be produced in England by a contrary course of proceeding.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1184.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received March 19.)

(Extract.) *Paris, March* 17, 1864.

I HAVE stated to M. Drouyn de Lhuys that the Danish Government were anxious to know whether the Imperial Government would take part in a Conference with or without a Plenipotentiary from the Diet, and I inquired of him the intentions of the Imperial Government.

His Excellency said that he had taken the Emperor's orders, and had communicated them to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne in a despatch which had been sent on the previous evening to that Ambassador.

They were to the effect that, notwithstanding the difficulties to negotiation which the presence of a Plenipotentiary from the Germanic Confederation would, without doubt, bring with it, the Imperial Government was of opinion that the Confederation should be invited to take part in any Conference which might be established on the affairs of the Duchies, because no arrangement would be satisfactory or lasting which should not be concurred in by the Diet. If, however, the Diet should decline the invitation, the Imperial Government would not refuse to take part in a Conference, but would propose that the Protocol recording the decisions at which the Conference might arrive should be left open for future acceptance by that Body.

I said that, as I had already had the honour to state to his Excellency, it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government, should a favourable answer to the proposal of a Conference be received from Copenhagen, to ask the Germanic Confederation to send a Plenipotentiary to London.

No. 1185.

Earl Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 20, 1864.

IT appears from your telegram that Count Rechberg has learned that the Prussian Government will not accept the basis on which the Cabinet of Copenhagen agree to enter into Conference, and that his Excellency hopes that Her Majesty's Government will propose a Conference without any specific basis other than that its object is to restore peace.

I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government will adhere to their proposal to that effect. The consent of Austria and Prussia to accept the arrangements of 1851-52 as a point of departure for future negotiation would have made it easier for Denmark to agree to the Conference, but as the two German Powers object to doing so, Her Majesty's Government revert to their original proposal.

Her Majesty's Government will accordingly propose without delay to the Governments of France, Russia, and Sweden, to meet the belligerent Powers in Conference, with a view to devise means for the restoration of peace; and they will make the same proposal to the Diet at Frankfort.

But, in order that such a Conference may lead to the desired result, it is most important that the Governments of Austria and Prussia should frame the conditions by which they propose to restore peace, and which should not only be moderate but should also be such as shall secure the integrity and independence of Denmark, and such as on that ground can be recommended by the non-German Powers for the acceptance of the Danish Government.

Count Rechberg has it in his power, by the exercise of his influence with the Prussian Government, to contribute greatly to this end; and Her Majesty's Government trust that his Excellency, who from your report seems to be fully alive to the danger of the present state of affairs, will direct his special attention to this point.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1186.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 11, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have just had a visit from Bishop Monrad and M. Quaade, who came to inform me that the Danish Cabinet has decided to accept the Conference on the basis of the arrangements of 1851-52, and on condition that they know positively that France will join the Conference, with or without a Representative of the Diet.

No. 1187.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 12, 1864.

ALTHOUGH it appeared to me undesirable to remove the impression which the Danish Government was under, that their answer respecting the Conference was expected by this day, it was nevertheless of infinitely more importance of course to prevent any decision being taken, if it was likely to be unfavourable, when by waiting a few days longer for the despatch announced to me by telegraph, I might have it in my power to make use of such arguments on the part of Her Majesty's Government as would increase the prospect of a reply in accordance with their wishes.

I accordingly went to M. Quaade after the departure of the messenger the day before yesterday, and said that supposing the Cabinet should not at this moment be disposed in favour of the Conference, and that he thought anything might be gained by putting off the final discussion and decision upon the proposal of Her Majesty's Government for a few days, I was perfectly prepared not to press for an answer on the day when the fortnight would expire. I felt entire confidence from my previous conversations with M. Quaade that his Excellency would only make a judicious use of this latitude.

His Excellency replied that he must remind me that it was not the Danish Government which had asked for a delay of fourteen days to make up their mind, but that the term had been fixed by Her Majesty's Government: he was nevertheless obliged to me for what I had just said; but he did not think he should have to avail himself of it, for there was to be a Ministerial Council the next day (yesterday) on the subject of the Conference, and a decision would then probably be taken.

I replied that if the decision was likely to be favourable I should be glad to receive it, but if the reverse I trusted the Danish Government would take further time for reflection.

No. 1188.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 13, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that if I were enabled to state positively to the Danish Government the terms on which the French Government have agreed to the Conference, whether they accept it unconditionally, or on the condition of the Diet sending a Representative, it would greatly aid me in obtaining the formal consent of the Danish Government to the Conference before next Friday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1189.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 14, 1864.

THE attention of the Danish Government has been called to the reported intention of the Austrian and Prussian fleets to rendezvous in the Baltic, and they are desirous of knowing whether Her Majesty's Government would be willing, in the event of a Conference taking place, to address representations to the two Great German Powers in order to prevent such a step being taken.

Information has reached Copenhagen that the Austrian forces have entered Aarhuus.

No. 1190.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 15, 1864.

I RECEIVED last evening a telegram from Earl Cowley stating that the French Minister had orders to speak to the Danish Government in the sense of your Lordship's despatch to me of the 9th instant, and recommending me to show him this instruction.

I have accordingly done so, and M. Dotézac, who received his instructions this morning, has been to me this evening to inform me that he has seen M. Quaade, and has supported the arguments in your Lordship's despatch in favour of a Conference composed of England, France, Russia, Sweden, and Germany, by which denomination he understood not only Austria and Prussia, but the Diet, to be included. He stated to M. Quaade that the French Government not only accepted the Conference thus composed, but recommended the Danish Government to accept it likewise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1191.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 16.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 16, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have been promised the final answer of the Danish Government to the proposal of a Conference to-morrow. I have every reason to believe that they will accept it on the basis of the transactions of 1851-52, but that they will refuse to agree to an armistice. I am at present directing all my endeavours towards inducing them to agree to the armistice, and to accept the Conference without any basis being fixed beforehand.

No. 1192.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Receieed March 21.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 16, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to my despatch of this date, that M. Quaade has just called to state that the final answer of the Danish Government to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government is, that they accept the Conference on the basis of the arrangements of 1851-52, without an armistice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1193.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 16, 1864.

I HAD the honour to receive yesterday afternoon your Lordship's despatch of the 9th instant, and I immediately went to M. Quaade, and read it to him.

When I had done so, I said that this despatch removed all doubts upon one of the points insisted upon in the interview I had had with him and the President of the Council, viz., the consent of France to the Conference; I could moreover inform his Excellency, I said, that my French colleague had instructions to support the views of Her Majesty's Government as related in this despatch, and that I therefore trusted that no further delay would now take place in formally accepting the Conference.

M. Quaade said he would lose no time in communicating to the President of the Council the substance of the despatch I had just read to him, but he expressed a desire that I would meet Bishop Monrad with him this morning, and read the despatch in the presence of them both.

I, of course, consented to this, and I accordingly waited on their Excellencies this morning at the Presidency of the Council soon after 11 o'clock.

When I had ended reading M. Monrad asked if I could not communicate a copy o the despatch.

I said I was not authorized to do so, but I would apply to your Lordship on the subject.

His Excellency asked me if I remembered the conditions on which he had said the Conference would be accepted.

I said that there were two: one of which, the adhesion of France, had been fulfilled; the other, that the arrangements of 1851-52 should be taken as a basis.

He replied that it was still intended to accept the Conference on these terms, and that therefore the observations he had made respecting the military position of Denmark applied to the question of the armistice. The armistice would be refused, in the first place, because, with a flying corps going in all directions over Jutland, he defied any one to say what the military *status quo* was. Some places in Jutland were held by as few as 20 or 30 Austrian soldiers, some by 100. It could not be said, however, that because of these partial occupations the country to that extent was in the possession of the enemy; yet such would be the *de facto* result if the armistice was concluded on the basis of the *uti possidetis*.

I replied that I was astonished to hear that the Danish Government had any objections to offer to an armistice, for at the time when there was a question of a Conference without a cessation of hostilities, I had understood that if an answer to the proposal had been pressed for it would have been a refusal, because an armistice was considered indispensable.

M. Monrad and M. Quaade both exclaimed that an armistice would have been much more favourable to Denmark then; at that moment the only place in Jutland held by the enemy was Kolding, whereas an armistice now on the basis of the *status quo* would fix him in possession of the greater part of that province. Their Excellencies were also evidently thinking of the blockade.

The conversation then turned again upon the Conference, and M. Monrad said it must be distinctly understood (and he hoped I would make this point quite clear) that it was on the basis only of the transactions of 1851-52 that the Danish Government accepted the Conference. He was the more anxious upon this subject, because in the case of the last proposal of the Danish Government in the interests of peace (that with reference to the withdrawal of the Constitution) one point, the condition that a new organization for the Monarchy should be previously agreed upon, was omitted in your Lordship's statement in the House of Lords. He trusted that no omission would take place in regard to the acceptance of the Conference; that the Danish Government in short would not be held to have accepted the Conference, and the condition or basis on which they did so be lost to view.

I replied that as regarded the omission to which he alluded in the former case, his Excellency had seen that your Lordship had taken the earliest opportunity of setting this right, but since his Excellency had made this observation, I must on my side remind him (for I was equally anxious with himself that there should be no misunderstanding, as far at least as I was concerned) that in the conversation we had had respecting the Conference two days previous to his coming with M. Quaade to announce the decision of the Cabinet, he had distinctly said, while insisting on the basis of 1851-52, that its adoption would not preclude the discussion of other modes of arrangement, if an agreement could not be come to on the basis in question. M. Monrad acknowledged the correctness of this.

I then said that I trusted that at all events if the basis of 1851-52 was insisted upon by the Danish Government as a condition of their accepting the Conference, they would not require any formal recognition of this basis on the part of Austria and Prussia. It would be sufficient for their purpose, and would completely shield them from responsibility before the country, if they stated that it was on this basis that they entered the Conference.

Bishop Monrad's reply was that he did not see how Austria and Prussia could object to adopting this basis. It was the one which furnished the motives for their invasion of Schleswig. If these motives were merely put forward as a pretext to conceal other designs and objects, then the invasion of Schleswig assumed an entirely new shape.

To sum up this despatch, I believe I may say with confidence, that the Danish Government will not refuse in Conference such modifications of the arrangements of 1851-52 as may be thought necessary to give every security for the interests and protection of His Danish Majesty's German subjects in Schleswig.

No. 1194.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 17, 1864.

IT was agreed on my leaving Bishop Monrad and M. Quaade that I should go to the latter in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving the formal reply of the Danish Government respecting the Conference.

His Excellency, however, called upon me before the time appointed, to say that he would not be prepared to give me this answer till the evening, or perhaps this morning.

Your Lordship's telegram had in the meantime reached me, stating that Her Majesty's Government thought they might be of great assistance to Denmark in the Conference; that if the Conference was accepted in principle, Her Majesty's Government would recommend that the engagements of 1851–52 should be taken as a basis, but that if those engagements should not be found sufficient, the Conference should have the power to modify them so as to make them suitable to the present time.

I made use of this telegram as an additional argument why the engagements of 1851-52 should be touched upon as lightly as possible in the reply which his Excellency contemplated addressing to me notifying the acceptance of the Conference.

M. Quaade said he considered it absolutely necessary that specific mention should be made of the arrangements of 1851-52 as the basis of the Danish Government; but he was quite willing, for his own part, to write the note he would have to address to me in the terms which would be the least likely to raise difficulties on the part of the other belligerents, and he would talk this matter over again with his colleagues.

When I saw M. Quaade last night no such effect had been produced, and his Excellency gave me the reply of the Danish Government in the following words:—

"Le Gouvernement accepte la Conference sur la base des arrangements de 1851-52, sans armistice;" and he said he should write me a note to this effect either this day or to-morrow.

At the same time it is M. Quaade's intention to address an explanatory despatch to M. Bille respecting the motives and position of the Danish Government on this question, for communication to Her Majesty's Government.

No. 1195.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 17, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a letter addressed to me by M. Quaade, calling attention to the arrest and bad treatment by Austrian troops of a M. Sarauw, Herredsfoged of Löve and Mögettonder, in the Province of Jutland.

As further illustrating the proceedings of the enemy in Jutland, I may state that four of the inhabitants of Veile, who were supposed to have assisted the Danish troops in the engagement in the neighbourhood of that town by firing out of the windows, although taken without arms in their hands, were shot; and that as many as 600 or 700 persons were forced to work at the entrenchments being erected before Fredericia.

With regard to Schleswig, every functionary, whether in the North or South, supposed to have Danish sympathies, is violently expelled from his employment; and by the regulation which has been established requiring all clergymen to have passed an examination at the University of Kiel, several clergymen in the North of Schleswig have been driven from their houses, and are now cast on the world, with their little property in the tender keeping of those by whom they have been expelled.

Several instances of this kind have been brought privately before me; and the Danish papers, since the invasion of Schleswig took place, have been teeming with well-authenticated cases of hardship and persecution.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 1195.

M. Quaade to Sir A. Paget.

Monsieur, *Copenhague, ce* 13 *Mars*, 1864.

J'AI déjà à plusieurs reprises eu l'honneur de fixer de vive voix votre attention sur la conduite tenue par les troupes et les autorités Allemandes contre des employés du Roi dans le Duché de Slesvig.

Aujourd'hui je me permets d'appeler votre attention bienveillante sur la manière essentiellement analogue dont procédé envers un fonctionnaire du Royaume de Danemark proprement dit, savoir M. Sarauw, "Herredsfoged" des arrondissements de Löve et Mogettonder, Baillage de Ribe.

En effet, il appert de plusieurs rapports et autres pièces que M. le Bailli du Roi à Ribe a adressés au Ministre de la Justice et que mon dit collègue vient de me transmettre, que M. Sarauw a été inopinément arrêté, au milieu de ses occupations officielles, le 29 du mois passé par une troupe Autrichienne et de suite emmené, sans qu'il lui fût permis d'aller chez lui, ni d'attendre les habits de voyage nécessaires qu'on s'empressait d'envoyer après lui, d'abord à Tonder et puis à Flensbourg. Arrivé dans cette ville, M. Sarauw aurait été écroué à la prison civile, comme un simple malfaiteur, devant se coucher sur de la paille, et un domestique qui avait été expédié pour lui apporter de l'argent et des habits n'a pu recueillir aucun renseignement sur le motif de cet acte; seulement il y a tout lieu de croire que lui aussi a été victime d'accusations perfides, ayant dénaturé le fait que, d'office, il a fait parvenir l'ordre de se rendre sous les drapeaux à des conscrits Jutlandais séjournant dans des communes Slesvigoises, comme s'il eût adressé cet ordre à des hommes natifs du Duché de Slesvig.

En me permettant de vous prier, Monsieur, de vouloir bien interposer de vos bons offices afin de faire redresser, s'il est possible, l'injustice qui a frappé le fonctionnaire dont il s'agit, je saisis, &c.

(Signé) G. QUAADE.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Copenhagen, March* 13, 1864.

I HAVE already had the honour several times of urgently calling your attention to the conduct pursued by the German troops and authorities towards Royal officials in the Duchy of Schleswig.

I now take the liberty of calling your attention to the essentially similar manner in which a functionary of the Kingdom of Denmark properly so called, namely, M. Sarauw, "Herredsfoged" of the districts of Löve and Mogettonder, in the Baillage of Ribe, has, been treated.

In fact it appears from several reports and other documents which the King's Bailiff at Ribe has addressed to the Minister of Justice, and which that colleague of mine has just transmitted to me, that M. Sarauw was unexpectedly arrested, in the midst of his official occupations, on the 29th ultimo by an Austrian troop, and at once carried off without being permitted to go to his house, or to wait for the necessary clothes for travelling which were at once sent after him, first to Tonder and then to Flensburg. On arriving at this town M. Sarauw appears to have been locked up in the civil prison as a common malefactor, being obliged to sleep on straw, and a servant who had been sent to bring him money and clothes could not obtain any information as to the reason for this proceeding; only there is every reason to believe that he also is the victim of slanderous accusations,—the fact that he forwarded in his official capacity to Jutland conscripts residing in Schleswig districts the order to join their regiments having been falsified, as if he had addressed that order to natives of the Duchy of Schleswig.

Whilst taking the liberty, Sir, to request you to interpose your good offices in order to cause the injustice which has been exercised towards this functionary to be redressed, I have, &c.

(Signed) G. QUAADE.

No. 1196.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 18, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the following official information has been published by the Danish War Office with reference to the army at Dybböl.

On the 11th General Gerlach addressed the troops and distributed decorations.

On the 14th the enemy attacked in force the whole line of outposts at 6·30 A.M., and retreated at 9.

The batteries on Brougerland fired during the course of the night.

On the 15th there was heavy firing from five to seven batteries on Brougerland upon the works of the Danish left wing, the ships in the Vemmingsund, and the town of Sonderburg, but without much result.

Yesterday an attack was made by the enemy on the front and right wing of the Danish position, whilst the batteries in Brougerland played heavily on the left wing. The principal fighting took place round Averberg and the town of Dybböl, outside the lines, which, after being held against very superior forces for some time, remained finally in possession of the enemy. Randsgaarde, Stangaarde, and the town of Dybböl were on fire. The Danish works are uninjured. The loss on both sides considerable. Colonel Hoeberg was killed. The 4th, 5th, 7th, and 8th Regiments were engaged.

Some anxiety has been felt during the week for the safety of General Hegermann's division, which is being pursued by the Austro-Prussian troops in great force in Jutland, consisting of three brigades Infantry, two battalions of Tyrolese Jägers (in all twenty-one battalions), the brigade Windischgrätz, and Prussian Light Cavalry, together with Artillery.

The Germans continue to levy large forced contributions on the inhabitants in Jutland. An Aarhuus paper states that on the 12th instant Field-Marshal Neipberg proclaimed in the square at Aarhuus that the troops had been ordered to occupy Jutland by order of Marshal Wrangel, to live at the expense of the inhabitants in consequence of the capture of German ships. He demanded the immediate delivery of large contributions, and on the inhabitants stating that it was impossible for the town to furnish them in such quantities, as the town did not contain them, the Field-Marshal answered that if they were not brought in before the departure of the troops that day he should take away some of the principal inhabitants as hostages; his Aide-de-camp, Major Dumoulin, adding that the usages of war justified the shooting of these hostages if the demands of the German troops were not satisfied. On the departure of the troops they carried off several of the principal inhabitants.

Field-Marshal Wrangel has issued two proclamations commanding the authorities of all the principal towns in Central Jutland to repair to Kolding, with a view to carrying out in a more thorough and systematic manner the levying of forced contributions for the support of the troops, and forbidding the export of horses, cattle, and corn from Jutland, under pain of confiscation.

A force of 600 Prussian infantry crossed over to the Island of Fehmarn on the night of the 14th instant, and took the small garrison there, who were acting as a police force, prisoners.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 1197.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 18, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an article from the semi-official paper of last night, relative to the proceedings of the German military and civil authorities in Schleswig and Jutland.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 1197.

Extract from the "Berlingske Tidende" of March 17, 1864.

Copenhague, le 17 *Mars*, 1864.

ON nous communique un document important et qui renferme des détails pleins d'intérêt sur la conduite que tiennent les Prussiens et les Autrichiens dans le Duché de Slesvig. Il jette en effet le jour le plus complet sur les véritables intentions des deux grandes Puissances Allemandes, et prouve jusqu'à l'évidence qu'en envahissant cette province, sous prétexte de se nantir d'un gage, elles n'ont eu pour but que de l'arracher au

Danemark, ou du moins de préparer les voies à cette séparation, en y appliquant dans toute leur rigueur les procédés bien connus de germanisation dont elles ont fait usage ailleurs avec tant de succès. Nous avons donc pensé que les lecteurs qui s'intéressent à notre cause nous sauraient gré de leur mettre cette pièce sous les yeux, et c'est ce qui nous décide, malgré sa longueur, à la publier *in extenso*. Nous en donnerons aujourd'hui la première partie.

Avant que les troupes Austro-Prussiennes eussent passé l'Eider, l'ordre et la tranquillite publique n'avaient pas été troublés dans le Duché de Slesvig. Aucune partie du pays ne se trouvait en état de siége, personne n'avait été arrêté pour ses opinions politiques, le secret des lettres était respecté, les communications étaient complètement libres entre le Holstein et toute l'étendue du Duché, et bien que les meneurs du parti révolutionnaire eussent profité de cette liberté pour agiter par tous les moyens la population du Slesvig méridional, il n'en était résulté aucune démonstration que la police ne fut immédiatement parvenue à réprimer sans avoir jamais recours à l'aide de la force armée. Les réquisitions de chevaux, de voitures, de fourrages, de paille, &c., pour les besoins de l'armée, se faisaient presque partout sans la moindre difficulté, et tous les soldats appelés sous les drapeaux montraient, à peu d'exceptions près, la même exactitude à rejoindre leurs régiments respectifs.

L'entrée des Prussiens et des Autrichiens a au contraire été immédiatement accompagnée de mouvements insurrectionnels provoqués par la faction révolutionnaire, grossie de la foule des agitateurs accourus du Holstein et de Hambourg à la suite des alliés. Ces mouvements se sont répandus à mesure que l'armée Danoise s'est vue forcée de battre en retraite, mais ils n'ont eu le dessus que dans les districts exclusivement Allemands et dans les parties limitrophes de ceux où se parlent les deux langues. A Flensborg, à Aabenraa et à Haderslev ils se sont bornés à des manifestations auxquelles n'a pris part qu'une faible minorité, et ils ont éclaté dans les villes de la côte orientale seulement après qu'elles ont été occupées par les troupes Prussiennes ou Autrichiennes.

L'insurrection avait un double but : faire proclamer le prétendant comme Duc de Slesvig-Holstein, et bouleverser l'ordre existant en expulsant les fonctionnaires établis par Sa Majesté le Roi. Dans un seul endroit, à Flensborg, les troupes Austro-Prussiennes se sont opposées, et sans l'empêcher encore, à la proclamation du Prince d'Augustenbourg ; partout ailleurs elle a eu lieu en leur présence, et lorsque les habitants loyaux, auxquels il était défendu de faire aucune protestation, demandaient aux autorités militaires de ne pas tolérer de pareils actes de révolte, les officiers Allemands leur répondaient que la politique ne les regardait pas. De même des régions occupées par les troupes alliées, et administrées par des employés nommés par les Commissaires des deux Puissances, ont envoyé au prétendant des députations composées en partie d'hommes que le nouveau Gouvernement avait mis à la tête des polices locales. Dans une paroisse du sud du Slesvig, il ne s'est trouvé dans toute la population qu'un seul individu qui ait voulu se joindre à une telle députation ; or c'était précisément le maire que venaient d'installer les autorités Allemandes, et il a ainsi représenté toute la paroisse quoiqu'il eût seul pris part à cette démonstration.

Relativement à l'expulsion des fonctionnaires Royaux, voici ce qui s'est passé.

A la suite des mouvements insurrectionnels qui ont éclaté à Eckernförde, Slesvig, Tönning, Husum, Læk et Tönder, les fonctionnaires de toutes ces villes ont été un butte aux plus vils outrages, et chassés pour la plupart de leurs postes. On a prétendu comme excuse qu'ils étaient presque tous des Danois fanatiques ; mais les listes que nous avons sous les yeux prouvent au contraire qu'ils sont pour la plus grande partie natifs du Slesvig et du Holstein ; c'est donc seulement à cause de leurs sentiments de fidélité pour leur Souverain légitime qu'ils ont été expulsés.

La manière de procéder à leur égard était partout la même. Des gens, souvent tout à fait inconnus, venaient trouver un fonctionnaire, et, au nom du peuple, de la bourgeoisie, ou d'un comité quelconque, lui ordonnaient de quitter la ville dans un certain délai. Refusait-il d'obéir à cette injonction, la populace se portait sur lui à des actes de violence, et le traînait par force hors de la ville.

Divers fonctionnaires, qui avaient ainsi reçu l'ordre de s'éloigner, se sont adressés aux officiers Prussiens ou Autrichiens présens sur les lieux avec prière de les protéger contre ces excès, mais cette protection leur a été nettement refusée, ou bien on ne la leur a jamais effectivement accordée. Bien plus, les soldats Autrichiens se sont plus d'une fois joints à la populace pour insulter des employés et des bourgeois paisibles, comme ils ont aussi pris part au pillage du château de Gottorp, et, de même que les Prussiens, commis des vols considérables avec effraction dans la paroisse de Kosel.

Pendant que les troupes alliées laissaient ainsi s'accomplir sans obstacle l'expulsion des fonctionnaires Royaux dans tous les endroits où les révoltés et les meneurs venus du Holstein avaient le dessus, le Commandant-en-chef de l'armée Austro-Prussienne, le Feld-Maréchal Wrangel, faisait, dès son arrivée à Flensborg, le 7 Février, paraître une proclamation dans

laquelle, après avoir défendu toute démonstration politique non conforme aux intentions des deux Puissances, et prescrit l'usage de l'Allemand comme langue officielle, il confirmait dans leurs fonctions tous les employés civils du Duché de Slesvig. Le lendemain, le Commissaire Prussien, le Baron Zedlitz (dont le collègue Autrichien, le Comte de Revertera, n'était pas encore arrivé) publiait en outre un autre manifeste, daté de Flensborg le 8 Février, où il était dit que les pouvoirs du Roi de Danemark étaient suspendus dans le Duché, mais que toutes les lois civiles existantes continueraient à rester en vigueur, en tant que la sûreté des opérations militaires n'exigerait pas quelques exceptions, et que la suspension des pouvoirs Royaux n'entraînerait pas forcément l'abrogation de certaines dispositions des lois précédentes. Comme conséquences de ce genre, rendues nécessaires par le nouvel état de choses, on spécifiait d'abord celles-ci, que toutes les autorités et tous les fonctionnaires s'abstiendraient à l'avenir de s'intituler autorités et fonctionnaires Royaux, qu'ils ne feraient plus usage du sceau Royal non plus que de leurs uniformes, et que tous les écussons Royaux seraient enlevés des édifices publics. Venait ensuite l'obligation de n'employer que la langue Allemande dans toutes les relations officielles avec les Commissaires du Gouvernement et les autorités militaires. Enfin on invitait tous les fonctionnaires à s'engager par écrit de se soumettre au Commandant-en-chef et aux Commissaires tant que durerait l'occupation du pays, et on ajoutait que ceux qui signeraient une telle déclaration pouvaient compter sur l'appui et la protection des alliés, aussi longtemps qu'ils resteraient fidèles à leurs engagements, et que leur conduite, au sein comme en dehors de leurs fonctions, ne fournirait aucun motif qui pût les faire destituer. En dernier lieu, on défendait toute espèce de démonstration politique.

Pleins de confiance dans cette proclamation, quelques fonctionnaires qui avaient été expulsés du Slesvig méridional se sont adressés au Baron de Zedlitz ou aux autorités instituées par les Commissaires du Gouvernement, en implorant leur protection pour être réintégré dans leurs emplois ; mais ils n'ont reçu aucune réponse, ou ont été même éconduits assez durement. En tout cas, il semblait que ceux qui n'avaient pas été chassés et qui étaient restés à leur poste (c'est-à-dire, les deux tiers des fonctionnaires du nord du Slesvig, à l'exception d'un petit nombre appartenant aux districts de l'ouest, et la plupart des pasteurs de la partie sud), devaient s'attendre à être maintenus, s'ils donnaient la déclaration demandée et l'observaient à la lettre. Mais cet espoir s'est tout aussi peu réalisé. Dans le sud du Duché, on a, en quelques endroits, continué à expulser les employés à l'aide de la populace ameutée, sans que les autorités fissent la moindre démarche pour faire respecter la proclamation des Commissaires ; c'est ainsi que le pasteur de Kosel, menacé de voir son presbytère devenir la proie des flammes, s'est vu contraint, le 19 Février, de quitter sa paroisse. Dans les districts de Husum et de Bredsted, situés au sud-ouest du Slesvig, et dont les chefs étaient absents à l'ouverture des hostilités, le Baron de Zedlitz avait d'abord installé à la tête de l'administration deux fonctionnaires connus par leur fidélité au Roi, mais quelques jours après ils étaient remplacés par un des meneurs les plus ardents du parti Révolutionnaire, et, à partir de ce moment, une persécution si violente a commencé contre les employés restés fidèles à leur serment, que presque tous les Magistrats, quoique natifs pour la plupart du Slesvig ou du Holstein, ont été forcés d'abandonner leurs places. Enfin, pour ce qui regarde les districts du nord, où l'on n'a pas encore installé de nouveaux baillis qui aient pu chasser les fonctionnaires loyaux, on a jusqu'ici laissé ces derniers dans leurs postes, mais non sans chercher à leur nuire d'une autre manière.

Un moyen commode et qu'on a déjà souvent employé pour éloigner les fonctionnaires restés fidèles à leurs devoirs, c'a été de les accuser d'espionage ou d'autres actes pouvant compromettre la sûreté de l'armée alliée. On se rappelle sans doute que, dans les premiers jours de Février, le Conseiller Blauenfeldt a été arrêté à Flækkeby, près de la ville de Slesvig, sous prétexte d'avoir induit en erreur un corps Autrichien, et ainsi été cause que ce dernier aurait tiré sur des troupes Prussiennes. A la suite de cette accusation, dont la fausseté n'a pas tardé à être démontrée, ce vieillard de soixante-cinq ans s'est vu assailli chez lui par des soldats, a été garrotté et traîné à pied jusqu'à Rendsborg entre deux dragons Allemands. Mais ce n'est pas tout. Plusieurs hommes honorables, qui se trouvaient alors dans le Holstein, et dont le témoignage a été invoqué par la justice, ont affirmé avoir entendu raconter par différentes personnes témoins du fait, que les soldats du Corps de Garde de Rendsborg avaient montré M. Blauenfeldt pour de l'argent à tous ceux qui voulaient le voir et l'insulter ; enfin il doit de là avoir été conduit à travers les rues de Hambourg, toujours à pied, tête nue, et vêtu seulement des débris de son uniforme. En même temps que le Conseiller Blaunfeldt, on a aussi arrêté son fils, qui n'a pas encore été mis en liberté que nous sachions. Depuis lors les fonctionnaires du Sundewitt ont eu pour la plupart à subir des traitements analogues. Six pasteurs, parmi lesquels un fils du Général Bülow, qui commandait l'armée Danoise à la bataille de Frédé-

ricia, et trois employés, ont été arrêtés chez eux par des patrouilles et jetés dans des prisons humides où, couchés sur la paille et en compagnie de soldats Prussiens incarcérés pour vol, ils ont dû passer un temps plus ou moins long. En l'absence de la moindre preuve qui pût établir leur participation à des actes dirigés contre les intérêts de l'armée alliée, on les a peu à peu remis en liberté, ce qui n'a cependant pas empêché que deux d'entre eux n'aient été de nouveau arrêtés, avant d'avoir regagné leur domicile.

Il résulte des renseignements reçus jusqu'ici que, dans les districts de Gottorp, de Hütten, de Bredsted, d'Eidersted, et dans la moitié méridionale de celui de Tönder, on a déjà renvoyé toutes les autorités supérieures, les juges, les notaires, les receveurs, les fonctionnaires du corps médical, des assurances et des ponts et chaussées, et enfin un assez grand nombre de pasteurs et de maîtres d'école ; la ville de Slesvig a en outre perdu le recteur et presque tous les professeurs de son collége. Pour ce qui regarde les districts du nord, il faut compter au moins vingt-trois employés de renvoyés.

Le nombre des fonctionnaires destitués par les Commissaires ou leurs agents augmente d'ailleurs chaque jour, à mesure qu'il se présente pour les remplacer des gens qui conviennent davantage à ces derniers. D'après un Arrêté des Commissaires en date du 22 Février, et sur lequel nous reviendrons plus loin, on doit s'attendre à ce que tous les pasteurs et les maîtres d'école du district de Flensborg et d'une partie de ceux de Gottorp, Husum, Bredsted et Tönder, soient renvoyés d'un jour à l'autre.

Les hommes que les Commissaires ont nommés à la place des fonctionnaires expulsés ou destitués se sont fait remarquer pour la plupart par le zèle qu'ils ont déployé au service de la révolution pendant les événements de 1848-50. L'un d'eux, aujourd'hui bailli de Gottorp et de Hütten, était même à cette époque Ministre de la Guerre du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire, et un second, qui est maintenant à la tête des districts de Husum et de Bredsted, a été, pendant plusieurs années, dans les Etats du Duché, un des chefs les plus actifs du parti du Slesvig-Holstein. On comprend donc facilement que de tels hommes, qui ont en outre pleins pouvoirs pour nommer et destituer les employés dans toute l'étendue de leurs territoires, doivent, pour remplir les places, rechercher les gens dont les opinions sont les plus subversives.

Enfin, en ordonnant dans leur Arrêté du 19 Février que tous les fonc onnaires devraient justifier d'avoir passé deux ans à l'Université de Kiel, les Commissaires ont presque rendu impossible à toute personne restée fidèle au Roi de remplir un emploi dans le Slesvig. Depuis longues années, en effet, il a régné un si mauvais esprit chez les professeurs et les étudiants de cette Université, que, pour ainsi dire, aucun Slesvigeois, parmi ceux qui considéraient le Danemark et non l'Allemagne comme leur patrie, n'a voulu la fréquenter ou ne s'est trouvé en état de supporter pendant deux ans un pareil séjour.

De même que par leurs dispositions relatives à la gestion des emplois dans le Duché de Slesvig, les Commissaires ont eu pour but de mettre le pouvoir entre les mains de personnes hostiles au maintien du Slesvig sous la couronne de Danemark, de même ils se sont efforcés, par un série d'autres mesures, de bouleverser l'ordre établi pour germaniser le pays.

En envoyant leurs troupes dans le Slesvig, les deux grandes Puissances ont déclaré que leur intention était seulement de prendre ce Duché en gage pour forcer le Gouvernement Danois de remplir les engagements de 1851-52, et elles ont ajoutés plus tard que cette occupation n'était qu'une nécessité momentanée. On pouvait donc croire, d'un côté, que les Puissances se borneraient à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour administrer provisoirement le pays, et de l'autre que les dispositions du Gouvernement Danois antérieures aux négociations de 1851-52,—dispositions qui, à cette époque, n'ont pas soulevé la moindre objection ni la moindre remarque,—continueraient à rester en vigueur. Mais cela n'a nullement eu lieu.

Dans l'Arrêté du Baron de Zedlitz du 8 Février, on trouve déjà ordonné que les fonctionnaires ne doivent plus s'intituler " Royaux," et que les armoiries Royales soient enlevées des édifices publics. Or, depuis un temps immémorial, l'autorité du Gouvernement dans le Slesvig a été, toujours et partout, officiellement désignée par le mot " Royal," de même que l'autorité du Gouvernement Autrichien est certainement designée dans le Tyrol par les mots " Impérial-Royal," ou celle du Gouvernement Anglais dans la Principauté de Galles ou le Duché de Lancastre par le mot " Royal." Cette règle, qui a existé aussi dans le Holstein, a jusqu'ici été tellement hors de doute que, pendant la révolte de 1848-50, le Tribunal Suprême de Kiel a continué à rendre ses arrêts " au nom du Roi." Si l'occupation du Slesvig n'était qu'une mesure momentanée, il n'y aurait aucun motif pour exiger que le mot " Royal " fût effacé dans les titres officiels des fonctionnaires, et les écussons Royaux enlevés des édifices publics, et la circonstance que l'autorité du Gouvernement du Roi était suspendue ne pouvait, comme l'ont avoué les Commissaires, avoir pour consé-

quence qu'on dût faire disparaître les marques de la souveraineté du Roi. C'est, cependant, ce qui a eu lieu, et on s'y est même pris de telle façon qu'une plaque portant le chiffre du feu Roi Frédérick VII, et incrustée dans le mur de l'hôtel de ville de Haderslev, en a été arrachée à coups de hache et envoyée au commandant des forces Prussiennes qui occupaient la ville.

No. 1198.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 17, 1864.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram, I requested an interview with M. de Bismarck, and communicated to his Excellency the condition on which the Danish Government have accepted a Conference; and the recommendations which Her Majesty's Government have consequently made that the Conference which they have proposed should take the transactions and engagements of 1851 and 1852 as a starting-point, or point of departure, and that the establishment of an armistice should be the first subject taken into consideration.

M. de Bismarck said that Prussia had already expressed her readiness to meet Denmark in a free Conference, but the basis now put forward by Denmark, which might be considered a counter-proposal, was quite inadmissible. The proposal of Her Majesty's Government might, however, be so explained as to render it less open to objection, although any reference to the engagements of 1851-52 would be looked upon unfavourably by Germany.

I said I did not believe Her Majesty's Government intended that the final arrangement which might be agreed upon was to be restricted by the engagements of 1851-52 to any particular system; and that I felt assured he might safely agree to the proposal which I had made to him. It would be necessary, however, he said, in the first place that he should see the precise terms to which Her Majesty's Government wished him to agree, and that he should take the orders of the King upon the subject.

Although, therefore, I cannot state positively that his Excellency will comply with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, I do not think there is any reason to be dissatisfied with his observations respecting them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1199.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 19, 1864.

I UNDERSTAND that the French Government have been informed that the Convention negotiated by General Manteuffel at Vienna consists of three Articles: 1. That the operations of the war should be extended to Jutland, but that they should be strictly limited to what might be considered necessary for the safety of the army; 2. That an identic declaration should be made to the Great Powers as to the further intention of the allies; and 3. That they shall immediately enter into negotiations for coming to an agreement respecting the arrangements which should be considered necessary for the restoration of peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1200.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 19, 1864.

THE "Elberfeld Gazette," a Ministerial journal, states that Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, husband of Princess Anne of Prussia, renounced his pretensions to the

throne of Denmark only with a view to the maintenance of the integrity of the Monarchy, and in the event of that object not being attained he will re-assert his rights.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1201.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, March* 19, 1864.

I HAD some further conversation with M. de Bismarck this morning, relative to the recommendations of Her Majesty's Government that the transactions of 1851-52 should be taken as a point of departure in the Conference which Her Majesty's Government have invited to meet in London for the restoration of peace in the north of Eurpoe. His Excellency began our conversation by stating that he had taken the King's orders on the subject, and that His Majesty and the Government were of opinion that it was impossible for Prussia to go into a Conference on the basis of 1851-52, and he said that the Austrian Government, to whom a proposal to that effect had been made, had at once telegraphed to Berlin that they considered it inadmissible. He said Denmark had refused to fulfil the engagements of 1851-52 for twelve years, on the ground that it was impossible to do so, and now when Her Majesty's Government proposed a free Conference for the restoration of peace, and Austria and Prussia were ready to attend it, the Danish Government pretended to dictate the conditions on which the Conference should meet, and proposed as a basis for its discussions, engagements upon which it had been found impossible during twelve years to establish an arrangement of the differences of Germany and Denmark.

I replied that the proposal of the Danish Government was however a logical consequence of the declaration which Austria and Prussia had made on the 31st of January last as to the intentions with which they had entered Schleswig. They then said that they were about to enter the Duchy to enforce the engagements of 1851-52; and Denmark, finding that she could no longer withstand the pressure which they had applied for the purpose, now declared herself ready to enter into a Conference with them to seek for an arrangement on the basis of these engagements.

M. de Bismarck said that the Danish Government ought, however, to understand that the events of the war had abrogated the engagements of 1851-52, and that they could not expect to obtain the same conditions of peace in 1864 which had been granted to them at the termination of the war of 1848.

I replied that I was not contending for any particular conditions of peace.

No. 1202.

Sir A. Buchanan to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 19, 1864.

HAVING been informed by a telegram from Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen that orders have been issued by the Danish Government to raise the embargo on Prussian vessels in the ports of Denmark, I communicated this intelligence on the 17th instant to M. de Bismarck by a note of which I inclose a copy for your Lordship's information, and orders have been consequently given for the immediate adoption of a similar measure with respect to Danish vessels in the ports of Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 1202.

Sir A. Buchanan to M. de Bismarck.

M. le Ministre, *Berlin, March* 17, 1864.

I HAVE been requested by Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen to inform your Excellency, with reference to your note of the 7th instant, that orders have been given

by the Danish Government to raise the embargo on Prussian vessels in the ports of Denmark.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 1203.

Sir A. Paget to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 18, 1864.

I HAVE only one moment, as the messenger is on the point of starting, to inclose to your Lordship a copy of M. Quaade's despatch to the Danish Minister in London announcing the acceptance of the Conference by the Danish Government, which has been sent to me by M. Quaade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 1203.

*M. Quaade to M. de Bille.**

Monsieur, *Copenhague, le* 18 *Mars*, 1864.

VOUS connaissez déjà le projet du Conférence que Sir A. Paget m'a communiqué sous la date du 24 du passé, ainsi que les motifs qui jusqu'ici avaient empêché le Gouvernement du Roi de donner une réponse définitive à cette proposition.

Aujourd'hui ces motifs n'existant plus, je vous autorise à déclarer à son Excellence le Principal Secrétaire pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique que le Gouvernement du Roi accepte en principe la proposition susmentionnée, telle qu'elle a été formulée dans la note de Sir A. Paget. Dans des communications ultérieures Lord Russell a modifié ce projet, il est vrai, en y ajoutant la proposition de l'adoption immédiate d'un armistice qui aurait pour base le *statu quo* militaire; mais dans l'état actuel des choses le Gouvernement du Roi croit devoir préférer l'idée primitive du Cabinet Anglais.

Cependant, en même temps qu'il adopte le projet d'une Conférence ayant pour but de mettre un terme au conflit Dano-Allemand, le Gouvernement du Roi croit devoir indiquer la base sans laquelle la Conférence ne saurait, d'après notre conviction, arriver à un résultat quelconque. En acceptant la Conférence, le Gouvernement du Roi suppose qu'il est bien entendu que les négociations de 1851 et 1852 formeront la base des délibérations, et il aime à espérer qu'en faisant dépendre son adhésion de cette condition, sa manière de voir ne soulèvera aucune objection. Car c'est dans les dites négociations que la Diète de Francfort d'abord et plus tard les grandes Puissances Allemandes ont cherché le titre de leur action commune contre la Monarchie Danoise. D'après l'appréciation des Puissances neutres cette base, concertée autrefois entre nous et la Confédération, semble aussi s'offrir comme la plus naturelle pour toute négociation ultérieure. Ainsi je suis heureux de constater que Sir A. Paget m'a fait pressentir que son Gouvernement serait tout disposé à reconnaître l'opportunité de la base que nous venons d'indiquer. Pour nous et pour le succès des négociations éventuelles, il est absolument indispensable enfin que tout projet de solution soit écarté d'avance qui semblerait impliquer directement ou indirectement une influence quelconque de la part de la Diète Germanique sur des territoires n'appartenant pas à la Confédération.

Je vous prie de lire cette dépêche à son Excellence le Comte Russell et de lui en laisser copie, en lui exprimant notre espoir que le Gouvernement Anglais ne manquera pas de nous prêter son appui efficace dans des négociations qui n'auront lieu que grâce à sa puissante initiative.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) G. QUAADE.

(Translation).

Sir, *Copenhagen, March* 18, 1864.

YOU are already informed of the proposal for a Conference which Sir A Paget communicated to me on the 24th ultimo, as well as the reasons which have hitherto prevented the King's Government from giving a definitive reply to this proposal.

As these motives now no longer exist, I authorize you to declare to his Excellency Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs that the King's Government

* A copy of this despatch was delivered to Earl Russell by M. Bille at the Foreign Office on the 22nd March.

accept the above-mentioned proposal in principle, as it has been expressed in Sir A. Paget's note. Lord Russell has, it is true, modified this project in more recent communications by adding to it the proposal for the immediate adoption of an armistice on the basis of the military *status quo*, but in the present state of affairs the Government of the King are induced to prefer the original idea of the English Cabinet.

Still, at the same time that they accept the proposal of a Conference with the object of putting an end to the Dano-German conflict, the King's Government think it right to point out the basis without which the Conference, in our opinion, could not arrive at any result whatever. In accepting the Conference the King's Government suppose that it is thoroughly understood that the negotiations of 1851-52 will form the basis of the deliberations, and they indulge in the hope that in making their adhesion dependent on this condition their views will not give rise to any objection. For it is from the said negotiations that the Diet of Frankfort at first, and more recently the two great German Powers, have derived the pretext for their common action against the Danish Monarchy. In the opinion of the neutral Powers this basis, formerly concerted between ourselves and the Confederation, seems also to offer itself as the most natural one for any further negotiations. I am therefore happy to be able to state that Sir A. Paget has given me reason to expect that his Government will be perfectly disposed to recognize the propriety of the basis which we have just pointed out. For us and for the success of eventual negotiations it is absolutely indispensable that any plan of arrangement which would seem directly or indirectly to imply any influence on the part of the Germanic Diet over territories not belonging to the Confederation should be previously put aside.

I beg you to read this despatch to his Excellency Earl Russell, and to give him a copy of it, at the same time expressing our hope that the English Government will not fail to afford us their efficacious support in negotiations which would not have taken place had it not been for their powerful initiative.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. QUAADE.

No. 1204.

Lord Napier to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March* 15, 1864.

I HAD the honour to receive a copy of the instruction addressed by your Lordship to Sir A. Paget, earnestly impressing upon the Danish Cabinet the expediency of accepting the overtures of the German Powers for an armistice, and of entering upon a course which might still lead to a pacific adjustment of pending controversies on terms consistent with the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

I was not instructed to communicate your Lordship's despatch to Prince Gortchakoff, but the arguments used by your Lordship appeared to me so consistent with the sentiments of the Russian Cabinet that I have taken the liberty to show the despatch to the Vice-Chancellor.

His Excellency expressed to me his perfect concurrence with the views stated by Her Majesty's Government, and his satisfaction in being made acquainted with a paper in which they were enforced in so lucid and convincing a manner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 1205.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March* 17, 1864.

IN my despatch of the 12th instant I reported that the Hanoverian Government had submitted a secret demand to the Chambers for a credit of 300,000 dollars (45,000*l.*) for coast defences, in the anticipation of war breaking out with Denmark; of this sum, as I am informed, 145,000 dollars were to be employed in the purchase of horses for the artillery, for the waggon train, and for two squadrons of cavalry, which it was intended to mobilize in addition to four battalions of infantry, and towards the other expenses incidental on the manning of the Strand Batteries at the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems. The remaining 155,000 dollars were to be devoted to the maintenance

of the above mentioned troops for three months and a half at the rate of 45,000 dollars per month in the event of war, and of 20,000 dollars only per month if peace should be maintained.

The Chambers, however, before their prorogation on the 15th instant only voted the Government a credit for 70,000 dollars (10,500*l.*); that is to say, 20,000 dollars (3,000*l.*) for three months and a half for the maintenance of a sufficient number of infantry to man the batteries. A want of confidence in the military administration by the War Department, objections to the raising of additional cavalry, and the consideration that if war should break out the Chambers can easily be convoked before the expiration on the 28th of next month of the term of their prorogation, are stated to have been the motives of this refusal to grant the larger supplies demanded by the Government. It is consequently the intention of the Government, as I learn, only to mobilize three battalions of infantry for the above-mentioned purpose.

It is evident that the Chambers wish to keep the strings of the public purse in their own hands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1206.

Sir H. Howard to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord, *Hanover, March* 19, 1864.

VARIOUS projects have been ventilated in the German papers for the settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question, founded on the dismemberment of the Danish Monarchy. According to one of these plans, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg should receive the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in exchange for the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, which should be ceded to Hanover, whilst Prussia, besides an extension of territory at the Jahde, for the development of her naval arsenal there, should have the Succession to the Duchy of Brunswick guaranteed to her. How it was proposed to dispose of Lauenburg I do not exactly know.

This project having attracted attention in Oldenburg, the Legislative Chamber in its sitting of the 11th instant alluded to it in the second of the following Resolutions which it passed on the Schleswig-Holstein question :—

"1. That it is urgently necessary that the German middle and small States, associating themselves to the endeavours of the whole German people founded on feelings of right, should draw as closely as possible towards each other, as opposed to the two Great German Powers, in order to an energetic common action in favour of the rights of Schleswig-Holstein, and namely of the speediest recognition and the most strenuous support of the Duke Frederick VIII, as well as for the maintenance of the independence of all the members of the Confederation.

"2. That the Grand Ducal Government should be requested to put as speedy an end as possible, by a frank statement of their views, to the various reports current relative to their attitude on the question of the Schleswig-Holstein Succession."

The Government Commissary stated that he was authorized at once to make the following declaration, which, on account of its importance, he would read:—

"1. The Grand Ducal Government have never failed to acknowledge, that in order to promote the national interests in the Schleswig-Holstein question, a close association of the middle and small States of Germany and as uniform a course as possible on their part at the Diet are desirable. Their endeavours have always been directed towards this end, and they regret, with the Chamber, that hitherto a result satisfactory to the national interests has not been thereby obtained.

"2. The Grand Ducal Government must, in respect to the Succession question, confine themselves to the declaration they have already given to the Committee, because the reasons against a detailed statement of their legal views still prevailed, and also because it must be completely clear to every person acquainted with the subject that His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, as a member of the House of Gottorp, could in no manner consider himself to be already entitled to the Succession in the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, but that the prospect of such an inheritance, according to the existing order of Succession, must be very remote. As, however, various reports, arising out of the Schleswig-Holstein Succession question, had latterly been spread which disquieted the country, by connecting with this question projects of an exchange of the Grand Duchy, or of particular Grand Ducal territories, the Government were induced to declare that they

were quite strangers to such projects, and that no proposal from any quarter in respect to them had either been made to them or directly to the Grand Duke."

In a recent conversation with Count Platen I adverted to these reported projects, but his Excellency denied the existence of any wish on the part of Hanover to obtain any accession of territory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY F. HOWARD.

No. 1207.

Mr. Murray to Earl Russell.—(Received March 21.)

(Extract.) *Dresden, March* 18, 1864.

THERE has no discussion taken place in the Saxon Chambers during the last week on any of the questions which are now occupying the attention of Europe, and the Government journal has not only observed a cautious reticence concerning them, but has also ceased to attack the Austro-Prussian policy in respect to the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein. These are symptoms that the spirit which lately induced Saxony and the other secondary States to adopt an independent line of action, and to exercise a pressure upon the two Great German Powers, is beginning to flag; and it is probable that the decease of the King of Bavaria, who, although not personally an energetic leader of the coalition, was from his position the most important member of it, may have contributed not a little to the result above mentioned.

No. 1208.

*Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 21, 1864.

HER MAJESTY has viewed with great concern the breaking out of hostilities in the north of Europe.

Her Majesty, while she is deeply interested in the welfare of the inhabitants of the Duchies of Holstein, of Lauenburg, and of Schleswig, deprecates the continuance of a conflict which may threaten the independence of a State forming part of the general system of Europe, and contributing to the balance of power. On grounds of humanity also Her Majesty would deplore the sacrifice of life which a prolonged war would occasion.

Upon these grounds Her Majesty has invited the Courts of Austria, Prussia, and Denmark to empower their Representatives to attend a Conference to be assembled in London for the purpose of devising means of restoring the blessings of peace.

The Governments of Austria and Prussia have signified their readiness to direct their Representatives to attend such a Conference.

The Government of Denmark have also signified their acceptance of a Conference, provided it should be called to deliberate on the basis of the transactions of 1851-52.

As these transactions took place under the auspices of Austria and Prussia, and the arrangements then concluded with Denmark had the sanction of the German Confederation, Her Majesty's Government would be very willing to take these transactions or engagements as the starting-point of the deliberations of the Conference of 1864.

But as it is desirable to avoid controversy and the delay that might arise therefrom, Her Majesty's Government propose that the basis of the Conference should be simply to find the means of restoring to the north of Europe the blessings of peace.

Your Excellency will give a copy of this despatch to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

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* Similar despatches, *mutatis mutandis*, were addressed to Lord Napier, Mr. Jerningham, and Sir A. Malet.

No. 1209.

*Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 21, 1861.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government understand that M. Monrad will not refuse to discuss in Conference other arrangements, if no agreement can be arrived at on the transactions of 1851-52.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1210.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 21, 1864.

I HAVE received this morning your despatches to the 18th instant.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to find from these despatches, as well as from M. Quaade's despatch of the 18th instant to the Danish Minister in London, of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch of that date, that the Danish Government accept the proposal for a Conference which you were instructed to make to them, and do not insist upon the formal recognition by the Governments of Austria and Prussia of the arrangements of 1851-52, as the basis on which the Conference is to deliberate.

Under these circumstances I have lost no time in sending to the Governments of France, Russia, and Sweden, the invitation to meet in Conference, which has only been delayed until the answer of the Danish Government was received.

The Conference, when assembled, can fully discuss the transactions of 1851-52, and their bearing on the present state of things.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1211.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 21, 1864.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your interesting despatches relating to the questions of armistice and Conference.

I have no need to discuss the question of an armistice. The proposal was made by Austria and Prussia, and it has been supported by Her Majesty's Government as a proposal advantageous to Denmark, and as a proposition tending to spare the shedding of blood.

In respect to the Conference, M. Monrad and M. Quaade are aware that Her Majesty's Government proposed to Austria, Prussia, and Denmark to enter into Conference with a view to restore peace to the North of Europe, without fixing any basis. Austria and Prussia accepted the proposal in that shape. Denmark now proposes to accept a Conference on the basis of the transactions of 1851-52. Austria and Prussia will not accept that, nor probably any other basis by which the free deliberations of the Conference would be, at least apparently, limited and confined.

But M. Monrad himself says, while insisting on the basis of 1851-52, that its adoption would not preclude the discussion of other modes of arrangement, if an arrangement could not be come to on that basis.

This fair and practical admission seems to reduce the difference to one of form rather than of substance.

Austria and Prussia, while not admitting a basis, cannot refuse to discuss in the Conference the transactions of 1851-52, and Denmark, while insisting on her proposed basis, would not refuse to discuss other modes of arrangement should an agreement on the basis in question be found impracticable.

The term "personal union" seems to have been introduced into these discussions solely to create fresh difficulties and excite more ill-will.

Denmark cannot deny the obligation of the Article of the Treaty of May 1852

* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Bloomfield, Sir A. Buchanan, Lord Napier, Mr. Jerningham, and Sir A. Malet.

regarding Holstein and Lauenburg, and thus the King of Denmark may be said to hold Holstein and Lauenburg already by the tie of a personal union. But it will be better to avoid altogether any reference to this obnoxious term.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, will proceed to propose to France, Russia, and Sweden, and the German Confederation, a Conference with a view to restore peace; and Her Majesty's Government will state at the same time that Denmark couples her assent to the Conference with the condition that the transactions of 1851-52 should form the basis of its deliberations.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1212.

*Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 25, 1864.

I HAVE to instruct you to ask M. Drouyn de Lhuys whether the 12th of April would suit the French Government as the day upon which the Conferences on the Danish question should be opened in London.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1213.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Malet.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 26, 1864.

I HAVE to instruct you to address a note to the President of the Diet inviting the Diet to send a Representative to the Conferences which are to be opened in London on the Danish question. You will inform his Excellency that it is proposed that the Conference should meet on the 12th of April, and Her Majesty's Government hope that time will suit the convenience of the Diet.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 1214.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 25.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, March* 24, 1864.

LORD SCHOMBERG KERR delivered to me your Lordship's despatches of the 21st instant, on the night of Tuesday the 22nd, and, in conformity with your Lordship's instructions, on the following forenoon I handed to his Excellency Baron Kübeck the note, copy of which I have the honour to annex.

Baron de Kübeck promised that the communication should be laid before the Diet on the earliest occasion.

Inclosure in No. 1214.

Sir A. Malet to Baron Kubeck.

Frankfort, March 24, 1864.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary has the honour, by order of his Government, to make the following communication to his Excellency Baron Kübeck, actual Privy Councillor, Ambassador, and Minister Plenipotentiary of Austria, President of the High Diet, and to beg his Excellency to lay this communication before the High Assembly over which he presides.

* Similar despatches, *mutatis mutandis,* were addressed to Lord Napier, Mr. Jerningham, Lord Bloomfield, Sir A. Buchanan, and Sir A. Paget.

Her Majesty has viewed with great concern the breaking out of hostilities in the north of Europe.

Her Majesty, while she is deeply interested in the welfare of the inhabitants of the Duchies of Holstein, of Lauenburg, and of Schleswig, deprecates the continuance of a conflict which may threaten the independence of a State forming part of the general system of Europe, and contributing to the balance of power.

On grounds of humanity, also, Her Majesty would deplore the sacrifice of life which a prolonged war would occasion.

Upon these grounds Her Majesty has invited the Courts of Austria, Prussia, and Denmark to empower their Representatives to attend a Conference to be assembled in London for the purpose of devising means of restoring the blessings of peace. The Governments of Austria and Prussia have signified their readiness to direct their Representatives to attend such a Conference.

The Government of Denmark have also signified their acceptance of a Conference, provided it should be called to deliberate on the basis of the transactions of 1851-52.

As these transactions took place under the auspices of Austria and Prussia, and the arrangements then concluded with Denmark had the sanction of the German Confederation, Her Majesty's Government would be very willing to take these transactions or engagements as the starting-point of the deliberations of the Conference of 1864.

But as it is desirable to avoid controversy and the delay that might arise therefrom, Her Majesty's Government propose that the basis of the Conference should be simply to find the means of restoring to the north of Europe the blessings of peace.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) A. MALET.

No. 1215.

Sir A. Malet to Earl Russell.—(Received March 28.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, March* 26, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of the note by which, in pursuance of your Lordship's instructions, I have acquainted the President of the Diet that it is wished by Her Majesty's Government to open the Conference at London on the 12th of April, and I trust that I have fulfilled your Lordship's intentions in renewing to the Diet the proposal to send a Representative to the Conference.

Inclosure in No. 1215.

Sir A. Malet to Baron Kübeck.

Frankfort, March 26, 1864.

THE Undersigned, &c., in referring to his note of the 23rd instant, has the honour of stating to his Excellency the President of the Diet that it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government that the proposed Conferences should be opened at London on the 12th of April, and in renewing to the High Diet the invitation of Her Majesty's Government to partake in that endeavour to restore the blessings of peace in the north of Europe, by naming Representatives to this Conference, the Undersigned is instructed to inquire whether the period fixed by Her Majesty's Government suits the High Assembly presided over by his Excellency.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) A. MALET.

No. 5.

Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig.

(In continuation of Correspondence "Denmark and Germany, No. 4.")

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1864.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

DENMARK AND GERMANY.

No. 6. (1864.)

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF THE DUCHIES

OF

HOLSTEIN, LAUENBURG, AND SCHLESWIG.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1864.

LONDON:
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Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig.

No. 1.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received January 4, 1864.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, December* 31, 1863.

THE French Ambassador communicated yesterday to Count Rechberg the reasons of his Government for declining to have a Conference held at Paris on the Danish question, which appear to be that, as those Powers who had declared their readiness to meet in Congress would not be called on to take part in the Conference, the French Government considered it would be uncourteous toward them to invite the attendance of certain Powers to the exclusion of those who had already agreed to the project. The Duc de Gramont at the same time that he made this communication informed Count Rechberg that the Emperor had no objection to a Conference being held elsewhere than at Paris to consider the affairs of Denmark; that, on the contrary, such a projet entered into his views as being perhaps the means of averting war.

His Excellency has just informed me that, as France has now signified her intention, he hopes Her Majesty's Government will be disposed to make the necessary invitations to the Powers concerned to meet in Conference in London: it is further his opinion that the sooner this can be done the better, for he considers it desirable that a moment should not be lost in endeavouring to concert measures amongst the great Powers that will tend to prevent further complication of the question.

No. 2.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, January* 31, 1864.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that at an interview which I have just had with Count Rechberg, his Excellency informed me that, as the Prussian Government had already declined the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to sign a Protocol in London in order to give time to Denmark to revoke the Constitution, it was useless for him to express an opinion on a question that had been already decided elsewhere.

In regard to the proposition of retarding the advance of the armies into Schleswig, he said it was altogether too late to stop them, and he hoped they would not meet with serious resistance, because all future negotiations would thereby become more complicated, and a final arrangement all the more difficult.

He referred to the question of establishing a Conference in London on Danish affairs, even during the military operations, and wished me to urge the subject on the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. He is evidently most desirous that negotiations should be commenced at the earliest possible moment, and that the war shall be localized and brought to a speedy conclusion.

No. 3.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 4, 1864.

AT an interview which I had yesterday with Count Rechberg I stated to his Excellency, with reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 2nd instant, that it appeared to Her Majesty's Government difficult to have any Conference on the affairs between Germany and Denmark unless there is an armistice, as the terms put forward by Austria and Prussia would vary from day to day, according to the events of the war.

Count Rechberg persisted in his original opinion on the subject, and is evidently most desirous that the thread of negotiation connected with the Dano-German difficulty shall not be interrupted.

No. 4.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 15.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 11, 1864.

WHEN I was with Count Rechberg to-day, I inquired whether he had heard anything further from Berlin connected with the proposal for an armistice conditionally on the retreat of the Danish forces to the Island of Alsen, and I expressed my regret that the impression he had apparently received in my first communication with his Excellency on the subject had been overruled by the decision of the Prussian Government not to entertain the question of an armistice so long as any part of Schleswig was occupied by the forces of Denmark.

Count Rechberg said that after an examination of the reasons put forward by the Prussian Government for declining the proposal, he could not do otherwise than agree to them, and that the Emperor had fully admitted their justice and cogency. He added that he had just informed Count Apponyi by telegraph that the Austrian Government could not consent to the proposed arrangement, but earnestly desired that a Conference should be opened as soon as possible, a desire which he said was felt equally by the Cabinet of Berlin.

His Excellency alluded also to a communication he had received from M. de Quaade, of an old date it was true, the 30th ultimo, in which the Danish Government proposes the meeting of a Conference in London, and he said that he should reply to it by expressing his entire acquiescence in this opinion.

No. 5.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received February 22.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 18, 1864.

COUNT RECHBERG is as anxious as ever that a Conference should meet to consider the affairs of Denmark, and when speaking of this subject I have always told him that Her Majesty's Government were desirous to see measures adopted with a view to the restoration of peace, but that so long as active hostilities were going on it was useless to think of negotiation, as the basis on which it would be possible to treat might vary from day to-day, according to the events of the war. Let there be an armistice, I have said, and a stop put to the effusion of blood, and then Her Majesty's Government would, I was sure, be ready to assist in promoting a settlement of the questions at issue.

Count Rechberg sees no present chance of obtaining the assent of Prussia to an armistice, but he declares that if a Conference were opened he would be always ready to support a proposition of this kind as the first and most important one to be brought under consideration.

I understand that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires has been most earnest in recommending a Conference as the best and only means, if not of arresting the war, at all events of preventing its extension, and I hear that the French Ambassador also speaks as if his Government would not be indisposed to entertain the proposal.

No. 6.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 28.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, March* 18, 1864.

I HAVE just had an interview with Count Rechberg, when I stated to his Excellency the substance of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, in which you inform me that the Danish Government are willing to accept a Conference on the basis of the negotiations of 1851-52, but without an armistice. Count Rechberg said that he would immediately communicate with the Prussian Government, but could not give any definite answer until he became acquainted with the opinions of the Cabinet of Berlin. He felt, however, assured that neither Prussia nor Germany would agree to enter into Conference on the basis of the negotiations of 1851 and 1852. Austria and Prussia, he observed, agreed to the basis of the Treaty of London, and were moreover bound by their declarations to maintain the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, he himself would be willing to negotiate on the above basis, but Her Majesty's Government must be aware that he could not separate from Prussia, and it was useless to think of arriving at a settlement of the question without the acquiescence of Germany in the final arrangement. In order, therefore, to obtain her assent, as well as that of Prussia, to attend the Conference, he thought it would be desirable to avoid defining any basis, and simply to invite the Powers to meet in Conference for the purpose of effecting the restoration of peace.

His Excellency went on to say that Austria could no longer be satisfied with the mere fulfilment of the engagements of 1851 and 1852, as demanded before the commencement of hostilities; more would now be required. He regretted to say that the opinions in Germany were as much opposed as ever to the Treaty of London, and that in spite of the efforts of Austria and Prussia, no serious impressions had yet been made, and without the concurrence of the Confederation a permanent settlement of the Danish question was impossible. With a view therefore to set the question at rest, it would be essential to frame the invitation to a Conference in such general terms as to ensure the attendance of a Representative of the German Diet.

The foregoing was the answer given by Count Rechberg, and I told his Excellency that I should hasten to report it to your Lordship.

No. 7.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Russell.—(Received March 28.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, March* 21, 1864.

I HAVE communicated to Count Rechberg the substance of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, informing me that Her Majesty's Government adhere to their proposal to hold a Conference with a view to restore peace, and without fixing any basis, and that they will immediately propose the Conference to France, Russia, and Sweden.

I have drawn his Excellency's attention to the necessity of Austria and Prussia framing moderate conditions of peace that will be consistent with the integrity and independence of Denmark, and which the non-German Powers can advise Denmark to accept; and I expressed the expectation of Her Majesty's Government that he would use his influence in this direction.

Count Rechberg was highly satisfied with your Lordship's communication, and appears anxious to do anything likely to facilitate the meeting of the Conference and bring about a permanent settlement of the Dano-German conflict; but he is seriously hampered by the consideration which he must give to the special position of Prussia in the question, and also to the requirements of the German Confederation.

DENMARK AND GERMANY.

No. 6. (1864.)

Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig.

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CORRESPONDENCE

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AFFAIRS OF THE DUCHIES

OF

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Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig.

No. 1.

M. Monrad to M. de Bille.—(Communicated to Earl Russell by M. de Bille, July 2.)

Monsieur, *Copenhague, le* 28 *Juin*, 1864.

LA Conférence de Londres s'est dissoute sans nous avoir rendu la paix. Les Cabinets neutres n'ont pas réussi à ramener les Puissances alliées à une appréciation plus juste de leurs devoirs envers le système politique Européen. Nous avons reculé jusqu'à leurs dernières limites les conditions qui sont indispensables à l'existence d'un Etat Danois indépendant et autonome. Mais rien n'a pu satisfaire les vues ambitieuses des Puissances Allemandes.

La ligne de conduite que nous avons tenue au sein de la Conférence a été marquée au coin, depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin, du désir le plus sincère d'en arriver à une composition, dût-elle même n'être obtenue qu'au prix du sacrifice de droits incontestables.

Quand la Conférence a trouvé une suspension d'armes nécessaire pour le succès des négociations, nous avons subi une trêve, conclue au moment le plus défavorable pour nous, et à des conditions qui, très-onéreuses en elles-mêmes, devaient devenir intolérables, par suite de la manière arbitraire dont les autorités militaires ennemies allaient les interpréter. Dans les négociations nous avons vu les Puissances alliées écarter d'un ton de maître toute discussion sur les engagements qui avaient été pris de part et d'autre en 1851-52, et pourtant c'étaient ces mêmes engagements que les alliées avaient allégués devant l'Europe comme le motif et le but unique de la guerre. Le Traité de Londres et le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, que l'Europe entière avait reconnu comme un élément indispensable du système Européen, nous les avons vu rejeter par les Puissances alliées, quoiqu'elles se fussent vis-à-vis des autres Puissances formellement obligées à respecter ce Traité et le principe qu'il a consacré. Abandonnant enfin toute réserve, et non contentes de nous enlever le Holstein et le Lauenbourg, elles ont encore réclamé le Duché de Slesvig, qu'elles prétendent confisquer au profit de l'Allemagne en vertu du droit du plus fort, et c'est tout au plus, si elles auraient voulu consentir à nous laisser une partie minime de cette ancienne province de la Couronne Danoise.

Il en a coûté au Gouvernement du Roi de se résigner à suivre pas à pas ces exigences toujours croissantes. Car, confiant dans la justice de notre cause et dans l'autorité du droit public, il avait affronté une lutte des plus inégales, dans l'espoir de trouver dans les conseils de l'Europe l'appui que nos armes seules ne pourraient pas nous donner. Et il en a coûté personnellement au Roi, qui avait accepté la couronne sur la foi du Traité de Londres, et qui aujourd'hui s'est vu condamné à discuter le partage du pays qui avait cru trouver en lui et dans sa dynastie la garantie certaine de son intégrité.

Mais quelques douloureux que fussent ces sacrifices, ils ont été portés. "Si réellement les Puissances de l'Europe veulent abandonner le Traité de Londres," tel a été le langage des Plénipotentiaires du Roi, "Sa Majesté, pour éviter la reprise des hostilités, ne s'opposera pas à une cession territoriale, pourvu toutefois qu'elle obtienne par là non seulement la paix, mais aussi une existence indépendante et parfaitement autonome pour ce qui lui restera de ses Etats." Dans cette supposition ils avaient indiqué la ligne de Eckernförde-Fredericstad comme la nouvelle frontière. Mais vis-à-vis d'une proposition adoptée par les Cabinets neutres, le Gouvernement Danois s'est encore décidé à reculer la ligne jusqu'à la Slei, point proposé par l'Angleterre, afin de réunir par cette acceptation autour du Danemark l'imposante unanimité des quatre Puissances neutres. La cession de territoire à laquelle nous avions ainsi consenti dans l'intérêt de la paix était considérable.

Elle amoindrissait la Monarchie de plus d'un quart de son territoire et elle enlevait au Danemark des avantages militaires et maritimes du plus grand prix, pour augmenter dans la même mesure les moyens d'action et de conquête de l'Allemagne. Plus loin nous ne pourrions pas aller dans la voie des concessions sans sacrifier l'existence même du Danemark.

Mais tous les efforts tentés par les Cabinets neutres, et tous les sacrifices offerts par nous, sont restés inutiles devant l'obstination des alliés. Nous sommes sortis de la Conférence en reprenant notre position antérieure sur le Traité de Londres, et encore une fois nous nous voyons en proie à une guerre où nous luttons pour notre existence, invoquant en notre faveur un Acte Européen et un principe général du droit public. De leur côté les Puissances alliées proclament le droit du plus fort, et prétendent, au mépris de la réprobation du reste de l'Europe, mettre à néant un Etat dont l'unique tort consiste à ne pas vouloir se soumettre à leur domination.

Voilà le triste résultat auquel la tentative de la Conférence a abouti, mais tout en le constatant j'ai en même temps un devoir plus agréable à remplir.

Pendant le cours des négociations, chaque fois que le Gouvernement du Roi a fait un pas nouveau dans la voie des concessions, les Puissances neutres, et surtout le Cabinet Anglais, tout en nous engageant à faire ce pas, ont justement apprécié la grandeur du sacrifice que nous faissions d'un droit incontestable.

La proposition d'armistice que Lord Russell mit en avant, impliquait le maintien des avantages maritimes que nous avions conquis, en compensation de ceux que les alliés conserveraient à terre. Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères d'Angleterre a constamment reconnu la pleine justice de notre demande que les engagements de 1851-52 fussent pris pour base des délibérations. Lord Russell n'a pas oublié que le Traité de Londres était dû surtout à l'initiative de l'Angleterre, et c'est avec toute la force d'une logique irréfutable que Lord Russell a fait valoir que la Prusse et l'Autriche avaient contracté des obligations envers leurs cosignataires en prenant part à cet Acte. Et lorsque enfin le Cabinet Anglais est entré dans la discussion sur l'abandon du Traité de Londres, Lord Russell a déclaré qu'il " n'était pas de la compétence des Puissances neutres de renoncer au Traité solennel par lequel elles avaient reconnu l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise à moins de pouvoir poser les bases d'une paix solide et durable," et à ce titre il a reconnu que "la nouvelle ligne de frontière ne devrait pas être tracée plus au nord que l'embouchure de la Slei et la ligne du Dannewirke." Il y a plus. Quand les Plénipotentiaires du Roi ont fait pressentir que nous ne pourrions pas consentir à une prolongation de la suspension d'armes, à moins d'avoir l'assurance que la proposition Anglaise deviendrait la base des délibérations ultérieures, Lord Russell déclara que le Gouvernement ne ferait lui-même aucune proposition, ni adhérerait à aucune proposition qui serait faite par une autre Puissance et qui tendrait à tracer une ligne de délimitation plus septentrionale, sans s'être assuré d'avance du consentement du Gouvernement Danois. Ce fut sur la foi de cet engagement que les Plénipotentiaires du Roi acceptèrent la prolongation de la suspension d'armes.

C'est donc pas-à-pas que nous avons suivi les conseils des Puissances neutres et spécialement ceux du Cabinet Anglais. Nous avons accepté en tout point la proposition dont ce Cabinet a pris l'initiative, et en même temps que nous en avons fait notre ultimatum, Lord Russell a engagé son Gouvernement à la maintenir invariablement. Et quoiqu'il nous soit impossible de concilier en tout point cet engagement de Lord Russell avec sa dernière proposition tendant à charger une Puissance impartiale du soin de fixer la ligne de démarcation, nous n'en sommes pas moins convaincus que le Ministre Anglais, en tentant cette demarche, n'a pas entendu se mettre en contradiction avec sa promesse antérieure.

La reprise des hostilités trouve encore toujours le Danemark sans alliés sur le champ de bataille. Mais la justice de notre cause a déjà rallié autour de nous la sympathie des Cabinets et les vœux des nations.

Nous sommes en droit d'espérer que ces sentiments ne permettront pas que la ruine du Danemark s'accomplisse, et nous aimons à croire que les Gouvernements qui nous ont témoigné un intérêt si actif dans les négociations ne nous abandonneront pas dans une guerre si inégale et si injuste.

Veuillez lire cette dépêche à Lord Russell et lui en laisser copie.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) D. G. MONRAD.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *Copenhagen, June* 28, 1864.

THE Conference of London has separated without having restored peace. The neutral Cabinets have not succeeded in bringing the allied Powers to a more just appre-

ciation of their duties towards the political system of Europe. We have stretched to their furthest limits the conditions indispensable to the existence of an independent and autonomous Danish State. But nothing has been able to satisfy the ambitious views of the German Powers.

The line of conduct we have pursued at the Conference has been stamped from first to last with the most sincere desire of arriving at an agreement, even were it only to be obtained by the sacrifice of incontestable rights.

When the Conference thought a suspension of arms essential to the success of the negotiations we submitted to a truce concluded at the time most unfavourable to us, and upon conditions which, very onerous in themselves, became intolerable on account of the arbitrary manner in which they were interpreted by the military authorities of the enemy. During the negotiations we saw the allied Powers authoritatively decline all discussion upon the engagements entered into by both parties in 1851 and 1852, and yet the allies had alleged these same engagements to Europe as the motive and sole object of the war. We saw the Treaty of London and the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, which all Europe had recognized as an indispensable element of the European system, rejected by the allied Powers, although they had formally bound themselves towards the other Powers to respect that Treaty and the principle which it laid down. Finally, abandoning all reserve, and not content with depriving us of Holstein and Lauenburg, they also claimed the Duchy of Sleswig, which they pretend to confiscate for the profit of Germany, by virtue of the right of the strongest, and were at most willing to leave us the smallest portion of that ancient province of the Danish Crown.

It has been a painful task to the Government of the King to resign itself to follow step by step these constantly increasing demands. For, confiding in the justice of our cause and in the authority of public law, it had braved a most unequal contest in the hope of finding that support in the Councils of Europe which our arms alone could not give us. And it has been painful to the King personally, who had accepted the Crown upon the faith of the Treaty of London, and has now found himself condemned to discuss the partition of the country, which had thought to find in him and his dynasty the certain guarantee of its integrity.

Yet painful as were these sacrifices, they have been borne. "If the Powers of Europe are really willing to abandon the Treaty of London,"—such was the language of the Plenipotentiaries of the King—"His Majesty, to avoid the recommencement of hostilities, will not oppose a cession of territory, provided he obtains thereby not only peace, but also an independent and perfectly autonomous existence for what remains to him of his States." In this supposition they had pointed out the line of Eckernförde-Frederickstad as the new frontier. In accordance, however, with a proposition adopted by the neutral Cabinets, the Danish Government further resolved to withdraw the line to the Schlei, the point proposed by England, so as to collect around Denmark, by this acceptance, the imposing unanimity of the four neutral Powers. The cession of territory to which we thus consented in the interest of peace was considerable. It diminished the monarchy by upwards of a fourth of its territory, and deprived Denmark of military and maritime advantages of the greatest value, to augment in the same degree the means of action and of conquest of Germany. We could not go further in the way of concessions without sacrificing the very existence of Denmark.

But all the efforts made by the neutral Cabinets and all the sacrifices offered by us remained useless before the obstinacy of the allies. Upon leaving the Conference we took up our former stand upon the Treaty of London, and once more we find ourselves engaged in a war in which we are struggling for existence, invoking in our favour an European obligation and a general principle of public law. Upon their side, the allied Powers proclaim the right of the strongest, and, in despite of the reprobation of the rest of Europe, intend to annihilate a State whose only wrong consists in unwillingness to submit to their domination.

This is the lamentable result in which the attempt of the Conference has issued; but, while stating it, I have at the same time a more agreeable duty to fulfil.

During the course of the negotiations, each time that the Government of the King made a fresh step in the direction of concession, the neutral Powers—and especially the English Cabinet—while inviting us to take the step, justly appreciated the greatness of the sacrifice which we were making of an incontestable right.

The proposal of an armistice put forward by Lord Russell implied the maintenance of the maritime advantages which we had conquered, in compensation for those which the allies would preserve on land. The English Minister for Foreign Affairs has constantly recognized the full justice of our demand that the engagements of 1851-52 should be taken as the basis of the deliberations. Lord Russell did not forget that the Treaty of London

was specially due to the initiative of England, and with all the force of irrefutable logic he demonstrated that Prussia and Austria had contracted obligations towards their co-signataries by taking part in that Act. And when at last the English Cabinet entered into the discussion upon the abandonment of the Treaty of London, Lord Russell declared that "it was not within the competence of the neutral Powers to renounce the solemn Treaty by which they had recognized the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, unless they were able to establish the basis of a solid and lasting peace," and with this view he acknowledged that "the new frontier line ought not to be drawn further northward than the mouth of the Schlei and the line of the Dannewerke." Further, when the Plenipotentiaries of the King pointed out that we should not be able to consent to a prolongation of the suspension of arms without the assurance that the English proposition would form the basis of ulterior deliberations, Lord Russell declared that the Government would not itself make any proposition, nor would adhere to any proposition made by another Power, tending to draw a more northern line of demarcation, without being assured in advance of the consent of the Danish Government. It was upon the faith of this engagement that the Plenipotentiaries of the King accepted the prolongation of the suspension of arms.

It was thus step by step that we followed the advice of the neutral Powers, and especially that of the English Cabinet. We accepted in every point the proposition of which that Cabinet took the initiative, and at the same time that we made it our ultimatum, Lord Russell engaged his Government to support it without variation. And although we find it impossible altogether to reconcile this engagement of Lord Russell with his last proposal tending to intrust to an impartial Power the task of fixing the line of demarcation, we are none the less convinced that the English Minister, in essaying that step, had no intention of placing himself in contradiction with his former promise.

The resumption of hostilities finds Denmark still without allies upon the field of battle. But the justice of our cause has already rallied around us the sympathy of the Cabinets and the wishes of the nations. We have a right to hope that these sentiments will not permit the ruin of Denmark to be accomplished, and we cherish the belief that the Governments which have shown us so lively an interest in the negotiations will not abandon us in a war so unequal and so unjust.

Be good enough to read this despatch to Lord Russell, and to leave him a copy of it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) D. G. MONRAD.

No. 2.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Paget.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 6, 1864.

THE Danish Envoy in London has placed in my hands a despatch which he has received from Bishop Monrad, of which I send you a copy.*

Her Majesty's Government sympathize with the King and people of Denmark in the severe trial which they have been obliged to undergo. Her Majesty's Government recognize the justice of many of the reproaches addressed by the Danish Government to the Powers which, having been parties to the Treaty of London, have departed from its provisions, and under the guise of a Federal Execution in Holstein and of a temporary occupation in Schleswig, have in effect subverted the authority of the King of Denmark in these two Duchies.

But it is of urgent importance to Denmark that the Danish Government should look their present situation in the face. When during the Conference the Danish Plenipotentiaries declared to the Plenipotentiaries of Her Majesty that the lines of frontier proposed by the German Powers could not be accepted by Denmark, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries felt obliged to ask them how the Danish Government could expect better terms by war.

Accordingly, the possession of Düppel and of Alsen—which the Prussian Plenipotentiary, supported by the Austrian, proposed to recommend their Governments to leave to Denmark, if Denmark would at once accept a frontier line to the north of Flensburg—is now out of the question. A few days of war have dispelled all hope of the renewal of Count Bernstorff's proposal.

The latter part of Bishop Monrad's despatch expresses the hope that the Powers which have shown so great an interest in favour of Denmark during the negotiations will not abandon her during the war.

* No. 1.

It is true that the neutral Powers, moved by an earnest desire to preserve the independence of Denmark, and by admiration of the gallant struggle made by a brave nation in so unequal a contest, have endeavoured most zealously to obtain for the Danish Government such terms of peace as the manifest superiority of Austria and Prussia in arms, and the views entertained by Germany, would allow. But I beg to remind the Government of Denmark that while Her Majesty's Government, in conjunction with the other neutral Powers, were unwilling to urge upon the Danish Government the acceptance of terms which that Government deemed incompatible with the safety and honour of Denmark, Her Majesty's Government have never engaged themselves, nor can they now engage themselves, to support the Danish cause by force of arms, or to impose upon Germany the conditions suggested in Conference.

You will read this despatch to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and give him a copy of it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

DENMARK AND GERMANY.

No. 7. (1864.)

Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and chleswig.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1864.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF DENMARK:

1850—53.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1864.

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[3301]

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Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Denmark: 1850-53.

No. 1.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 19, 1850.

I HAVE to instruct you to press strongly on the Danish Government the great importance of settling without delay the question as to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, which is the key to the whole of the questions pending between Denmark and Germany.

If the Danish Government could so settle the Succession to the Danish Crown as to insure the continuance of the Sovereignty of Denmark and of both the Duchies in one and the same person, it is manifest that all the other questions connected with the future government and organization of the Duchies would become of secondary importance, and the solution of them would be rendered much more easy. As long as there is a likelihood that in consequence of the differeuce which now exists between the law of Succession in Denmark and the law of Succession in Holstein, Holstein will, after the termination of the present reign in Denmark, be separated from the Danish Crown, and become a purely German Duchy, so long will the Germans strive to the utmost to attach as firmly as possible to Holstein as large a portion as possible of the Duchy of Schleswig, in order that such portion of Schleswig may, on the dismemberment of the Danish Monarchy, follow the fortunes of Holstein, and become essentially German; and as long as there shall be foreseen a likelihood of such a result, so long will the Danish party at Copenhagen not only strive to make the separation between Schleswig and Holstein as complete and final as possible, even to the injury of the material interests of the two Duchies, but so long will they also endeavour to escape from the plain meaning of the basis adopted by the preliminary Treaty for the final arrangement of these matters, and try to connect Schleswig with Denmark as intimately and closely as possible.

But if once the continuance of the political union between both Duchies and Denmark were secured by a settlement of the Crown of Denmark in favour of some Prince who would equally succeed to Holstein and to Schleswig, these motives for such conflicting endeavours would cease, and the contending parties would become more reasonable and more likely to concur in some equitable arrangement.

Her Majesty's Government have hitherto purposely declined to make any suggestion in regard to a matter which involves so many considerations peculiarly regarding Denmark and His Danish Majesty's personal feelings; but nevertheless, as this is a matter which affects also great European interests, you should confidentially ask the Danish Minister whether any, and if any what, objections are felt by the King of Denmark to choose the son of the Duke of Oldenburg as Successor to the Crown of Denmark.

There seem to be many circumstances which would point out that Prince as an eligible choice for such a purpose. He would, it is understood, succeed equally to Holstein; and, of course also to Schleswig; and the private possessions of the House of Oldenburg would enable him to make arrangements which would provide eventual compensation to other parties for any disappointment which such an arrangement might produce for them.

The Imperial Family of Russia would, as is well known, have claims upon certain portions of Holstein, in the event of the extinction of the male line in Denmark, and it is understood that the Emperor of Russia would be disposed to renounce those claims in favour of the Prince of Oldenburg, if that Prince were to succeed to the Crown of Denmark; whereas the Emperor might not be equally disposed to do so in any other case. Her Majesty's Government have heard that the King of Denmark rather inclines to settle the Danish Crown upon a younger son of the King of Sweden, and Her Majesty's Govern-

ment would be glad to be confidentially informed whether this is so, and what are supposed to be the relative advantages which would arise from such a choice, as compared with the choice of the Prince of Oldenburg, both as regards the feelings of the Danes and as regards the facilities which such a choice would give for a present settlement of pending questions, and for keeping the Danish Monarchy together for the future.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 2.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 25.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 19, 1850.

M. DE BILLE having for the last three weeks been confined by severe illness, and not allowed to take any part in business, it was not till yesterday that I was able to see him; when, though I have been in daily intercourse with Count Moltke, I was first informed that the King had at length consented to make overtures to the Duke of Oldenburg respecting the Succession, and that M. Dankwart, the former Director of the Foreign Department, would be charged with an arrangement of a compensation to the Prince of Hesse for his eventual rights in compliance with the now existing Lex Regia.

It was with pleasure that I heard from M. de Bille that the King's initiative in this important affair would be conveyed in the shape I have so strongly recommended as most likely to conciliate and unite the suffrages of both Danes and Germans, that His Majesty will propose to the Danish Chambers a repeal of the Lex Regia, and declare, that in the event of the male extinction of the elder branch of the Oldenburg family, the Succession should devolve on the reigning Prince of the younger line, without any mention of the individual who might be called to the Danish Throne.

The difficulties and objections to an eventual adoption of the Hereditary Prince of Oldenburg are obvious, as some time must elapse before the public feeling in the kingdom would be reconciled to the fixed residence of a German Prince, and of his at once assuming the dignity of an heir presumptive to a throne which in the course of nature he cannot for many years enjoy, and possibly not at all.

By the avoiding any personal selection the change of dynasty would be less apparent, and both Sovereigns having an equal interest in conciliating their respective subjects, the jealousy between Danes and Germans would, it is to be hoped, subside, more especially as the latter, with the addition of Oldenburg, would be nearly in an equality of numbers, and the two component parts of the Danish dominions would, in their relations to one another, more resemble that of Sweden and Norway. This determination of the King gives fresh cause for lamenting the decision respecting the Holstein Deputies, as it is between His Majesty and his subjects that the question of the Succession must ultimately be arranged. It may even now afford an opening for a renewal of direct negotiations, and in taking every opportunity of so representing it, I am convinced I shall have your Lordship's approbation.

No. 3.

Count Reventlow to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February .)

M. le Vicomte, *Wilton Terrace, le* 25 *Février*, 1850.

C'EST avec une véritable satisfaction que je remplis ma promesse, en vous transmettant ci-jointe la copie de la communication que d'ordre de mon Gouvernement j'avais l'honneur de vous faire confidentiellement ce matin, et à laquelle vous avez fait un si excellent accueil.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) REVENTLOW.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

Count Moltke to Count Reventlow.

M. le Comte, *Copenhague, le* 14 *Février*, 1850.

J'AI exactement reçu les rapports que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser successivement jusqu'au No 6 du 5 de ce mois, et je vous offre tous mes remercîments pour les notions qu'ils renferment.

Je vous transmets aujourd'hui, pour votre propre information, la copie d'une dépêche que j'ai adressée avant-hier à M. le Baron de Pechlin, et qui renferme quelques détails et quelques réflexions sur la situation générale des affaires, que votre Excellence ne lira peut-être pas sans intérêt.

Il y a un point dans cette dépêche sur lequel je prends la liberté de fixer votre attention particulière, M. le Comte ; c'est le passage où il est question des négociations récemment entamées avec la Maison de Hesse. Vous aurez sans doute appris déjà par la voie de votre correspondance particulière, que le Roi notre auguste Maître, prenant en considération les relations de proche parenté qui unissent Sa Royale Maison et la Maison Impériale de Russie, ainsi que la qualité de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de chef de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp, avait jugé nécessaire avant tout de s'assurer des vues et des intentions du Cabinet Impérial de St. Pétersbourg. Cette démarche et son résultat ne sont pas restés inconnus à la Puissance Médiatrice ; et Lord Bloomfield, qui par Sir Henry Wynn avait reçu avis des ordres transmis à cet effet à M. de Plessen, et qui en avait parlé à M. le Comte de Nesselrode, ainsi qu'au Ministre du Roi à St. Pétersbourg, a reçu la réponse suivante que l'Empereur avait fait donner au Roi : que l'initiative dans cette grave question appartenait naturellement à Sa Majesté, et que si le Roi se décidait à prendre l'initiative, l'Empereur était prêt à faciliter au Roi ce qui pourrait contribuer à un réglement définitif de la question de Succession.

Maintenant où Sa Majesté a résolu de faire faire les premières démarches pour préparer les voies à des ouvertures plus formelles à adresser à ce sujet aux Grandes Puissances, le Gouvernement du Roi remplit un devoir en s'empressant d'en prévenir la Puissance Médiatrice, qui est en droit de s'attendre à être mise la première au courant de tout ce qui a trait à cette grande et grave affaire, si essentielle pour les futures destinées du Danemark, et dont la solution plus ou moins heureuse dépend éminemment du concours et de l'appui de la Grande Bretagne.

Vous êtes chargé, M. le Comte, de donner confidentielliement connaissance à Lord Palmerston de ma présente communication.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) MOLTKE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

Count Moltke to Baron Pechlin.

(Extrait.) 12 *Février*, 1850.

LE Roi notre auguste Maître, animé du désir de régler sans délai les questions relatives à la Succession au Trône du Danemark, a résolu de faire faire des démarches préparatoires tendant à assurer à cette grande affaire une solution en tout point conforme aux conseils pleins de bienveillance et d'intérêt amical qui lui sont parvenus de la part du Cabinet Impérial de St. Pétersbourg.

Pour cet effet Sa Majesté vient de donner son assentiment à ce que des négociations préalables soient entamées avec la Maison de Hesse, de manière à ce que la question de l'indemnisation à accorder à Son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur le Prince Frédéric soit vidée la première et avant qu'on ne procède à envoyer quelqu'un en mission spéciale à Oldenbourg, pour sonder les intentions et les dispositions de la Cour Grand Dueale.

M. le Conseiller Intime des Conférences, Dankwart, se trouve en ce moment chargé de ces négociations. Le choix qu'on a fait de la personne de M. de Dankwart (pour accomplir cette tâche délicate) ne pourra manquer d'inspirer à Son Altesse Sérénissime ainsi qu'à ses augustes parents, une confiance illimitée, en les confirmant dans la persuasion des intentions justes et généreuses du Gouvernement du Roi à leur égard.

D'après ce que me mande le Baron Dirkinck-Holmfeldt, il vient de passer q u jours à Oldenbourg, où il a été fort bien accueilli.

No. 4.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 26, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 19th instant, reporting the steps taken by you as regards the question of the Succession, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the course adopted by you on that question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 5.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 4.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 25, 1850.

I HAVE lately had an opportunity of conversing with one of the most, if not the most, influential members of the Peasants' Party, at present the majority of both the Chambers. He assured me that his friends would most gratefully receive and ratify any proposition for the Succession, coming from the King, provided there was a probability of its being equally well received in the Duchies, and of its being the means of bringing about some sort of good intelligence which might hereafter be improved; though in this respect he owned he was not sanguine, as a great change must take place in the respective national feelings to produce any state approaching to cordiality.

The Government, as far as least as I can understand from M. de Bille, are anxious to take advantage of this favourable feeling on the part of the Assemblies, and no opposition is anticipated on the part of the Prince of Hesse, provided some eventual territorial accession is provided for the country which he may be called upon to govern. This might be found in the Principality of Birkenfels, quite detached from the Oldenburg territory, but which I was mistaken in representing in a former despatch as contiguous to the Electorate, whereas it is so to Hesse-Homburg, and nearly surrounded by territory belonging to Prussia.

No. 6.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 4.)

My Lord. *Copenhagen, February* 26, 1850.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch containing the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government respecting the Succession and the importance of His Danish Majesty settling the question without delay, I have the honour of informing your Lordship that I took the earliest opportunity of confidentially reading it to M. de Bille, as I well knew the pleasure he would experience from your Lordship thus recommending a course for which he has been so strenuous an advocate.

He said that such a declaration of your Lordship's opinions would be of the greatest use to him in overcoming objections and wishes for delay still existing among those who had the ear of the King; and for this object he requested me to convey the substance of your Lordship's despatch in the shape of a confidential note, which I have accordingly done. I trust that no apology is necessary for having made a few alterations and omissions.

Although M. de Bille perfectly coincides in the arguments brought forward by your Lordship, founded on the exaggerated feelings of the two contending parties, he asked me to confine myself to a more general expression of them, as less likely to lead to discussion; and it was also at his request that I substituted "another branch of His Danish Majesty's family," for "the Hereditary Prince," the objections to whose immediate adoption I have already had the honour of stating in a former despatch. I have no reason to believe that the King has any predilection for or intention of putting forward a younger son of the King of Sweden. If he ever expressed such a wish it was some time ago, and was immediately forgotten.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure in No. 6.

Sir H. Wynn to Count Moltke.

M. le Comte, *Copenhagen, February* 26, 1850.

I HAVE been instructed to press strongly on His Danish Majesty's Government the extreme importance of settling without delay the question of the Succession, which Her Majesty's Government consider as the key to the whole of the questions pending between Denmark and Germany.

If the Danish Government could so settle the Succession to the Danish Crown as to insure the continuance of the sovereignty of Denmark and of both the Duchies in one and the same person, it is manifest that all the other questions connected with the future government and organization of the Duchies would be of secondary importance, and the solution of them become more easy.

As soon as the political union between Denmark and the two Duchies is secured, by a settlement of the Crown of Denmark in favour of some Prince who would equally succeed to Holstein and to Schleswig, the motive for conflicting endeavours between the two parties would cease, and they would be more likely to concur in some equitable arrangement.

Her Majesty's Government have hitherto purposely declined to make any suggestion in regard to a matter which involves so many considerations particularly affecting Denmark and His Danish Majesty's personal feelings; but, nevertheless, as it is a matter which affects great European interests, they would wish to be confidentially informed whether any, and if any what, objections are felt by His Danish Majesty to settle the Succession in the next branch of the House of Oldenburg.

There seem to be many circumstances which would render such a choice desirable. A Prince of that branch of His Majesty's family would be equally agreeable to Holstein, and of course also to Schleswig; and the private possessions of the House of Oldenburg would provide means of compensation to other parties whose pretensions would be thus disappointed.

The Imperial Family of Russia would, as is well known, have claims upon certain portions of Holstein in the event of the extinction of the male line; and it is understood the Emperor of Russia would be disposed to renounce those claims in favour of a Prince of Oldenburg, whereas His Imperial Majesty might not be equally disposed to do so in any other case.

I seize, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 7.

Viscount Palmerston to Count Reventlow.

M. le Comte, *Foreign Office, March* 6, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a despatch from Count Moltke on the question of the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.

In thanking you for this communication I have the honour to inform you that Her Majesty's Government feel the greatest pleasure in learning from the papers inclosed in your letter, that His Danish Majesty has taken steps with a view to settle that question; because if that question were once satisfactorily arranged, all other questions would be rendered much more easy of solution.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 8.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 8, 1850.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 26th ultimo, inclosing the note which you had addressed to Count Moltke on the subject of the Succession to the Danish Crown; and I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the course followed by you with respect to that note.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 9.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 11.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 2, 1850.

I HAVE not yet received any official answer to the note respecting the Succession, a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of the 26th ultimo.

Count Moltke took it down to the King at Fredericksborg the day after the receipt of it, and I have been glad to hear from his Excellency that it has had a favourable effect in removing doubts in His Majesty's mind arising from the same indisposition as

felt by individuals in private life to make arrangements in the event of death. The Succession being thus declared in due order, His Majesty is not called upon for any other decision, excepting the proposed repeal of the *Lex Regia;* and as His Majesty is by no means attached to those who would benefit by it, Count Moltke found less difficulty in persuading him of the extreme importance of settling this point without delay. I quite agreed with Count Moltke as to the importance of keeping this question for the present foreign from the negotiation at Berlin, and confining it to one with the Duke of Oldenburg and Deputies from Holstein. The opportunity thus given for the arrival of the latter, I have always considered as of very considerable advantage, as the best manner of retracing ill-judged steps, more especially as the King might with justice require that the deputation should consist of the higher classes as well as that from which the last proposed deputation were selected.

Count Moltke said that the first step must be to be distinctly informed of the wishes and opinions of the Duke of Oldenburg; and as in the first instance they wished to avoid the publicity of an official mission, the Danish Plenipotentaries at Berlin would be instructed to put themselves in confidential communication with the Oldenburg Minister residing there.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 10.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 17.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 12, 1850.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 26th ultimo, inclosing a copy of the note containing the substance of your Lordship's despatch of the 19th, which I had presented to the Danish Minister, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, notwithstanding the pleasure which the Danish Minister verbally expressed on receiving it, it remained some days without any answer, and that when I at length received the inclosed, it appeared to me, though complimentary to Her Majesty's Government, by no means an answer to my note, as any distinct expression of His Danish Majesty's intention with respect to the Succession, or any allusion to another branch of the House of Oldenburg, was studiously avoided.

With this impression I pointed out to Count Moltke how unsatisfactory your Lordship would, I was sure, find it. His Excellency consented to take it back; and after another delay of two days, it was yesterday evening returned, with the addition inserted between brackets.

It is now unobjectionable, and I have only to express my regret that the Danish Government should, in its first version, have given another proof of their disinclination to bind themselves in writing to any course.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Count Moltke to Sir H. Wynn.

M. le Chevalier, *Copenhague, ce 7 Mars,* 1850.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la note que vous m'avez fait celui de m'adresser le 28 du mois passé par ordre de votre Gouvernement, et je me suis empressé de porter le contenu de cette importante communication à la haute connaissance du Roi mon auguste Maître.

Les événements des dernières années ayant confirmé Sa Majesté dans la conviction qu'il devenait de plus en plus indispensable de procéder à un règlement définitif de la Succession à la Couronne de Danemark après l'extinction de la ligne masculine actuellement régnante, le Roi a fait de cette grande question l'objet de ses plus sérieuses méditations, et a nommément voué une attention particulière à l'examen des moyens les plus propres à garantir l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise telle qu'elle a été constituée et établie en 1815.

Une des premières conditions d'une telle solution de la question étant l'établissement d'une entente parfaite et d'une co-opération commune sous ce rapport des Grandes Puissances, c'est avec une satisfaction des plus vives que le Roi a accueilli les ouvertures que vous avez été chargé, M. le Chevalier, de faire à son Cabinet, et qui lu permettent de compter sur le concours et l'appui de la Grande Bretagne, si hautement appréciés par

lui, dans ses efforts pour mener à heureuse fin cette grande affaire essentielle pour les futures destinées du Danemark.

Sa Majesté met le plus haut prix à la continuation des dispositions dont les ouvertures du Cabinet de St. James lui ont donné un éclatant témoignage, et elle a chargé son Ministre à Londres d'en offrir l'assurance empressée au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

De mon côté, en m'acquittant des ordres de mon auguste Maître, je ne manquerai pas de vous mettre à même, M. le Chevalier, de soumettre à votre Cour un rapport fidèle de tout ce qui se passera dans cette affaire.

[*Addition since made by Count Moltke*—et nommément des démarches que le Gouvernement du Roi est à la veille de faire pour s'assurer des dispositions de la Cour Grande-Ducale d'Oldenbourg relativement à la combinaison sur laquelle vous avez été chargé, M. le Chevalier, d'appeler notre attention.]

Pour ce qui regarde les négociations et les démarches qui ont eu lieu jusqu'à ce jour, le Ministre du Roi à Londres a été chargé il y a quelque temps de faire une communication confidentielle à Lord Palmerston ; et suivant les rapports qui me sont parvenus par la malle d'aujourd'hui, le Comte Reventlow s'est acquitté de cette ordre, et Lord Palmerston a accueilli ses communications d'une manière qui répond parfaitement à nos vœux et à cet intérêt amical pour le Danemark de sa part, dont nous avons retrouvé les meilleures preuves dans votre note du 26 Février.

Je saisis, &c.
(Signé) MOLTKE.

No. 11.

Count Reventlow to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March .)

M. le Vicomte, *Londres, ce* 18 *Mars*, 1850.

EN continuation de la communication que j'ai eu l'honneur de faire à votre Excellence des démarches préparatoires qu'avait faites mon Gouvernement dans le but de régler l'importante question de la Succession au Trône de Danemark, ainsi qu'elles se trouvaient désignées dans une dépêche que ma Cour m'avait adressée en date du 14 Février et dont je vous ai transmis une copie, je me félicite de pouvoir aujourd'hui vous annoncer que les négociations entamées avec la Maison de Hesse, par rapport à l'indemnisation à accorder à cette ligne collatérale de notre Famille Royale, ont été vidées de la manière la plus satisfaisaute.

Dès que cet heureux résultat, dû autant aux sentiments généreux et patriotiques de ces illustres personnages qu'à l'habileté de M. le Conseiller Intime des Conférences Dankwart, qui se trouvait chargé de cette commission délicate, a été porté à la connaissance de mon auguste Roi et Maître, Sa Majesté a donné son consentement aux démarches ultérieures que le Président de son Conseil, M. le Comte de Moltke, lui a proposées comme les plus propres pour acheminer l'heureuse solution de cette grave question.

C'est ainsi que par suite de l'autorisation Royale, M. de Bülow à Francfort a reçu l'ordre de se rendre viâ Berlin à la résidence du Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg, pour lui porter la nuovelle de la renonciation de la Maison de Hesse à la Couronne de Danemark et pour sonder par des ouvertures confidentielles à cet égard, les dispositions de la Cour Grand Ducale.

Votre Excellence y verra, j'en suis sûr, avec une vive satisfaction, que mon Gouvernement par ces démarches est allé au-devant des vues et des avis que vous avez bien voulu lui faire exprimer à ce sujet par la voie d'une note que Sir Henry Wynn a remise à ma Cour en date du 26 Février dernier.

Je saisis, &c.
(Signed) F. REVENTLOW.

No. 12.

Viscount Palmerston to Count Reventlow.

M. le Comte, *Foreign Office, March* 19, 1850.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of the 18th instant, informing me that the negotiations which had been entered into by the Danish Government with the House of Hesse, with the view of arranging the question of the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, had led to the most satisfactory result, and that M. de Bülow had received

directions to proceed from Frankfort *viâ* Berlin to Oldenburg, for the purpose of carrying on the ulterior negotiation with the Grand Duke.

In reply I have the honour to express the sincere gratification of Her Majesty's Government at a communication which seems to open a fair prospect of a satisfactory and peaceful settlement of differences between Denmark and Germany, and at the same time encourage the hope that the political union at present existing between the States which constitute the Danish Monarchy will remain unimpaired.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 13.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March* 8, 1850.

AT an interview which I had yesterday with Count Nesselrode, his Excellency told me that according to the last accounts from Copenhagen, the King of Denmark had made a communication to the Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, for the purpose of obtaining the renunciation of his claims to the Succession, and that he had reason to believe that His Danish Majesty was disposed to do all that could be expected of him to effect a satisfactory settlement of this delicate question. The Chancellor observed to me that he believed the King would prefer adopting Prince Christian of Glücksburg to the Hereditary Prince of Oldenburg, because he considered the former to be more Danish in his predilections than the latter; but he added that he thought His Danish Majesty ought not to allow himself to be influenced by any such feelings, because, as his life would, in all human probability, last many years to come, his successor might not be called on to act until all the present differences of opinion had passed away and were completely forgotten.

Having observed, in your Lordship's despatch of the 19th ultimo, to Sir Henry Wynn, an allusion to a question of the King of Denmark selecting a Swedish Prince as his successor, I asked Count Nesselrode incidentally, if a rumour of this kind had reached him, and he replied that he had never before heard it mentioned, but that he thought it impossible, for, said his Excellency, "they surely cannot meditate on another union of Calmar."

Count Nesselrode inquired if I thought that a report which had been in circulation here for some time past, of a projected visit to this Court of Prince Gustavus, the second son of the King of Sweden, could have originated in any combination of this kind. I replied that I was quite ignorant of the subject, that I had only just heard of the rumour to which I had alluded, and had asked his Excellency the present question with the view of discovering whether he placed any reliance in it or not.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 14.

Sir T. Cartwright to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 22.)

(Extract.) *Stockholm, March* 12, 1850.

BARON STIERNELD has received intelligence from Baron Lagerheim that Sir Henry Wynn, under instructions from your Lordship, had recommended the Danish Government to settle the question of the Danish Succession in favour of a member of the House of Oldenburg.

Baron Stierneld has received this information with considerable satisfaction.

His Excellency has always been of opinion that the settlement of the question of the Succession was indispensable in order to arrive at a solution of the differences between Denmark and the Duchies, and he has always viewed the selection of a Member of the House of Oldenburg as the only arrangement which offered a prospect of uniting the suffrages of both Denmark and the Duchies.

Baron Stierneld has acquainted me that he has received letters from Baron Manderström (who has gone on a mission to the Hague connected with the marriage of the Prince Royal) from Copenhagen, in which he represents the language and temper of most of the leading persons with whom he has been in communication during his stay there, to be much more calm and satisfactory than has been the case hitherto; and Baron Stierneld

has mentioned that he is convinced, from the tenour of Baron Manderström's communications to him, that the Danes would now accept any reasonable and fair arrangement which might be submitted to them.

He said that all parties at Copenhagen seemed to be anxious for a termination of these differences, and his Excellency is persuaded that they would now be found ready to accept any proposition for a final settlement which did not contain stipulations which it would be incompatible with their national honour to subscribe to.

No. 15.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir T. Cartwright.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 26, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 12th instant, reporting the opinion entertained by the Swedish Government as regards the question of the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, I have to instruct you to say how much gratified Her Majesty's Government have been at finding that the Swedish Government take the same view which Her Majesty's Government have taken of the importance of settling the question of the Succession for Denmark and the Duchies, and of what appears to be the best arrangement for that purpose.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 16.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 28, 1850.

WITH respect to your Lordship's despatch inclosing a note from Count Reventlow, and your Lordship's answer, on the question of the Succession, I have been informed by M. de Bille that Count Reventlow was only instructed to mention the subject confidentially to your Lordship, and that he had gone beyond the fact in saying that the indemnity to be given to the House of Hesse had been satisfactorily settled. M. de Bille said, that though, from the conciliatory tone of all the members of this collateral branch, he did not foresee any difficulty, still that matters had not yet assumed so determined a form as represented by Count Reventlow, nor could they until the sentiments of the Duke of Oldenburg were known, as it is from him that any indemnity must come.

Your Lordship will have been informed by the Earl of Westmorland that Baron Bülow is gone to Oldenburg, and that a direct intercourse has thus at length been opened by the Duke. This I have always represented to Count Moltke and M. de Bille as being the first step to be taken, both as a mark of respect to the person most interested, and as on his concurrence the whole arrangement depended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 17.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 17.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 4, 1850.

AT an interview which I had yesterday with Count Nesselrode, I communicated to his Excellency the note which your Lordship addressed to Count Reventlow on the 19th ultimo, upon the subject of the renunciation by the House of Hesse of its rights in the Succession of the Crown of Denmark.

The Chancellor was much gratified at the tenor of this note, and told me that with a view to advance the negotiation with which Baron Bülow had been charged, the Emperor of Russia intended writing to the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, for the purpose of engaging His Royal Highness to agree to the proposals about to be made to him by the King of Denmark. His Excellency added that he should shortly despatch instructions to Baron Budberg, who is Councillor of the Russian Legation at Berlin, to proceed to Oldenburg and communicate to the Grand Duke the wishes of the Russian Government on this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 18.

The Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 3.)

Milord, *Nienstädten près d'Altona, le 27 Mai,* 1850.

D'APRES ce que je viens d'apprendre, votre Excellence, de concert avec les Représentants d'autres Puissances, aurait pris en considération plus intime les questions pendantes entre le Royaume de Danemark et les Duchés de Slesvig-Holstein, touchant les droits respectifs et les rapports mutuels des deux pays.

Je ne suis pas suffisamment informé des intentions de votre Excellence à cet égard, ou de la direction qu'elle a le dessein d'imprimer à toute cette affaire. Cependant je dois croire comme possible, qu'il ne s'agira pas seulement de la situation des Duchés à l'égard l'un de l'autre, et de la situation de ceux-ci vis-à-vis du Danemark, mais aussi de la Succession future dans les deux pays. Si cette supposition serait fondée, les droits qui m'appartiennent en ma double qualité d'agnat de la Maison d'Oldenbourg et de cognat de la Maison régnante en Danemark seraient probablement pris en considération.

Sous ces rapports je me trouve d'autant plus obligé d'exprimer à votre Excellence mon espoir qu'elle ne permettra point que, sans un mandataire que je serais prêt d'envoyer à Londres, l'on agisse au détriment des droits de Succession d'une ancienne Maison Princière qui a l'honneur d'être proche parente de la Maison Royale de la Grande Bretagne.

C'est parceque le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre s'est interposé comme médiateur dans la question du Danemark et des Duchés que j'ai cru qu'il était de mon devoir de m'adresser à votre Excellence.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) AUGUST, DUC DE HOLSTEIN-AUGUSTENBOURG.

No. 19.

Viscount Palmerston to the Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg.

Mon Prince, *Foreign Office, June* 5, 1850.

I HAVE had the honour to receive the letter which your Serene Highness addressed to me on the 27th ultimo, referring to the negotiations now carrying on for the settlement of the existing differences between His Majesty the King of Denmark and His Majesty's subjects.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 20.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 10.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, June* 6, 1850.

THIS Government have been much concerned and embarrassed at the intelligence which your Lordship will have received of the Prussian Ministers having, on the strength of one of the stipulations of the Preliminaries, declined any engagements as to the Succession, and insisting on its being reserved for future decision by the Great Powers, after the signature of a definitive peace.

This has naturally put a stop to the measures which I announced to your Lordship as in contemplation. The Danish Government do not admit M. de Schleinitz's interpretation of the Preliminaries, which they say bound the King to refer the question of the Succession to the Great Powers after the signature, but did not debar him from bringing it forward immediately; and, in addition to this, they do not see with what justice Prussia can insist on one of the stipulations of a Treaty to which in other respects she does not consider herself as bound.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 21.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 24.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, June* 11, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in the course of a conversation which I had a few days ago with General Rochow, the Prussian Minister at this Court, he told me that he had just received from the King his master a communication expressing his satisfaction at the success which appeared likely to attend the negotiations which had been carried on with the Hereditary Prince of Oldenburg, but that His Majesty appeared annoyed at the secrecy which had been observed towards him in this affair; and General Rochow gave me to understood that he believed he was the first to give His Majesty any positive or detailed information connected with the negotiations, for all that had reached the Prussian Government up to the arrival of his despatches from St. Petersburgh consisted merely in rumours that were current on this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 22.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 24.)

My Lord, *Vienna, June* 18, 1850.

I LEARN from Prince Schwarzenberg that he has received from London copy of the project of a Convention which had been discussed—if not as yet finally concluded—between your Lordship and the French and Russian Ministers in England, to regulate the Succession to the Throne, and to guarantee the integrity of the Danish Kingdom, as it is at present constituted.

In answer to my inquiry whether he approved of that project, his Highness replied that he had instructed the Austrian Minister at Berlin, Baron Prokesch, to declare, in the event of its conclusion, that Austria had no objection to make to it ("n'y voyait pas de difficulté").

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 23.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 24.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, June* 20, 1850.

I HAVE learned from Baron Prokesch that he has received an instruction from Prince Schwarzenberg as to the object of the Protocol respecting the eventual Succession to the Danish Monarchy.

Prince Schwarzenberg when he wrote to Baron Prokesch had not received the formal application to become a party to that Protocol which has been transmitted to him on the part of the Danish Government by Baron Pechlin, but it would appear from his letter that if such an application was made to him he would not object to agree to it.

Baron Prokesch has informed me that a few days ago Baron Schleinitz requested him to write to Prince Schwarzenberg to warn him against becoming a party to the Protocol which he understood had been drawn up in London, stating that it would militate against the free action of Germany as to the claims of the Agnates of the Danish Royal Family. Baron Prokesch considers the letter of Prince Schwarzenberg to be an evidence of the non-adhesion of the Prince to the recommendation of Baron Schleinitz.

No. 24.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 27.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, June* 24, 1850.

I HAVE to report to your Lordship that at a Conference held at my house this day, called by the Danish Plenipotentiaries, their propositions for a final arrangement of the differences between Denmark and Prussia and Germany were brought forward. I forward to your Lordship a copy of a Separate Article which relates to the future arrangement for the Succession to all the States which compose the Danish Monarchy.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Separate Article produced at the tenth Conference by the Danish Plenipotentiaries.

SA Majesté le Roi de Danemark et Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse venant de conclure la paix par le Traité signé aujourd'hui par les Plénipotentiaires respectifs, sont en même temps convenus de ce qui suit.

Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse se déclare disposé à coopérer à l'établissement d'un ordre de Succession commun pour tous les Etats réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté Danoise, lorsque, par suite de l'Article 4 des Préliminaires du 10 Juillet, 1849, Sa Majesté Danoise soumettra à ce sujet une proposition aux Grandes Puissances.

La stipulation précédente sera ratifiée en même tems que le Traité de Paix signé aujourd'hui, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Berlin dans l'espace de huit jours à dater du jour de la signature, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

No. 25.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 2.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, June* 27, 1850.

I HAVE recommended Baron Pechlin to consent to an alteration proposed by Baron Schleinitz in the Separate Article, which relates to the Succession, according to which the wording would be more comformable to the Fourth Article of the Preliminary Treaty, and the word "coopérer" would be replaced by "prendre part." This alteration is required by Baron Schleinitz, in order that His Prussian Majesty may not engage himself to cooperate towards establishing "un ordre de Succession commun pour tous les Etats réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté Danoise," until all the claims of the Agnates are satisfied and the Duchies have consented to the arrangement the Danish Government may propose to them.

I spoke to Baron Schleinitz upon this point, telling him I could not conceive how he could object to such an engagement, or how he could be otherwise than anxious to give his assistance towards securing the object of all the other Great Powers of Europe by the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy as at present existing; but he still maintained that Prussia could not at the present moment consent to be a party to such an arrangement, and that your Lordship was aware of it, as you had learnt it from the Chevalier Bunsen.

Under these circumstances, and having received from Mr. Magenis the information that the Austrian Government would agree to the Protocol your Lordship had proposed upon this subject, I told Baron Pechlin I did not think he would be justified in putting an end to the negotiation, by refusing to agree to the alteration which was proposed to him.

No. 26.

The Chevalier Bunsen to Viscount Palmerston.

My dear Palmerston, 9, *Carlton Terrace, July* 3, 1850.

LAST night on my return from dinner I found your note, inclosing the project of a Protocol on the Danish question.

I have carefully considered the note, and I have examined again the highly important document it incloses.

Having compared its contents and its bearing with my instructions, in the anxious wish to find myself able to comply with your summons, I deeply regret to be obliged

to declare to you, without a moment's delay, that I am not at liberty to join in the Protocol.

On the contrary, my instructions prescribe to me positively not to join in any Protocol of this sort, previously agreed upon by the three non-Germanic Powers of Europe, in consequence of negotiations carried on, and commented upon even publicly between those Powers, without either Prussia or Austria or any German Government and authority having been consulted or even as much as asked their opinion. Can it be overlooked that this Protocol has been kept studiously, and in spite of reiterated requests as far as Prussia is concerned, a secret to the German Powers? It is only on the 20th of last month that I have obtained a reading of it from you, and Lord Westmorland has not even made a confidential communication of its contents to the Prussian Government; whereas Sir Henry Wynn has communicated it a month ago to the Danish Government, who have transmitted it to their Envoy in London, by whom it has been communicated to the Cabinet of Vienna through Baron Koller.

The document begins with introducing into the public law of Europe an entirely new expression not recognized by any Treaty, not warranted by any public Act of Europe, and in open contradiction with the first principles of the German Confederation. The Duchy of Holstein is a purely and exclusively German State, as much as Hanover was under William IV, and as Luxemburg is at this moment. The German Confederation cannot allow any foreign Power to declare that Holstein shall, as far as such foreign Powers are concerned, form for ever part and parcel of the Danish Monarchy, with which, as such, it has absolutely nothing to do. The dynasty may become extinct; the Duke may, by treasonable acts, forfeit his rights as a German Sovereign; he may make war upon Germany. The three Powers have agreed upon declaring it desirable that "the integrity of the Danish Monarchy," including that part of Germany called Holstein, is to be preserved; and all this without the German Powers having been parties to those negotiations, and without the slightest mention and reservation of the rights of the German Confederation, be it in respect of the constitutional Federal rights of the Duchy, of the legitimate claims of the Princely German Houses concerned in the Danish Succession.

Germany is excluded from the negotiations which have led to the agreement, both here and at Paris, and France is introduced in her place; France, who has no legitimate right or claim, or pretext even, to interfere in a question relating to the Baltic and the internal affairs of Germany! Is the world to see, for the first time, a triple coalition against Germany, headed by England?—a system of interfering in the affairs of Germany by her great eastern and western neighbour, under the sanction, yea, with the initiative of Great Britain? Are the two German Powers to be slighted by England, whose traditional allies they have been, and with whom she has fought for the independence of Europe?

I do not question intentions, but I must look facts in the face as they are. Statesmen are mortal, but documents survive them, and live and work, for good or for evil, independently of all intentions. The peace between Germany and Denmark is what the public voice of England is impatient to see concluded; at this moment it is concluded, according to the—not official, but entirely trustworthy—telegraphic despatch of the night before last from Berlin.

The Protocol supposes that negotiations about such a peace are to be carried on: the conclusion of the peace, therefore, supersedes all occasion for such a Protocol. The question of the Danish Succession may be or become the object of a European Conference; but then the negotiations must begin with a full reservation of all German rights, and with their admission by all not Germanic Powers, as far as Holstein is concerned.

Let me then indulge the hope that you will not press any longer a Protocol, nor seem to impose, at the head of an European coalition, upon Germany an arrangement which must by her always be considered as *res acta inter alios*, as one which disposes of her rights, as if she was to be "Polonized," to use an expression coined by you.

It would be painful to me, officially and personally, to be obliged to present to you formally those reservations and protestations which it would be my duty to address to you in case the present Protocol was to be persevered in. But I shall concentrate, in the confidential form of a memoir, some of those considerations, both of public law and polity, which seem to me most convincingly to prove the justice of the objections which my Government has against a document of this nature.

In the meantime I shall transmit to my Government the document you have communicated to me, and abstain from all official acts respecting the same, as long as I shall not have received a positive order to that effect, which I do not anticipate.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) BUNSEN.

No. 27.

The Chevalier Bunsen to Viscount Palmerston.

Milord, *Légation de Prusse, ce 4 Juillet*, 1850.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir hier au soir l'invitation de me rendre au Foreign Office aujourd'hui à 2 heures.

Ayant acquis en même temps la certitude que ma présence y est réquise afin que je reçoive communication officielle d'un projet de Protocole préalablement agréé entre la Grande Bretagne, la France, et la Russie, et traitant de questions qui sont éminemment et en partie exclusivement du for intérieur de l'Allemagne, et de la compétence de la Confédération Germanique, je crois devoir m'abstenir d'assister à une telle Conférence. Le Protocole en question est le résultat de négociations auxquelles la Prusse n'a pas été invitée de prendre part, et dont, au contraire, on lui a fait un secret ; et il statue entr'autres, sur des questions qui sont du domaine de la Confédération Germanique, et de la plus haute importance pour son honneur et ses intérêts permanents.

J'aurai l'honneur, Milord, de vous soumettre dans la journée de demain un exposé historique de la position de la Prusse vis-à-vis de ce projet de Protocole et des Conférences, et un précis succinct des considérations destinées à justifier, du point de vue du droit public de l'Europe et de la politique, la conduite que d'après mes instructions j'ai dû me prescrire à cette occasion.

Vous ne saurez pas méconnaître, Milord, la gravité extrême de la circonstance. Les mêmes considérations qui aujourd'hui ne me permettent pas de me rendre au Foreign Office devraient m'imposer, dans de certaines éventualités, le pénible devoir de réserver officiellement vis-à-vis du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique. les droits de la Confédération, et de protester solonnellement contre le principe d'une ingérence des autres Puissances Européennes dans les affaires intérieures du Corps Germanique, principe attentatoire à l'indépendance et à la dignité de l'Allemagne, subversif du droit public de l'Europe, hostile à toutes les libertés nationales existantes, et contenant le germe d'incalculables complications et guerres futures.

D'ailleurs, la conclusion de la paix entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark, qui, à ce qu'il semble, vient d'avoir lieu à Berlin, me paraît rendre à la fois inutile et inapplicable à la position naturelle de l'affaire, un Protocole, qui, de la part de l'Angleterre, n'a pu avoir d'autre but que d'accélérer la conclusion de cette paix, et qui parle même expressement des soins communs des Puissances en question, dans le sens d'une telle pacification, comme si elle n'était pas déjà effectuée.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BUNSEN.

No. 28.

Protocol of a Conference held at the Foreign Office, July 4, 1850.

Présens :

Le Chargé d'Affaires d'Autriche ;
Le Ministre de Danemark ;
L'Ambassadeur de France ;
Le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères ;
Le Ministre de Russie ; et
Le Ministre de Suède et de Norvège.

LE Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour le Département des Affaires Etrangères a pris la parole afin de motiver la proposition faite à MM. les Représentants réunis au Foreign Office, de concourir à la signature du Protocole ci-annexé en projet, dont il leur a donné lecture.

Il a expliqué les circonstances qui ont empêché M. le Ministre de Prusse d'assister à cette réunion.

Il a invité ensuite MM. les Représentants réunis en délibération à lui faire connaître si les instructions de leurs Gouvernements leur permettaient de procéder, séance tenante, à la signature du susdit Acte.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires d'Autriche a déclaré, qu'à défaut d'instructions nécessaires, il se croyait dans l'obligation d'en référer à sa Cour, à laquelle il s'empresserait de soumettre

la proposition, ainsi que le projet de rédaction qui venaient de lui être communiqués officiellement.

M. le Ministre de Danemark, en annonçant qu'il se trouvait autorisé à signer le Protocole projeté, a exprimé, au nom de sa Cour, la satisfaction qu'elle éprouve d'y retrouver des témoignages d'intérêts dont elle ne saurait meconnaître le prix.

M. l'Ambassadeur de France et MM. les Ministres de Russie, et de Suède et de Norvège, ont déclaré être prêts à signer le Protocole dont lecture venait de leur être faite, comme étant de nature à répondre pleinement aux intentions de leurs Gouvernements, dans l'intérêt commun de la conservation de la paix et de l'équilibre Européen.

Persuadés que la Cour de Berlin est animée des mêmes sentiments, les Représentants de Danemark, de France, de Russie, et de Suède et de Norvège, ont réservé à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique d'adresser au Cabinet de Berlin l'invitation de concourir à la signature du Protocole projeté.

En conséquence, les Représentants de Danemark, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Russie, et de Suède et de Norvège, ont procédé à parapher le susdit Acte.

(Signé) A. B. KOLLER.
REVENTLOW.
E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.
PALMERSTON.
BRUNNOW.
J. G. REHAUSEN.

Annex.

Draft of Protocol of a Conference held at the Foreign Office, July 4, 1850.

Présents.

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche;
de Danemark;
de France;
de la Grande Bretagne;
de Prusse;
de Russie; et
de Suède et de Norvège.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, considérant que le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, lié aux intérêts généraux de l'équilibre Européen, est d'une haute importance pour la conservation de la paix, ont résolu, à l'invitation de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de constater le parfait accord qui subsiste entre leurs Cabinets quant au maintien de ce principe, et autorisé leurs Plénipotentiaires réunis en conférence à émettre en leur nom la déclaration ci-après:

§ 1. Le désir unanime des dites Puissances est, que l'état des possessions actuellement réunies sous la Couronne de Danemark soit maintenu dans son intégrité.

§ 2. En conséquence, elles reconnaissent la sagesse des vues qui déterminent Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark à régler éventuellement l'ordre de Succession dans Sa Royale Maison, de manière à faciliter les arrangements au moyen desquels l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise demeurera intacte.

§ 3. Elles continueront à unir leurs soins afin que les négociations de paix ouvertes à Berlin sous la médiation de la Grande Bretagne sur la base des Préliminaires arrêtés à Berlin parviennent à une conclusion prochaine.

§ 4. Lorsque ce but aura été atteint, les dites Puissances se réservent de se concerter entr'elles afin de donner aux résultats de ces négociations un gage additionnel de stabilité par un acte de reconnaissance Européenne. Il est convenu que cette délibération aura lieu à Londres, et que les dites Puissances muniront à cet effet leurs Représentants des pleins-pouvoirs nécessaires.

R.
E. D. DE L.
P.
B^{w}.
J. G. R.

No. 29.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 5.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, July 2, 1850.*

I HAVE the honour of inclosing a copy of the Secret Article to the Treaty signed this day.

Inclosure in No. 29.

Secret Article to Treaty of July 2, 1850.

SA Majesté le Roi de Prusse s'engage à prendre part aux négociations dont Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark prendra l'initiative à l'effet de régler l'ordre de Succession dans les Etats réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté Danoise.

Le présent Article Sécret sera ratifié en même temps que le Protocole signé ce jour, et les ratifications en seront échangées simultanément.

Fait à Berlin, ce 2 Juillet, 1850.

(Signé) WESTMORLAND.
F. PECHLIN.
USEDOM. H. C. REEDTZ.
A. W. SCHEEL.

No. 30.

The Chevalier Bunsen to Viscount Palmerston.

Milord, *Légation de Prusse, le 5 Juillet,* 1850.

EN m'en référant à ma note d'hier, j'ai l'honneur de vous remettre ci-joints les deux mémoires que je vous y avais annoncées, et d'en recommander le contenu à votre bienveillante attention.

L'un et l'autre est destiné à justifier la conduite que la Prusse a tenue depuis la proposition de Conférences Européennes sur la question Danoise, et à démontrer l'impossibilité où je me trouvai hier d'assister à une Conférence à tenir sur un projet de Protocole, résultat de négociations auxquelles la Prusse et l'Allemagne entière sont restées étrangères.

Le premier de ces mémoires est historique, le second est consacré à des considérations de droit publique et de politique. L'un et l'autre établissent d'abord le fait, que l'idée de considérer les Etats dont le Roi de Danemark est actuellement le chef, comme les provinces d'un Empire national Danois, n'a jamais été reconnue par aucun acte de droit public, qu'elle est contraire au droit existant, et qu'elle a toujours été combattue par l'Allemagne, et nommément en 1846. Ces pièces s'efforcent de plus à démontrer que consacrer une telle idée par la haute autorité d'un Protocole Européen, ce serait menacer l'Allemagne et même l'Europe des plus grands dangers et des plus graves complications.

L'Allemagne doit donc peser scrupuleusement tout ce que le projet de Protocole en question peut présenter de dangereux et de préjudiciel pour elle, soit dans la forme ou dans le fond, soit dans ses termes précis ou dans les conséquences qu'on pourrait un jour en tirer comme d'un antécédent solennel.

La Prusse n'attribue des intentions hostiles à qui que ce soit, mais l'histoire lui montre que les hommes meurent, tandisque les faits restent, et que les documents diplomatiques opèrent bien souvent d'une manière tout-à-fait différente des intentions de leurs auteurs.

En tout cas il ne saurait être nié que l'accession à un tel Protocole, de la part de l'Allemagne, est exclusivement du ressort de la Confédération Germanique. Ni la Prusse ni l'Autriche ne peuvent, même par un Acte d'Accession conditionnelle, détériorer le *statu quo* du droit dans lequel se trouve la Confédération dont elles sont des Membres.

C'est sous ces points de vue que je vous prie, Milord, d'examiner et de juger les six thèses que j'ai tâché de prouver dans le second mémoire. Vous reconnaîtrez que c'est le devoir de la propre défense, et non un esprit de soupçon et d'attaque qui m'a guidé dans cette discussion.

Vous reconnaîtrez aussi que les faits et les arguments que dans ce but j'ai dû appeler à mon secours ne s'opposent nullement à l'idée d'un arrangement tendant à aider le Roi de Danemark, de la part de la Confédération de concert avec les autres Puissances, à maintenir, dans de certaines éventualités, l'union actuelle de ses Etats.

Un arrangement quant à la Succession Danoise qui se présenterait à la Confédération formellement, de manière à sauvegarder les droits et l'honneur de la Confédération, et matériellement comme avantageux à toutes les parties intéressées, pourrait bien avoir le concours et même l'appui franc et cordial de cette Confédération.

Et certainement, quant à la Prusse, c'est le désir sincère de son Gouvernement de pouvoir concourir à un projet de cette nature le plus tôt possible. Elle n'y a jamais été contraire, et le Danemark le sait aussi bien que le Cabinet Britannique. Maintenant, la paix qui vient d'être conclue entre les deux Puissances devra faciliter considérablement une entente de cette nature entre le Danemark et la Confédération Germanique. Une telle entente sera établie sans difficulté, du moment même où la pacification du Slesvig, abandonnée au Roi de Danemark, aura eu lieu d'une manière équitable, par un arrangement entre les Duchés et le Royaume, basé sur des garanties constitutionnelles. Ce n'est qu'un tel dénouement de la lutte entre deux populations qui saurait être le digne but de la politique de la Grande Bretagne et de toutes les Puissances qui adoptent la conviction si souvent proclamée par le Gouvernement Britannique et entièrement partagée par le Gouvernement Prussien, c'est-à-dire, que l'avenir de l'Europe ne pourra être assis durablement que sur la base d'arrangements équitables, soutenus par les intérêts permanents et les vœux raisonnables des peuples qui en sont l'objet. Certainement ce ne seront que de tels arrangements qui se maintiendront dans des crises et des complications futures ; ce seront eux qui garantiront, mieux que tous les Protocoles, la paix du monde, la stabilité des Empires, et le bonheur des peuples.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BUNSEN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 30.

Précis Historique des Communications que la Prusse a reçues et faites au sujet des Négociations entre l'Angleterre, la France, et la Russie, qui ont conduit au Projet de Protocole.

IL est de notoriété publique, que déjà avant 1848, et au moins depuis l'année 1846, la France, sur l'instigation du Danemark, fit des démarches réitérées auprès du Gouvernement Britannique, afin que celui-ci renouvelât les garanties que la France et l'Angleterre sont censées d'avoir données en 1721 au Duc régnant de Slesvig, pour l'éventualité de réclamations de l'autre ligne de cette Maison qui avait été dépossédée. Le Ministère Britannique, bien qu'il n'entrât pas dans une discussion sur la valeur fort problématique de ces garanties par rapport au droit positif, déclara pourtant à plusieurs reprises, devant le Parlement, que les garanties ou étaient éteintes (comme elles le sont sans doute en conséquence de l'arrangement fait en 1773 sous les auspices de la Russie), ou n'étaient pas applicables au cas actuel, la souveraineté du Duc régnant de Slesvig, Roi de Danemark, n'étant ni attaquée ni contesté par personne.

Il est également notoire, que le Gouvernement Britannique se refusa en 1848 et 1849 à tout projet d'ingérence Européenne dans les questions relatives aux Duchés de Holstein et de Slesvig, et aux garanties à donner à des arrangements qui s'y rapporteraient.

Il paraît que dans le printemps de l'année courante, le Projet d'un Protocole relatif à de telles garanties fut renouvelé de la part du Gouvernement de St. Pétersbourg, et que la France pressait de son côté un arrangement définitif entre les trois Puissances non-Germaniques concernant la question Danoise. La Russie exprima au mois d'Avril au Cabinet de Berlin le désir " que le Ministre du Roi à Londres fût autorisé à prendre part à des Conférences préalables ayant le but de s'entendre sur la manière dont la paix éventuellement à conclure entre la Prusse et l'Allemagne d'un côté, et de Danemark de l'autre, pût être exécutée et placée sous des garanties qu'on pourrait juger convenables."

Le Ministre du Roi à Londres fut autorisé par une dépêche du 18 Avril de prendre part à de telles Conférences, si elles dussent avoir lieu.

Cette autorisation cependant se borne expressément, comme le vœu qui avait été exprimé au Gouvernement Prussien de la part du Cabinet Russe, aux points indiqués. L'intention évidente du Gouvernement Prussien dans cette dépêche, intention exprimée encore plus clairement dans une seconde dépêche du 15 Mai, était d'aviser le Ministre du Roi qu'il devrait réclamer contre tout arrangement, tel qu'un Protocole, qui pût être agréé unilatéralement de la part des Puissances non-Germaniques sur le matériel de la question, et qui impliquerait par conséquent des droits et intérêts Germaniques. Il lui fut encore prescrit expressément, qu'il devrait faire observer, le cas échéant, au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, que la Prusse considérait la participation de l'Angleterre dans un tel

arrangement, comme incompatible avec la position de Puissance Médiatrice qu'elle avait acceptée et dont elle continuait de remplir les fonctions.

Déjà avant la réception de la seconde dépêche, le 6 du mois de Mai, le Ministre du Roi avait prié Lord Palmerston de vouloir bien lui donner connaissance de ce qui s'était fait ou de ce qui se fesait actuellement à ce sujet à Londres.

Lord Palmerston lui dit en réponse, qu'un projet de Protocole lui avait été proposé par M. le Baron de Brunnow, ayant pour but d'arriver à une solution prochaine de la question de la Succession Danoise, et d'obtenir un résultat définitif des négociations actuellement pendantes à Berlin entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark : que là-dessus il y avait eu des conversations entre lui et le Ministre de Russie, et que la France pressait aussi de son côté la conclusion d'un arrangement de cette nature ; que le projet n'était pas encore dans un état à être communiqué à la Prusse et à l'Autriche, mais qu'on inviterait ces Puissances aussitôt que possible à y accéder.

Depuis ce temps la seule chose que le Ministre de Prusse apprit sur la marche de cette affaire fut, que Lord Westmorland avait reçu les instructions nécessaires quant à ce Protocole, et plus tard, que le projet en question avait reçu depuis, quelques modifications qui venaient d'être agréées entre Lord Palmerston et le Ministre Russe, et auxquelles la France paraissait disposée d'accéder.

En attendant, le Ministre du Roi à Vienne ayant rapporté le 14 du mois passé au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, que le projet de Protocole avait été communiqué au Ministre Autrichien, l'ordre fut donné le 16, au Chevalier Bunsen, de prier le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de vouloir bien lui donner une information ultérieure à ce sujet.

En conséquence le Chevalier Bunsen eut d'abord le 19 même une conversation avec Lord Palmerston, dans laquelle celui-ci, tout en déclinant de communiquer à la Prusse le projet de Protocole, et même d'en donner lecture à l'Envoyé du Roi, lui exposa les points qu'il contenait.

Dans la conférence du 20, le Chevalier Bunsen soumit à Lord Palmerston et le compte qu'il se proposait de rendre au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la dernière conversation, et quelques observations que la lecture du projet du Protocole lui avait suggérées sur les inconvénients et dangers qui pourraient résulter de la signature d'un tel document. Ce fut alors seulement que Lord Palmerston lui donna lecture du projet de Protocole. Il y ajouta des explications destinées à rectifier quelques expressions dans son projet de dépêche, et à répondre en même temps à quelques-unes des objections que le Ministre de Prusse avait cru de son devoir d'articuler dans le mémoire succinct dont il avait donné lecture au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat, comme précis des observations verbales qu'il avait été dans le cas de lui soumettre à plusieurs reprises.

Ayant tenu compte immédiatement des corrections qui résultaient pour la dépêche à envoyer à Berlin, et des observations de Lord Palmerston sur le mémoire, le Chevalier Bunsen transmit son rapport au Gouvernement le 22.

Ce ne fut qu'au soir de Lundi, 1 Juillet, que le Chevalier Bunsen apprit verbalement de Lord Palmerston, que le projet de Protocole lui devait être communiqué au Foreign Office, Jeudi le 4.

L'invitation officielle de s'y rendre lui fut remise dans l'après-midi de Mercredi le 3 après qu'il eût eu communication confidentielle du projet de Protocole le jour auparavant.

Inclosure 2 in No. 30.

Précis d'Observations sur les inconvénients et dangers du Projet de Protocole agréé entre la Grande Bretagne, la France, et la Russie.

I. UN tel Protocole est dangereux en ce qu'il consacre en soi-même le principe d'intervention étrangère dans les affaires intérieures d'une Puissance indépendante.

Un Protocole quelconque entre la Grande Bretagne, la France, et la Russie, sur une question dans laquelle sont compris des droits et des intérêts permanents de la Confédération Germanique, présente en soi-même les inconvénients les plus graves, en consacrant pour des éventualités indéfinies et incalculables le principe de l'ingérence et de l'intervention dans les affaires intérieures de cette Confédération. Un Protocole, négocié et agréé parmi les Puissances non-Germaniques, sans l'Allemagne, sur l'Allemagne, et contre l'Allemagne, ne saurait être considéré par la Confédération et par les deux Grandes Puissances Germaniques, qui toutes sont restées entièrement étrangères aux négociations dont le projet de ce Protocole est le résultat, que comme une déclaration arbitraire des autres Cabinets Européens sur une affaire qui touche la Confédération Germanique, non seulement dans ses intérêts les plus chers, mais aussi dans les questions de droit exclusivement de son ressort.

II. Le projet de Protocole en question est injuste et illégal, en ce qu'il consacre dans son préambule une idée diplomatique qui n'est appuyée sur aucun Traité Européen et aucun acte légal : " l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise : " ce qui veut dire, y compris le Holstein et le Lauenbourg, et éventuellement (par exemple, en cas d'extinction de la ligne cadette) même l'Oldenbourg—et attaque par là les droits les plus incontestables de la Confédération Germanique.

" L'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise " est un terme inventé par des écrivains Danoise, qui de 1806 à 1814 voulaient prouver que le Holstein n'était qu'une province du Danemark. Ce terme devint depuis le schiboleth de ceux qui de 1815 jusqu'à 1846 ont voulu donner au contingent Fédéral de ce Duché des officiers Danois et introduire le commandement en langue Danoise. Il n'y a point de traité ou acte de droit public qui reconnaisse ou justifie une telle idée : au contraire, l'existence même de la Confédération Germanique suffirait à prouver à elle-seule le contraire.

C'est donc une idée qui, pour devenir l'objet d'un Traité quelconque, exigerait avant tout que les Parties Contractantes reconnussent explicitement et positivement dans le document en question, les droits existants, qui se trouveraient gravement compromis par l'érection en principe d'une telle idée, et subordonassent tout arrangement à ce sujet au consentement des ayant-droit. Ces droits sont positifs, et c'est la Confédération Germanique dans sa totalité qui en dernier lieu s'en trouve revêtue. C'est elle qui a à maintenir contre une telle déclaration de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, exprimée sans limitation et réserve, nommément les droits suivants :

1. Les droits de liaison fédérale avec le Holstein en soi-même, comme partie intégrale de l'Allemagne.

2. Les droits de liaison fédérale qui résultent des relations légitimes et reconnues existant entre le Duché de Holstein et celui de Slesvig.

3. Les droits que possède la Confédération dans la personne des Princes de la branche Ducale de la ligne aînée de la Maison d'Oldenbourg, appelés à succéder dès que la branche Royale sera éteinte.

Vouloir déclarer qu'il est désirable que le Danemark, appuyé sur une telle décision des trois Grandes Puissances, dispose de tous ces droits sans le consentement et même à l'insu de la Confédération Germanique, ce serait de la part de ces Gouvernements un abus de puissance : ce serait substituer l'arbitraire au juste, et renverser le droit positif de cette Confédération par une combinaison apparente d'artifice et de violence. La Prusse et l'Autriche se rendraient complices d'un acte qu'elles doivent considérer comme injuste et illégal, si elles voulaient adhérer à un tel projet de Protocole, abstraction faite de toutes les autres considérations qui s'y opposent.

Et cependant il est certain que les trois Puissances non-Germaniques ne voudraient justifier leur procédé que d'après les principes du droit public positif de l'Europe. Car quiconque voudrait motiver un tel procédé par l'état de dissension et de faiblesse dans lequel la Confédération semble se trouver dans ce moment, ne ferait qu'ajouter l'injustice et l'illégalité morales à l'injustice et à l'illégalité politiques. Qu'est-ce qu'aurait dit l'Europe, et l'Angleterre même, si avant la mort de Guillaume IV, quelques Cabinets se fussent réunis pour déclarer l'intégrité actuelle de la Monarchie Britannique, y compris le Royaume d'Hanovre, comme un point reconnu du droit public de l'Europe et son maintien futur à toute éventualité, comme désirable pour le maintien de la paix et de l'équilibre Européen ? Ou, que dirait-on, si, à l'heure qu'il est, ces Puissances voulaient faire cette même double déclaration relativement à l'intégrité de la Monarchie Hollandaise, y compris le Luxembourg ? Et pourtant de telles déclarations ne menaceraient pas plus directement les droits positifs de la Confédération, que ne le fait la déclaration insinuée dans le projet de Protocole en question.

III. Un tel procédé serait en contradiction avec le rôle de Puissance Médiatrice entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark dont la Grande Bretagne s'est chargée, et qu'elle a continué d'exercer jusqu'à ce jour.

Lorsqu'on considère les droits et l'honneur de la Confédération Germanique, dont même la Prusse et l'Autriche, si elles voulaient, ne pouvaient disposer à elles, le procédé de la Grande Bretagne dans le cas actuel serait plus particulièrement hostile à l'Allemagne par rapport au moment où elle s'y engagerait, savoir, au moment où elle exerce encore ses fonctions de Puissance Médiatrice entre la Confédération et le Danemark. Le Protocole doit donner des assurances et des garanties au Danemark vis-à-vis de l'Allemagne, sans qu'un mot y soit dit des droits et devoirs positifs de la Confédération, et comme Puissance indépendante, et comme appelée à protéger le droit fédéral, soit de pays Allemands, membres de la Confédération, soit de maisons Princières qui lui appartiennent.

Les uns et les autres se trouvent placés sous la sauvegarde et dans la sphère fédérale, sous l'autorité suprême de la Confédération.

Vouloir insister dans le moment actuel, auprès de la Prusse et de l'Autriche, pour les engager à signer un Protocole qui semble dans le préambule ignorer entièrement l'existence de cette même Confédération, ce serait se mettre en contradiction patente avec le rôle de Puissance Médiatrice et avec l'exercice de ces fonctions.

IV. L'arrangement proposé par la Grande Bretagne, la France, et la Russie, autoriserait ces trois Puissances, et chacune d'elles, à exercer, à toute perpétuité, une espèce de protectorat aussi bien sur la Confédération Germanique que sur le Danemark.

L'idée d'une garantie ou reconnaissance de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, dont un pays Allemand, membre de la Confédération, formerait une partie intégrale, renferme d'abord la supposition gratuite d'une chose politique qui n'existe pas en droit, et puis une prétention aussi dangereux pour la paix du monde qu'elle est contraire aux droits imprescriptibles et aux intérêts permanents de l'Allemagne. Aucun Traité ne consacre cette supposition, aucune considération d'expédient politique ne saurait justifier cette prétention, et une sage politique ne saurait sanctionner des procédés qui peuvent entraîner de tels dangers et qui doivent créer de si justes alarmes. La garantie ou la reconnaisssnce étant arbitraire, devait être perpétuelle. Il en résulterait que les trois Puissances signataires s'engageraient par le Protocole, même sans le vouloir, à occuper vis-à-vis du Danemark une position analogue à celle qu'elles occupent vis-à-vis de la Grèce et de l'Empire Ottoman, et l'Allemagne même se verrait d'autant plus menacée dans son indépendance et dans sa dignité par cette position, qu'elle a été exclue des négociations dont le projet de Protocole est le résultat, quoiqu'elle y soit la seule partie directement intéressée à côté du Danemark.

V. Le projet de Protocole tel qu'il est proposé, est devenu inapplicable à l'état des choses actuel, par la conclusion de la paix entre la Prusse et le Danemark, qui vient d'avoir lieu.

La paix qui vient d'être conclue entre la Prusse et le Danemark mettra sans aucun doute en peu de semaines un terme à cette guerre entre le Danemark et l'Allemagne, dont la termination prochaine par " les soins communs " des Puissances signataires est l'objet de l'Article 3, et le but immédiat du projet de Protocole entier.

Si le but du projet de Protocole, dans les yeux du Gouvernement Britannique, n'a donc été que d'accélérer la conclusion de la paix entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark, ce but est déjà atteint ; la paix du Danemark avec la Prusse est conclue, la paix avec les autres Etats Allemands ne saurait guère être douteuse. La voix publique en Angleterre a demandé la paix : elle n'a pas demandé un Protocole. Elle désire que le Danemark et les Duchés s'arrangent entr'eux le mieux qu'ils pourront, mais elle ne veut point le triomphe de principes absolutistes, et elle déteste le principe d'intervention. Moins encore elle désirera voir un Protocole devenir ou l'instrument ou le prétexte d'une intervention systématique dans les affaires intérieures d'autres pays et le germe de complications et de guerres futures.

L'Article 3 du projet étant devenu sans objet, ce qui reste du projet du Protocole ce sont les deux points suivants :—

1. La reconnaissance d'une Monarchie Danoise, dont un Etat Allemand, membre de la Confédération Germanique, formerait une partie intégrale (le Préambule et les Article 1 et 4). Nous avons démontré plus haut, que c'est équivalent à demander la reconnaissance d'une Monarchie Danoise, qui, comme telle, c'est-à-dire, comme un ensemble de provinces Danoises, n'existe pas selon le droit public de l'Europe, et qui ne saurait être créée que par un acte arbitraire, et sur les débris de la Confédération Germanique.

2. L'approbation, de la part des Puissances signataires, de certaines mesures du Roi de Danemark (Article 2), lesquelles nécessairement se rapportent aux parties de ses Etats appartenant à cette Confédération. Tout ce que l'Allemagne sait des mesures auxquelles l'Article fait allusion, c'est qu'il s'agit du droit de plusieurs maisons Princières, et du droit d'une partie intégrale de l'Allemagne, dont le Roi de Danemark est encouragé par le projet, à disposer, sans qu'on en ait dit un mot à la Confedération Germanique.

VI. Le projet de Protocole, loin d'assurer la pacification des Duchés, augmenterait la difficulté d'une telle pacification, en ce qu'il rendrait probablement le Danemark moins disposé que jamais à faire aux Duchés des concessions justes et nécessaires.

Il ne saurait pas paraître déraisonnable de craindre que la signature d'un tel Protocole, loin d'empêcher l'effusion du sang et faciliter la reconciliation entre le Danemark et le Slesvig, ne devienne, au contraire, le signal d'un carnage effroyable, et la cause d'un ressentiment profond et d'une irritation permanente des Slesvigois, du moins dans la grande majorité des habitants, laquelle est formée par la portion d'origine Germanique et de langue Allemande.

Le Danemark s'apercevant que sa manière d'envisager le Slesvig comme province du

Royaume est hautement approuvée et proclamée par les Puissances signataires, et fort de l'appui de ces Puissances et de la position menacante au moins d'une d'entr'elles, serait probablement moins que jamais disposé à lui faire des concessions, et à lui donner des garanties constitutionnelles, établissant une indépendance de bonne foi. Au contraire, le Danemark, selon toutes les probabilités, ne laisserait au Duché que le choix entre une incorporation directe dans le Royaume, ou un simulacre d'indépendance infiniment plus onéreux et écrasant que ne le saurait être l'incorporation même. Et il ne faut pas oublier que c'est contre cette incorporation que le pays s'est élevé (en 1848) après une résistance patiente et infructueuse de plus d'un siècle, et que pour se défendre contre là même il n'a cessé de faire les plus grands sacrifices jusqu'à ce jour, sans cependant jamais songer à se soustraire à l'autorité légitime du Duc Souverain. Dans le cas d'une invasion Danoise par terre et par mer, le Duché ou succombera après une guerre civile, sanglante et cruelle, ou résistera avec succès. Dans l'une et dans l'autre éventualité, le Protocole aurait produit non seulement des embarras et des inconvéniens qu'il est inutile de signaler ici plus particulièrement, mais les Gouvernements qui y eussent adhéré auraient à se défendre contre la responsabilité terrible de l'effusion du sang que certainement les Puissances signataires désirent empêcher autant que l'Allemagne.

Et les embarras et regrets ne finiraient pas là: l'aliénation de toutes les affections, et le sentiment amer de violence et de traitement injuste et cruel resterait et dans les Duchés et dans toute l'Allemagne. De graves complications et des guerres Européennes naîtraient indubitablement plus tôt ou plus tard du germe du Protocole. L'opinion publique de l'Europe changera dans les pays où elle s'est prononcée contre la cause Slesvigoise, ou est restée indifférente aux réclamations des Duchés, du moment où l'Allemagne, renonçant à défendre cette cause par les armes, abandonne l'arrangement entièrement au Roi de Danemark.

Partout où il y a des sentiments libéraux et généreux il y aura des sympathies pour les souffrances d'une population des plus civilisées, des plus respectables et des plus conservativement constitutionnelles de l'Europe. Alors on le trouvera étrange que cette population, après avoir été négligée et ignorée par la diplomatie Européenne, et souvent même condamné comme une horde d'insurgés révolutionnaires, tandis qu'elle se sentait elle-même la victime d'un procédé révolutionnaire, que cette population devrait finalement être écrasée par un Protocole signé à Londres.

No. 31.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 7.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, June* 26, 1850.

I UNDERSTAND from good authority, that Count Nesselrode made several fruitless endeavours during the visit of the Prince of Prussia, to obtain from His Royal Highness the assurance that he would recommend his Government to concede some important points in the negotiations with Denmark, but that his Excellency found him indisposed to give any promise on the subject.

These interviews resulted, however, in His Royal Highness consenting to take for the consideration of the Cabinet of Berlin, the two following points connected with the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein; and which, I am further told, were given to him by Count Nesselrode in the form of a memorandum, accompanied with the declaration that Russia conceived she has a right to insist on them. The first is, that Prussia will not oppose the arrangements which may be made by the King of Denmark respecting the Succession. The second is, that Prussia shall guarantee the neutrality of Germany in the event of a war between Denmark and the Duchies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 32.

The Chevalier Bunsen to Viscount Palmerston.

Carlton House Terrace, July 8, 1850.

CHEVALIER BUNSEN presents his compliments to the Viscount Palmerston, and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the copies of the Protocol which was signed on the 4th instant, and its annex, transmitted to him by his Lordship's letter of the day before yesterday, and that he has not failed to forward one of these copies to His Majesty's Government.

No. 33.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 9.)

My Lord, *Berlin, July 6, 1850.*

I HAVE the satisfaction of announcing to your Lordship that the ratifications of the Protocol and Secret Article between Prussia and Denmark, which were signed on the 2nd instant, have this day been exchanged at my house by the respective Plenipotentaries.

I have the honour of inclosing the Protocol recording this exchange, which has been signed by all the Plenipotentiaries and by myself; I inclose also a copy of the Protocol of the last Conference of the 2nd of July, as well as of one which has been held this day.

Before the exchange of the ratifications, Baron Pechlin communicated to the Prussian Plenipotentiary a despatch he had received from his Government, announcing that upon the exchange of the ratifications with the German Confederation, the King of Denmark would consent to the cession of the frigate the "Gefion," which has remained up to the present time at Eckernförde, to the German Empire.

Baron Schleinitz, through M. d'Usedom, expressed his acknowledgments for this concession.

I hope I may be allowed to congratulate your Lordship upon the completion of this final act, by which the peace between Prussia and Denmark has been re-established.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

Inclosure 1 in No. 33.

Protocol of Conference for Exchange of Ratifications of Protocol and Secret Article between Prussia and Denmark.

LES Soussignés, Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse et de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, ayant dans la présence de M. le Comte de Westmorland, Ministre de la Puissance Médiatrice, fait lecture des ratifications de Sa Majesté Prussienne et de Sa Majesté Danoise, du Protocole entre la Prusse et le Danemark signé à Berlin le 2 Juillet, 1850, et d'un Article Secret au dit Protocole, signé le même jour, et les dites ratifications ayant été trouvées en bonne et due forme, ont procédé à leur échange.

Fait à Berlin, ce 6 Juillet, 1850.

(Signé) WESTMORLAND.
USEDOM. F. PECHLIN.
REEDTZ.
A. W. SCHEEL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 33.

Protocol of the Thirteenth Conference between the Prussian and Danish Plenipotentiaries.

Berlin, ce 2 Juillet, 1850.

Presens:

Lord Westmorland. Baron de Pechlin. M. d'Usedom.
M. de Reedtz.
M. de Scheel.

LECTURE fut faite des expéditions du Traité, du Protocole, et de l'Article Secret arrêtés hier, après quoi on procéda à la signature de ces pièces.

W.

Inclosure 3 in No. 33.

Protocol of the Fourteenth Conference between the Prussian and Danish Plenipotentiaries.

Berlin, ce 6 Juillet, 1850.

Présens:

Lord Westmorland. M. d'Usedom. Baron Pechlin.
M. de Reedtz.
M. de Scheel.

LES ratifications de Sa Majesté Danoise et de Sa Majesté Prussienne, du Protocole et de l'Article Secret, signés le 2 Juillet, 1850, ayant été lues et trouvées en bonne et due forme, elles furent échangées, et un Protocole constatant ce fait fut signé par Lord Westmorland et par les Plénipotentiaires respectifs.

W.

No. 34.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 11.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, July* 6, 1860.

WITH reference to my last despatch I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the ratifications of the Treaty were signed by His Danish Majesty the same evening, and sent off by a special steamer.

I am happy to say that the point of honour respecting the "Gefion" has been abandoned, and that in the wise conviction that a damaged frigate was not worth any delay in the ratification or further discussion, the Danish Government have acknowledged that it is the property of the Confederation, and declared that its removal will not be opposed as soon as the Treaty has been ratified by the Confederation.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of, and my answer to, a note, in which Count Moltke officially informed me of the signature of the Treaty. Your Lordship will observe that Count Moltke was also charged by His Danish Majesty with most gratifying expressions as to any services I may have rendered in the course of these long-protracted discussions. I feel that if I have in any way deserved this honourable mention it is in having strictly followed and acted up to your Lordship's instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

Count Moltke to Sir H. Wynn.

M. le Chevalier, *Copenhague, ce* 4 *Juillet*, 1850.

C'EST avec la plus vive satisfaction que je me vois à même de vous annoncer aujourd'hui, qu'un Traité de Paix, conclu entre le Roi mon auguste Souverain et Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, en son nom ainsi qu'au nom de la Confédération Germanique, a été signé à Berlin en date du 2 courant. Un Protocole se rapportant à l'évacuation des Duchés de Slesvig, de Holstein, et de Laueubourg, par les troupes Prussiennes stationnées dans le Slesvig, ainsi que par les troupes neutres stationnées dans ce même Duché, et un Article Secret, par lequel Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse s'engage à prendre part aux négociations ayant pour but de régler l'ordre de Succession dans les Etats réunis sous le sceptre du Roi, ont été signés en même temps.

Aussitôt que ces documents auront éte munis des ratifications Royales, j'aurai l'honneur de vous en faire parvenir des copies.

En vous invitant, M. le Chevalier, à vouloir bien informer le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique de la conclusion de la paix, je m'empresse de vous témoigner la sincère reconnaissance dont le Gouvernement du Roi mon auguste Souverain est pénétré de la part active et précieuse que vous avez prise à l'œuvre qui vient d'être enfin si heureusement accomplie. Le Roi m'a expressément chargé de vous exprimer, M. le Chevalier, combien Sa Majesté apprécie les éminents services que vous nous avez rendus, et je profite, &c.

(Signé) MOLTKE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

Sir H. Wynn to Count Moltke.

M. le Comte, *Copenhagen, July* 5, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of yesterday's date, informing me of the signature of Peace with Prussia and the German Confederation.

I have to request that in conveying to the King my sincere congratulations on this event, and my hopes that His Majesty and those who have remained faithful to him may, in a lasting peace, and in the returning allegiance of those who have been in error, find compensation for the troubles and sacrifices which they have for two years endured. Your Excellency will at the same time be the interpreter of my thanks to His Majesty for the gracious manner in which he is pleased to appreciate any services that it has been in my power to afford to his just cause.

I beg, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 35.

Count Reventlow to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July .)

Mon cher Vicomte, *Wilton Terrace, le* 11 *Juillet,* 1850.

PAR la copie ci-jointe d'une dépêche que je viens de recevoir du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à Copenhague, vous verrez, et je suis sûr avec plaisir, combien mon Gouvernement a été satisfait de la conclusion finale de la paix avec la Prusse et la Confédération Germanique, à laquelle personne a contribué autant que vous, Milord, par votre zèle infatigable et l'appui puissant que vous nous avez prêté durant les longues et pénibles négociations qui ont mené à cet heureux résultat.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) F. REVENTLOW.

Inclosure in No. 35.

Count Moltke to Count Reventlow.

M. le Comte, *Copenhague, ce* 4 *Juillet,* 1850.

C'EST avec une vive satisfaction que je m'empresse d'informer votre Excellence qu la paix entre le Roi notre auguste Souverain et Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, en son nom et en celui de la Confédération Germanique, a été signée le 2 du courant à Berlin. Un Protocole se rapportant à l'évacuation des Duchés de Slesvig, de Holstein et de Lauenbourg, par les troupes Prussiennes stationnées dans le Slesvig, ainsi que par les troupes neutres stationnées dans ce même Duché. et un Article Secret, par lequel Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse s'engage à prendre part aux négociations ayant pour but de régler l'ordre de Succession dans les Etats réunis sous le sceptre du Roi, ont été signés en même temps.

Aussitôt que ces trois documents auront été munis des ratifications Royales, j'aurai l'honneur de vous en faire parvenir copies.

Je remplis un devoir des plus agréables en exprimant à votre Excellence toute la reconnaissance dont le Gouvernement du Roi est pénétré du zèle et de l'habileté avec lesquels vous avez de votre côté contribué à l'œuvre qui vient d'être si heureusement accomplie; et en vous engageant d'informer préalablement le Gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne de la conclusion de la paix, j'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

(Signé) MOLTKE.

No. 36.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 13.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, July* 8, 1850.

YOUR Lordship will have been informed of the exchange of ratifications at Berlin, which has taken place more expeditiously than is usual in such cases.

That of the King of Prussia arrived this morning, but the Government, to prevent any unpleasant discussion or counteraction in the Duchies, will not publish the Treaty and Protocol till the former has received the ratification of the Confederation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 37.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 16.)

My Lord, *Vienna, July* 9, 1850.

PRINCE SCHWARZENBERG informed me this morning that he had received from Baron Koller, the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires in London, copy of the Protocol of the Conference held at the Foreign Office on the 4th instant, together with a copy of the Project of the Convention to regulate the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, and guarantee the integrity of that Kingdom as at present constituted, signed with the initials of all the Plenipotentiaries present, except the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, who had declared that, not being furnished with instructions, he must refer that project to his Court for consideration.

His Highness informed me that your Lordship had agreed to the altered wording of Article II of that Convention, as proposed by the Danish Plenipotentiary, but that the Austrian Government could not consent to it because, in its present form, the rights of the German Confederation to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg were not, in his opinion, sufficiently recognized and guaranteed.

I obtained some days ago, through the kindness of my French colleague, a copy of the Convention, which I supposed, when conversing with Prince Schwarzenberg, was the project originally proposed by your Lordship. I find, however, that Article II is identical with the project which I have received this day by post in your Lordship's despatch of the 5th instant, and not having a copy of the first I am ignorant of the difference. I believe, however, that I am correct in stating that what the Prince objects to is that part of Article II beginning with the words "de manière à faciliter," to the end of the paragraph, which, on the suggestion of the Danish Plenipotentiary, have been substituted for that part of the former Article.

I mentioned in my despatch of the 18th ultimo that Prince Schwarzenberg saw no difficulty in Austria's becoming a party to the original Project of Convention; and I allude to his present objections, which your Lordship will learn more fully from Baron Koller, merely because the Prince informed me that he could not furnish the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires with instructions on this subject by this day's post.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 38.

Baron Koller to Viscount Palmerston.

Milord, *Chandos House, ce* 20 *Juillet,* 1850.

POUR suppléer à la traduction que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous faire hier verbalement de la dépêche Allemande du 13 Juillet, je m'empresse d'en envoyer ci-joint un extrait à votre Excellence et la prie d'agréer, &c.

(Signé) A. B. KOLLER.

Inclosure in No. 38.

Prince Schwarzenberg to Baron Koller.

(Extrait.) *Vienne, le* 13 *Juillet,* 1850.

LE Cabinet Impérial partage le désir des Puissances, que l'état des possessions actuellement réunies sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté Danoise soit maintenue, et que l'ordre de Succession dans la Maison Royale soit dans ce but réglé d'une manière satisfaisante.

Mais en même temps il semble au Cabinet Impérial que la manifestation de ce désir ne demande plus une expression aussi formelle, depuis la conclusion du Traité de Paix du 2 Juillet, et que cet évènement pourrait engager les Puissances à réserver l'acte formel d'une reconnaissance Européenne au résultat des négociations sur l'ordre de Succession.

L'Autriche étant un des Etats qui composent la Confédération Germanique, le Gouvernement Impérial est en devoir de tenir ouverte la question, de quelle manière il faudra avoir égard, lors des négociations ultérieures, aux droits de la Confédération, droits que la Prusse avait été chargée par la Commission Centrale Fédérale de représenter, lors de la conclusion du Traité de Paix du 2 Juillet.

No. 39.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—Received July 22.)

My Lord, *Vienna, July* 16, 1850.

I INQUIRED this morning from Prince Schwarzenberg whether he had forwarded his instructions to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires in London, relative to the objections felt by the Imperial Government to the wording of the Protocol of the 4th instant, for securing the integrity and regulating the Succession to the Danish Monarchy as at present constituted. His Highness informed me that he hoped those instructions would be ready for transmission to Baron Koller to day; and he added, that the Danish Minister at this

Court, with whom he had spoken on the subject, was of opinion that the alterations proposed by the Austrian Cabinet would meet with no serious objection on the part of the Cabinet of Copenhagen.

Prince Schwarzenberg then read to me a despatch which he had addressed to Baron Prokesch, the Austrian Minister at Berlin, in reply to the invitation of Baron Schleinitz to the Imperial Government to assent to and ratify the Treaty of Peace concluded at Berlin on the 2nd instant by the Plenipotentiary of the King of Prussia, acting in his own name and in that of the German Confederation, and the Plenipotentiaries of the King of Denmark.

As his Highness read to me hastily this despatch, which is in German, I am unable to give your Lordship as complete an analysis of it as I could wish. I will endeavour, however, to mention some of its principal points.

Prince Schwarzenberg expresses the satisfaction of the Imperial Government at the conclusion of peace between Denmark and the German Confederation, and observes that Prussia has rendered so great a service not only to the Confederation but to Europe, by that Act, that the Imperial Government is more inclined to regard that general benefit, and to declare that the Prussian Government has earned a title of gratitude, than to criticise certain details which the former might object to. He declares that the Imperial Government will adhere to the Treaty in question, though it will not be a party to its ratification, which belongs rather to the Confederation assembled in Plenum than to its separate members.

He particularly objects to the IVth Article of the Treaty of Peace of the 2nd of July, first, because in the expression, "si sur cette réclamation la Confédération ne jugeait pas devoir intervenir pour le présent, ou que son intervention restât inefficace," the will and power of the Confederation to interfere appear to be placed in doubt; and next, because an inference might be drawn from its concluding words, "Sa Majesté Danoise sera libre d'étendre au Holstein les mesures militaires et d'employer à cet effet ses forces armées," that a member of the German Confederation is first bound to require Federal assistance to maintain its supremacy in case of revolt in its own dominions, before it can make use of its own force; a doctrine which Austria cannot sanction or admit.

The despatch concludes with the observation that the whole of these proceedings clearly prove the necessity of a generally recognised Federal authority, and expresses the conviction that no further time should be lost in constituting one.

I fear that the above is a very imperfect sketch of Prince Schwarzenberg's despatch, but I believe that I have alluded to some of its principal points.

I have reason to believe that this Government is prepared to take some important steps at Frankfort, in case the Prussian Government should decide on continuing the Provisional Government of the Union, which expired yesterday the 15th instant. Prince Schwarzenberg informed me that it was not because they were not prepared with such measures, that they had hitherto abstained from proposing them, but rather to prove their moderation and desire of coming to an understanding with the Prussian Cabinet, and to afford to the latter the longest period to arrive at an amicable arrangement of the German question; he did not, however, conceal that if no resolution was come to yesterday at Berlin, they would at once act at Frankfort.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 40.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 26.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, July* 16, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the draft of a Protocol of a Conference held at the Foreign Office on the 4th instant, between the Representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden; and a copy of another Protocol respecting the relations between Denmark and Germany, to which the greater part of the Plenipotentiaries present at the Conference affixed their initials.

In conversing yesterday on this subject with M. Séniavine, his Excellency said that he had not yet received from Vienna or Berlin any intelligence which gave him reason to believe that the Austrian or Prussian Governments were prepared to sign the latter of these documents. He seemed, on the contrary, to apprehend that there would be considerable difficulty in bringing the Cabinet of Berlin to agree to the stipulations which it contained, and that the Cabinet of Vienna also would not be found ready to enter into

the arrangement, as he had just received a despatch from Count Medem, stating that Prince Schwarzenberg had made some observations to him upon the omission of all mention in the Protocol, of the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg. M. Séniavine seemed to think that an objection to the Protocol on such grounds could only be attributed to a desire on the part of the Austrian Government to keep the question open for purposes of their own.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 41.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Magenis.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 26, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 9th instant, reporting the objection of Prince Schwartzenberg to the wording of the Second Article of the Annex to the Protocol of the Conference held at this office on the 4th instant, I have to observe that the Article to which Prince Schwarzenberg alludes stands as it did in the original draft proposed by Baron Brunnow, and to which Prince Schwarzenberg said he saw no objection. But if the Austrian Government wishes to make any reservation as to the rights of Germany, the other parties to the Conference would probably have no objection thereto.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 42.

Viscount Palmerston to the Representatives of Austria, Denmark, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden.

Foreign Office, July 29, 1850.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON presents his compliments to
and has the honour to transmit for consideration a Draft of the Protocol which was initialled on the 4th instant, altered so as to adapt it to the altered circumstances of the present moment; and Viscount Palmerston requests
to meet the other Plenipotentiaries at the Foreign Office on Friday next, the 2nd of August, at 5 o'clock, in order to take this Draft into consideration.

No. 43.

Mr. Milbanke to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 2.)

(Extract). *Munich, July* 28, 1850.

M. VON DER PFORDTEN questioned me more than once relative to the object of the Protocol signed in London on the 4th instant, and seemed particularly anxious to know, as well whether the Great Powers who were parties to it were agreed upon the individual who was to be called to the Succession, as in what manner they contemplated effecting a satisfactory arrangement. Upon these points I told him I was unable to give any information, but that if I recollected the sense of the Protocol rightly, it seemed to imply an understanding that the King of Denmark should first make known to the Conference his views on the question of Succession, and that His Majesty's communication should then form a subject for the further consideration of the Great Powers, who had only expressed a wish to see the Danish Monarchy maintained in its integrity.

As far as it is possible to form an estimate of public opinion, I think I can perceive throughout Germany a strong and rapidly increasing distrust and apprehension of the designs of Russia in respect to the Duchies; at any rate, here there is a marked change of mien and language whenever that Power is incidentally mentioned in connexion with what is passing there; and the prevailing notion is, that the Imperial Cabinet is intriguing to set aside the claims of the rightful heir to the Sovereignty of the German portion of the Danish Monarchy, in favour of a branch more closely allied to the Imperial Family.

No. 44.

The Chevalier Bunsen to Viscount Palmerston.

Légation Royale de Prusse, Londres, ce 1 *Août*, 1850.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, a eu l'honneur de recevoir avant-hier la note par laquelle M. le Vicomte Palmerston, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, en date du 29 dernier, l'invite à une Conférence à tenir au Foreign Office demain, Vendredi, sur le projet de Protocole annexé à la note.

Le Soussigné, en remerciant M. le Vicomte de cette communication, se trouve dans le cas de devoir lui déclarer qu'il n'est pas autorisé à concourir à un tel Protocole.

La réserve qu'il a cru devoir observer à cet égard à l'occasion de la Conférence du 4 du mois dernier, ayant reçu l'approbation entière de son Gouvernement, et des instructions nouvelles ne lui étant point parvenues, le Soussigné pourrait s'en référer simplement aux observations qu'il eût l'honneur de soumettre à M. le Vicomte Palmerston dans sa note du 6 Juillet, soit quant aux questions préalables et formelles, soit quant aux arguments matériels et spéciaux qui, dans la manière de voir du Gouvernement Prussien, militent contre un tel Protocole Européen, et surtout contre son adoption par la Prusse et l'Allemagne. Car le nouveau projet de Protocole ne diffère du premier (à l'exception des modification verbales introduites dans les Articles 3 et 4, en conséquence du fait de la conclusion de la paix) que par la clause ajoutée à l'Article 1 en ces termes: "sans préjudice aux relations des Duchés de Holstein avec la Confédération Germanique."

Or, cette clause est en elle-même très indéfinie: mais elle est en outre plus que neutralisée par une expression très précise et signifiante qui se trouve à côté d'elle: phrase nouvelle dans le droit public de l'Europe, et inadmissible pour l'Allemagne. C'est le terme, deux fois répété dans le second projet comme dans le premier: "intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise." Il est incontestable que ce terme doit être entendu dans le sens que le Duché de Holstein forme avec le Danemark et le Slesvig la Monarchie Danoise. Or, le Soussigné croit inutile de répéter ici les arguments et faits qui prouvent que ce terme n'est ni plus exacte en droit public, ni moins menaçant pour l'Allemagne en politique, que ne le serait l'expression "intégrité de la Monarchie Hollandaise," 'dans le sens que le Duché de Luxembourg fût censé former avec la Hollande la Monarchie Hollandaise. De telles parties intégrales de l'Allemagne ne peuvent jamais être considérées comme parties intégrales d'un Etat étranger: car si cela était vrai, elles devraient suivre la destinée de ces Etats, lorsque les conditions, dynastiques ou constitutionnelles, auraient cessé, sous lesquelles, et sous lesquelles seules, elles peuvent avoir le même Souverain avec l'Etat étranger. La Hollande pourrait perdre la dynastie qui la régit, et le nouveau Gouvernement Hollandais pourrait réclamer le Duché de Luxembourg, tout en protestant que cela se faisait "sans préjudice aux relations de ce Duché avec la Confédération Allemande." Une nouvelle dynastie en Danemark, étrangère à l'Allemagne, ou une nouvelle ligne n'y ayant pas droit de Succession, en pourrait dire autant quant au Holstein.

De plus, le terme "intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise" n'est pas un terme neutre, mais un terme de parti depuis quarante-quatre ans.

Le nouveau projet de Protocole ne diffère donc point essentiellement du premier, autant que l'Allemagne y est intéressée.

Mais le Soussigné doit appeler l'attention de M. le Vicomte Palmerston sur le fait important, que le Traité de Paix qui vient d'être conclu le 2 Juillet à Berlin, entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark, et le Protocole y annexé, ont réglé d'une manière claire et positive, la marche des communications futures entre ces deux Puissances sur les questions dont traite le Protocole, et que cet arrangement non suelement rend superflu la participation de la Prusse à un tel Protocole, mais exclut même une telle participation, au moins dans le moment actuel.

En premier lieu, le Roi de Danemark s'engage dans l'Article IV du Traité, à réclamer avant d'avoir recours aux armes, l'intervention de la Confédération dans le Duché de Holstein, et à manifester à cette occasion ses intentions quant à ce Duché. En second lieu, il est dit dans l'Article Séparé du Protocole, que ce Monarque prendra l'initiative quant aux mesures destinées à régler l'ordre de la Succession, et que le Roi de Prusse prendra part aux négociations qui s'ouvriront alors à ce sujet.

Ce sont ces deux points qui forment (et surtout le dernier), après que la question de la paix est résolue, l'objet de la sollicitude des trois grandes Puissances non-Germaniques, qui sont tombées d'accord sur le projet de Protocole.

Une telle sollicitude extraordinaire paraîtra peut-être moins réclamée par les circonstances, à une époque où les deux parties belligérantes, l'Allemagne et le Danemark,

viennent de s'engager à s'entendre directement et amicalement sur les points en question, et où un combat sanglant a éclaté de nouveau entre le Danemark et les Duchés, sur des questions purement constitutionnelles, combat qu'on ne saurait guère espérer voir se terminer d'une manière satisfaisante et durable, par un acte dictatorial de trois Puissances étrangères, déclarant qu'il est désirable que le Roi de Danemark reste à tout prix Duc de Slesvig et de Holstein. Mais en tout cas il devrait paraître étrange, que la Prusse, après un tel arrangement entre elle et le Danemark, dût changer la marche naturelle, régulière, légale, prescrite par le Traité de Paix, pour entrer dans la voie nouvelle, insolite et dangereuse d'un Protocole Européen. C'est du Roi de Danemark que la Prusse doit attendre des communications à ce sujet; c'est par ses communications qu'elle sera mise en état de juger de la justice, et par conséquenr de se prononcer sur la sagesse des mesures du Roi de Danemark, soit quant à la reconnaissance et garantie des droits du Duché de Holstein et de la Confédération, soit quant à un ordre de Succession destiné à tenir réuni, à une époque future, les différents Etats qui le reconnaissent pour leur Souverain.

Ces communications, le Roi de Danemark ne les a pas encore faites à la Prusse.

Jusqu'à ce que ces communications aient eu lieu, la Prusse devra évidemment, par toutes ces raisons, s'abstenir d'une participation au Protocole d'une Conférence Européenne, qui a pris l'initiative vis-à-vis de la Prusse dans cette affaire.

Et quant à ce sujet il faut que le Soussigné appelle l'attention du Principal Secrétaire d'Etat sur le fait, que s'il est dit dans le préambule du Protocole projeté, que les Puissances censées d'y concourir se sont réunies pour un tel Protocole, "à l'invitation du Roi de Danemark," ceci ne saurait certainement s'appliquer au Roi de Prusse, nommé dans ce même préambule. Car, autant qu'il conste au Soussigné, une telle invitation n'a pas été adressée à Sa Majesté jusqu'à ce jour. Il ne serait donc pas même conforme à la vérité, pour la Prusse, si elle devait s'associer à une telle déclaration.

Il faudrait bien, par conséquent, ou attendre que cette phrase fût devenue une vérité, ou l'effacer du Protocole. L'un et l'autre ne serait pas difficile.

Mais il ne serait pas si facile, surtout si l'on veut presser la signature d'un Protocole Européen dans le moment actuel, d'effacer de l'esprit public de l'Allemagne, et de tout Gouvernement Allemand qui se respecte, les faits suivants:

Que l'idée d'un tel Protocole Européen a été conçue par les Grandes Puissances non-Germaniques, non seulement sur l'invitation du Roi de Danemark, alors en guerre avec l'Allemagne, mais aussi à l'insu de l'Allemagne, exclue soigneusement, jusqu'au dernier jour, des conférences et négociations dont le premier projet est le résultat;

Que ce projet, ayant été rédigé dans la supposition que la paix fût encore à faire, reparait avec des modifications peu rassurantes;

Qu'il reparait après que non seulement cette paix a été conclue, mais aussi que la marche des communications directes entre les deux Puissances sur l'ordre de Succession et sur le lien Fédéral réglée d'une maniére claire, positive et prévoyante;

Que la Prusse est invitée, après tout cela. à abandonner une position inattaquable de droit et de politique, avant que le Roi de Danemark lui ait fait les communications dont il a promis de prendre l'initiative vers l'Allemagne, et avant qu'il lui ait manifesté ses intentions relativement au Duché de Holstein.

Le Soussigné ne doute nullement que M. le Vicomte Palmerston ne veuille prendre en considération sérieuse les raisons qu'il vient d'avoir l'honneur de lui exposer, comme lui prescrivant de s'abstenir de se rendre à son invitation pour la Conférence de demain, et il profite, &c.

(Signé) BUNSEN.

P.S. le 2 Août à 10 heures du matin.—Le Soussigné a retenu cette note jusqu'à l'arrivée de la poste d'aujourd'hui. Il a maintenant l'honneur d'y ajouter, qu'il vient de recevoir l'ordre précis de son Gouvernement de ne pas prendre part à la Conférence, et d'en exposer les raisons à M. le Vicomte Palmerston, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, dans le sens des considérations qu'il a eu l'honneur de lui soumettre dans la note présente.

B.

No. 45.

Protocol of a Conference held at the Foreign Office, August 2, 1850.

Présens :

Le Chargé d'Affaires d'Autriche;
Le Ministre de Danemark ;
L'Ambassadeur de France ;
Le Principal Secrétaire d'État de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères ;
Le Ministre de Russie ; et
Le Ministre de Suède et de Norvège.

LES Représentants réunis en Conférence au Foreign Office ont pris en considération les changements à apporter au projet de Protocole du 4 Juillet, rendus nécessaires par la conclusion du Traité de Paix signé à Berlin le 2 du même mois.

Les changements de rédaction ayant été adoptés par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de Danemark, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Russie, et de Suède et de Norvège, M. le Chargé d'Affrires d'Autriche a exprimé le désir de les soumettre préalablement à l'approbation de sa Cour.

En conséquence il a été résolu de procéder à la signature du Protocole, en le laissant ouvert pour la Cour d'Autriche.

La même décision a été prise quant à la Cour de Prusse, dont le Représentant n'a pas assisté à cette réunion.

(Signé) KOLLER.
REVENTLOW.
E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.
PALMERSTON.
BRUNNOW.
H. G. REHAUSEN.

No. 46.

Protocol of a Conference held at the Foreign Office, August 2, 1850.

Présens :

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche ;
de Danemark ;
de France ;
de la Grande Bretagne ;
de Russie ; et
de Suède et de Norvège.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, considérant que le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, lié aux intérêts généraux de l'équilibre Européen, est d'une haute importance pour la conservation de la paix, ont résolu, à l'invitation de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de constater le parfait accord qui subsiste entre leurs Cabinets quant au maintien de ce principe, et autorisé leurs Plénipotentiaires réunis en Conférence, à émettre en leur nom la déclaration ci-après :—

§ 1. Le désir unanime des dites Puissances est, que l'état des possessions actuellement réunies sous la domination de Sa Majesté Danoise soit maintenu dans son intégrité.

§ 2. En conséquence elles reconnaissent la sagesse des vues qui déterminent Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark à régler éventuellement l'ordre de Succession dans sa Royale Maison, de manière à faciliter les arrangements au moyen desquels le but ci-dessus mentionné pourra être atteint sans altérer les relations du Duché de Holstein avec la Confédération Germanique.

§ 3. Elles se félicitent que les négociations ouverts à Berlin sous la médiation de la Grande Bretagne aient déjà amené la signature d'un Traité entre le Danemark et la Prusse, en son nom et au nom de la Confédération Germanique; Traité qui, elles en ont le ferme espoir, aura pour résultat le rétablissement de la paix.

§ 4. Voulant de leur côté manifester dès à présent leur désir de faciliter en autant qu'il peut dépendre d'elles, la conclusion des arrangements mentionnés dans l'Article II du présent Protocole, les dites Puissances se réservent de se concerter entre elles, afin de donner à ces arrangements un gage additionnel de stabilité par un acte de reconnaissance Européenne. Il est convenu que cette délibération aura lieu à Londres, et que les dites Puissances muniront à cet effet leurs Représentants des pleins-pouvoirs nécessaires.

(Signé) REVENTLOW.
E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.
PALMERSTON.
BRUNNOW.
REHAUSEN.

No. 47.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 5.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 1, 1850.

THE Austrian Minister at this Court, Baron Prokesch, has received a copy of the instruction of the 25th ultimo, addressed by Prince Schwarzenberg to Baron Koller, in London, authorizing him in the event of the acceptance of the modifications proposed by his Highness in the 2nd Article, with a view to maintain the rights of Germany in respect to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, to sign the Protocol of the 4th of July, relative to the Succession to the Danish dominions; his Highness expressing an opinion in favour of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and adding that he could see no reason why Prussia should not likewise, if his alterations were adopted, accede to the Protocol. Baron Prokesch read to me this instruction, but as your Lordship is no doubt already in possession of it I need not enter into further detail respecting it.

The Austrian Minister, in communicating it to Baron Schleinitz, strongly urged him to send instructions to the Chevalier Bunsen to co-operate with Baron Koller, representing that Germany had a common interest with the Great Powers in maintaining the integrity of the Danish dominions, and that Prussia would, by signing the Protocol, which only contained a wish and not a formal guarantee, be only acting up to the engagement she had taken by the Secret Article of the Protocol of the 2nd of July last.

Baron Budberg, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, has likewise received a despatch from his Government, dated the $\frac{15}{27}$th ultimo, expressing the regret with which the Imperial Cabinet had learnt that the Prussian Government had approved of the course and of the reasoning adopted by the Chevalier Bunsen in remonstrating against the provisions of the Protocol as prejudicial to Germany, and stating that the Imperial Government was glad that M. Bunsen's six heads of argument (thèses) had not been communicated to it, otherwise it would probably have been under the necessity of protesting against the doctrine that the question of the Danish Succession was to be treated as a solely German, and not as an European question.

A copy of this despatch has, I understand, been sent to Baron Brunnow. As the communication made by the Prussian Minister at St. Petersburgh on this subject was only verbal, Baron Budberg was instructed not to read this despatch to Baron Schleinitz, but to state verbally the views of the Imperial Cabinet, which he accordingly did.

As the language of Baron Schleinitz, in answer to the Austrian and Russian Representatives, appears to have been pretty nearly identic, I will confine myself to a general summary of it. His Excellency objects to signing the Protocol and adopting the views recorded in it, because he says that before doing so it would be necessary to come to a decision on the previous question, as to whether it would be most for the advantage of Germany that the integrity of the Danish Monarchy should be maintained, or that, on the extinction of the present male line, the Danish possessions should be divided into two parts, the one Danish, the other German, passing respectively each to a different Successor.

By this observation Baron Schleinitz would appear not to be indisposed to favour the pretensions of the Duke of Augustenburg, although he last year gave me to understand that he would be willing to abandon them in case of a European arrangement being agreed upon for the general Succession, provided the Russian Imperial Family renounced its claims, and that he could obtain advantages for the union of the two Duchies.

With regard to the argument that Prussia, in signing the Protocol of the 4th of July, would only be acting up to the Secret Article of the Protocol of the 2nd of July last, Baron Schleinitz contends that the engagement recorded in the latter, to take part in the nego-

tiations of which the King of Denmark will take the initiative, so as to regulate the order of Succession in the States united under the sceptre of His Majesty, does not prejudge the line which Prussia may think best, in the interest of Germany, to take in the negotiations in question.

Baron Budberg, in replying to Baron Schleinitz, observed that if the Danish Succession was to be treated as a European question, Prussia could hardly think of successfully opposing the views of all the Powers who it was proposed should be parties to the Protocol; that if it was to be treated as a family question, then Prussia had nothing to do with it; and Russia would assert her claims if it were to be treated merely as a German question, against which his Court would remonstrate. There was another great German Power, Austria, which coincided with the views entertained by the other Great Powers of Europe in favour of the integrity.

Baron Prokesch read to me a despatch which he was writing to Prince Schwarzenberg, stating his impression that the feeling here was favourable to a division of the Danish possessions. In this despatch, in which he enters into a long and able argument, advocating the policy of keeping those dominions united, Baron Prokesch commences by doing full justice to the laudable motives and views of Her Majesty's Government and of the Russian Government, in endeavouring to bring the Succession question to a settlement.

In thus reporting to your Lordship the nature of the communications made to me by the Austrian Minister and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, I beg to state that I do not pretend to vouch for the words which I have employed being those in which they were conveyed to me, and that I have only endeavoured to make as brief a report as possible of their general substance.

Not having any instructions from your Lordship, I have not, in my interviews with Baron Schleinitz, entered upon the Succession question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 48.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)

My Lord, *Vienna, August* 6, 1850.

I CALLED Prince Schwarzenberg's attention this morning to the fact stated in your Lordship's despatch of the 26th ultimo, that the 2nd Article of the Annex to the Protocol of the Conference held at the Foreign Office on the 4th of July, stands as it did in the original draft proposed by Baron Brunnow, and to which his Highness had stated to me on a former occasion that he saw no objection.

His Highness replied that he had received unofficially from London, two or three drafts of the project in question, without being quite sure which was the real project; that he had forwarded to Baron Koller a project drawn up here, expressing the same desire announced in the Annex of the 4th ultimo, but more fully guaranteeing the rights of the German Confederation; and that your Lordship would before this have been put in possession of the views of the Austrian Cabinet on this subject, by their Chargé d'Affaires in London. He told me that Baron Koller's last despatches were of the 2nd instant, at which time his project had not been communicated to your Lordship, but he did not appear to fear that it would be less well received by the Conference in London than it had been by the Danish Minister here. His Highness added, Our signature as a German Power is of great importance; Prussia, who refuses to sign the Protocol, expressing the desire to maintain the integrity of the Danish Monarchy as at present constituted, wishes to persuade us to decline doing so also; we certainly then are justified in asking that the project should be drawn up in such a manner as to cover our responsibility as an European Power, and as a member of the German Confederation. We desire essentially the same thing as the other Powers who take part in the Conference, and we are ready to express that desire; it will then remain to be seen how it is to be accomplished.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 49.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 13.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 10, 1850.

AT the interview which I had to-day with Baron Schleinitz, I mentioned to him that I had received from your Lordship, for my information, copies of the Protocols signed in London on the 2nd instant, relative to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and I expressed the hope that Prussia, which had hitherto associated herself with the other Great Powers of Europe on all the questions that had been discussed in common, would not on the present occasion separate herself from them. I said I was the more inclined to entertain this hope, because during the negotiations for the Armistice of July 1849, and subsequently, I had never heard him express an opinion unfavourable to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish dominions; and, as he would recollect, he had even promised last November to turn his attention to drawing up a plan based upon that principle, which should secure to the Duchies the advantages he was desirous of obtaining for them in respect to their union.

Baron Schleinitz replied, that although the Protocol signed on the 2nd by the five Powers parties to it, only contained, as I had observed, the expression of a wish; and although he was ready to admit that the maintenance of the integrity of Denmark was a question of interest for Europe, yet before Prussia could associate herself to that wish, it was necessary that she should ascertain what arrangements were to be made concerning the Duchies, and, secondly, what was best for her own interests; for it was precisely the union of the different component parts of the Danish Monarchy, as at present constituted, which had brought about the complications of the last two years, and which had, at a period of great political excitement, forced her into a war from which she had now retired, and into which she did not wish again to be drawn. What Baron Schleinitz said was most important for Prussia was, that the eventual Succession to the Danish dominions should be settled, and Prussia would, according to the engagement contained in the Secret Article of the 2nd of July last, be ready to take a part in the negotiations to be opened on the subject; but notwithstanding the observations which I made, to prove that the European complications likely to arise, if the principle of the integrity were not affirmed, as was done by the Protocol, would be much more dangerous to Prussia and Germany than those which the connexion of a part of the Danish dominions with Germany might produce, his Excellency insisted that Prussia could not, as matters now stand, pronounce herself beforehand in the sense of the Protocol.

Baron Schleinitz added, that on one occasion he had shown M. de Reedtz a project by which the union of the two Duchies should have been established under a personal union only with Denmark, and by which Prussia should engage to assist in maintaining the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, but that the Danish negotiator had declined to entertain the plan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 50.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 13, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 1st instant, reporting the language held by Baron Schleinitz upon the question of the Succession to the several States now united under the sovereignty of the King of Denmark, I have to observe that this information is important, as proving that which the conduct of Prussia has long given strong reason to suspect, though it never has hitherto been openly avowed by the Prussian Government, namely, that the object of Prussia in regard to the Schleswig-Holstein question has been to dismember the Danish Monarchy, by separating the States which are now united under the sovereignty of the King-Duke.

But this is a policy which, though it may suit the separate and special views of Prussia, would not be conducive to the general interests of Europe, or to those of Great Britain in particular.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 51.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 13, 1850.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 6th instant, inclosing copies of the Protocols on the affairs of Denmark which were signed at this office on the 2nd instant, I have to desire that you will urge the Prussian Government to instruct their Representative here to sign them also.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 52.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir J. Milbanke.

Sir. *Foreign Office, August* 13, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 28th ultimo, reporting the substance of a conversation which you had had with the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the Conference held at this office on the 4th of July, on the affairs of Denmark, I have to instruct you to say to M. von der Pfordten, that it is not proposed or intended that the Conference of London should interfere with the arrangements which the King of Denmark may make in the order of Succession in his Royal House, with a view to maintain the political union of the States which are now under his rule; all that the proposed Protocol says on that matter is, that the parties to the Protocol approve of the intention of the King of Denmark to make such arrangements, and propose to give to those arrangements, when and after they shall have been made, an additional pledge of stability, by an European acknowledgment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 53.

Count Moltke to Count Reventlow.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Reventlow, August 14.)

M. le Comte, *Copenhague, le* 8 *Août*, 1850.

J'AI exactement reçu des mains du Comte F. de Moltke les expéditions importantes dont votre Excellence avait bien voulu le charger pour nous.

Vous aurez sans doute pressenti, M. le Comte, le vif intérêt avec lequel nous avons recueilli cette bonne nouvelle, que je m'empresserai de porter à la haute connaissance du Roi notre auguste Maître.

La signature du Protocole de Londres, en effet, est un événement de la plus haute conséquence.

Cet acte établit une expression collective de la ferme volonté des Grandes Puissances de maintenir à la fois l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise et la paix générale, qui, nous aimons à l'espérer, exercera une salutaire influence sur l'œuvre de la pacification et sur la situation politique de nos affaires en général.

Plus il est nécessaire que toutes les Puissances se réunissent pour obtenir ce but, plus nous devons regretter que le Cabinet de Vienne ait hésité encore à s'associer à une entreprise tout aussi conforme aux droits de Danemark, aux principes que proclame et que défend l'Autriche, que dictée dans l'intérêt bien entendu de toute l'Europe. Nous n'abandonnons pas l'espoir que cette Puissance y donnera plus tard son adhésion et lui assurera par là un succès plus complet. L'accord existant pour cet effet entre les Puissances amies, et nommément entre la Grande Bretagne et la Russie, l'une comme Puissance Médiatrice, l'autre comme Puissance amie intervenante, s'est manifesté maintenant de manière à faire sentir à la partie adverse la nécessité de renoncer à des prétentions inadmissibles, à inspirer à ceux qui poussent en Allemagne au renouvellement des hostilités avec le Danemark, des dispositions réellement pacifiques et à fortifier le courage de ceux des sujets du Roi dans les Duchés qui se trouvent jusqu'à l'heure qu'il est, sous le coup du régime de la terreur qui pèse sur ces malheureuses contrées. Bien que je sache, M. le Comte, que vous trouverez dans votre conscience intérieure la plus belle récompense des services que vous venez de nouveau de rendre à la patrie, je ne saurais

cependant pas omettre de vous offrir ici l'expression de notre reconnaissance, avec nos sincères félicitations d'être par vos efforts infatigables, auxquels se sont réunis ceux de Messieurs vos collègues, parvenu à obtenir la signature du Protocole.

J'approuve entièrement la rédaction de ce document, je le trouve en tout point conforme à nos intérêts, et je vous invite à saisir la première occasion qui se présente, pour vous rendre auprès de Lord Palmerston l'interprête de notre sincère reconnaissance de cette nouvelle preuve de l'intérêt et de l'amitié de cet illustre homme d'état pour le Danemark, et de son désir sincère de nous procurer les garanties dont nous avons besoin, que nous avons le droit d'exiger, et qui sont nécessaires pour ne point compromettre les fruits de la longue et épineuse médiation dont la Grande Bretagne a bien voulu se charger. Je prie également votre Excellence de vouloir offrir à chacun de Messieurs vos collègues qui ont appuyé vos efforts de leurs concours, nos sincères remercîments pour la manière distinguée dont ils ont accompli les instructions de leurs Gouvernements.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) MOLTKE.

No. 54.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 6, 1850.

THE account of the victory obtained by the Danes on the 15th ultimo over the Schleswig-Holstein army has given much satisfaction at this Court; and both the Emperor and the Hereditary Grand Duke, whom I saw last week at the camp at Krasnoe Sélo, expressed their unabated desire for the ultimate triumph of the Royal cause in the Duchies.

I had some conversation yesterday with M. Séniavine on the subject of the alterations which the Austrian Government are desirous to have introduced into the Protocol respecting the relations between Denmark and Germany, to which the greater part of the Representatives present at the Conference held at the Foreign Office on the 4th ultimo affixed their initials.

His Excellency read to me the changes suggested by Prince Schwarzenberg, and observed that some of them appeared rather trivial, but he gave me to understand that upon the whole he did not object to them, and that if Her Majesty's Government agreed to their adoption he did not think the Emperor would hesitate to do so also.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 55.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 16.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 13, 1850.

THE Austrian Minister here, Baron Prokesch, has shown me the copy of a despatch addressed by Baron Schleinitz to Count Bernstorff at Vienna on the 31st ultimo, on the subject of Prince Schwarzenberg's instructions of the 25th ultimo to Baron Koller, concerning the signature of the Protocol of London relating to the Danish Succession.

In this despatch Baron Schleinitz takes the same view as he did in his conversation with myself, as reported in my despatch of the 10th instant; he admits that motives can be put forward, in a European interest, in favour of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, but he observes that the complications of the Danish question in the latter years had arisen in great measure from the mixed composition of the dominions of the King of Denmark, and Prussia would therefore be unwilling to perpetuate such a state of things, by affirming beforehand the principle of the integrity.

Baron Schleinitz then states that the engagement contained in the Secret Article of the 2nd of July last does not impose upon Prussia any obligation to sign the declaration in the Protocol of London in respect to the integrity; that Prussia had declined in the negotiations for the Treaty, the proposition of the Danish Plenipotentiaries that she should declare her readiness to co-operate towards the re-establishment of a common order of Succession for all the States united under the sceptre of His Danish Majesty, and that by signing the Secret Article in its present form, she had adhered to the stipulations of the Preliminaries.

M. de Bielke has confidentially communicated to me the despatches of the 10th instant, which he has received under flying-seal from the Danish Minister at Vienna, and from which it appears that Prince Schwarzenberg, whilst expressing himself very favourably for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, is unwilling to accede to the Protocol, such as it was signed in London on the 2nd instant, considering that the wording of the 2nd Article does not contain a sufficiently distinct reservation of the rights of the Germanic Confederation, and objecting likewise to that of the Article expressing satisfaction at the conclusion of the peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 56.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 17.)

My Lord, *Vienna, August* 10, 1850.

NOT having heard from your Lordship, and in the expectation that the messenger from Berlin may bring me instructions on the 12th instant, I have not thought it advisable to call on Prince Schwarzenberg, although I have learned from the newspapers that the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires in London had declined signing the Protocol of the Conference held at the Foreign Office on the 2nd instant. I have this moment, however, seen my Danish colleague, Count Bille-Brahe, who has just returned from a conference with Prince Schwarzenberg, and I learn from him that his Highness positively refuses to accept the wording of the end of Article 2 of that Protocol. He states that it is impossible for him to do so, because it had been said in that Conference that the wording of that Article as proposed by Austria "was too vague," and suspicion of the possible good faith of the German Confederation had been implied, which at a moment when Austria was using every endeavour to reconstitute that Confederation, he could not tolerate.

His Highness likewise objected to the omission of the mention of the Duchy of Lauenburg in the Protocol, and said he could not agree to the felicitations expressed in Article 3, on the conclusion of a peace which had actually led to hostilities. He assured Count Bille-Brahe that the Austrian Minister at Copenhagen had informed him that the Danish Government agreed to and were perfectly satisfied with the project proposed by Austria, and he refused most explicitly to authorize Baron Koller to sign the Protocol agreed on and signed at the Foreign Office on the 2nd instant by the Plenipotentiaries of the other five Powers, as it stands at present.

I think it right to acquaint your Lordship with these details as I have learnt them from my Danish colleague.

The omission of the rights of the German Confederation to Lauenburg will probably necessitate an amended Protocol, in which those rights are mentioned; and it appears to me that an opportunity may thus occur, in which the Article in question may be so altered as to suit the views of the Austrian Cabinet, and by that means the unanimity of the Great Powers, which is so desirable on this important question, may be attained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 57.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 19.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, August* 13, 1850.

AFTER waiting nearly two hours this morning to see Prince Schwarzenberg, who was engaged in conferring with the various heads of his Departments on matters pending at Berlin and Frankfort, I was at last only able to see his Highness for a few minutes. He promised, however, to show me to-morrow the instructions which he proposed addressing to St. Petersburgh on the subject of the Protocol signed on the 2nd instant at the Foreign Office on Danish affairs; and I have in consequence decided upon keeping the messenger until to-morrow evening, when he will still be in time to catch the messenger from Berlin to Hamburgh.

With reference to that Protocol, his Highness expressed himself to me this morning very much in the same sense which I had the honour to report to your Lordship, in my despatch of the 10th instant, he had spoken to the Danish Minister. He read over Article by Article

the Protocol in question, observing pretty nearly as follows: with regard to Article 1 he said, that at the suggestion of Austria the expression "under the dominion of His Danish Majesty," had been substituted for "under the Crown," &c., and that he was satisfied. He said that Article 2 had been drawn up with great precipitation, that it omitted all mention of the Duchy of Lauenburg, which stood precisely in the same relation to the German Confederation as Holstein; he objected to the expressions "sans altérer les relations du Duché de Holstein avec la Confédération Germanique;" and added, that suspicion having been thrown on the loyalty of that Confederation in the objections made to the wording proposed by Austria, "en réservant les droits de la Confédération Germanique," that he was bound to support it. I could not help remarking, that though I acquitted Austria of participation, yet the German Confederation, he must admit, had shown but very little good faith respecting these very Duchies.

With regard to Article 3, he declared that he never would authorize the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires to sign it; that his doing so "nous fera siffler en Allemagne." He laid stress on the word "déjà," and ridiculed the hope expressed that the Treaty concluded on the 2nd of July at Berlin "would result in re-establishing peace." His Highness repeated what he has frequently stated, that he desired the same thing which we did, namely, to preserve the integrity of the Danish Monarchy as at present constituted; that Prussia, on the contrary, was averse, from motives of self-interest, to the maintenance of that integrity, and that the signature of Austria was of great weight and importance to the declaration of the Great Powers.

No. 58.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 19.)

My Lord, *Vienna, August* 14, 1850.

I CALLED on Prince Schwarzenberg this morning, by appointment, his Highness having promised to show me the instructions which he proposed to address to the Austrian Mission at St. Petersburgh respecting the Protocol on Danish affairs signed on the 2nd instant at the Foreign Office.

Instead of doing so, however, his Highness read to me the project of a new Protocol which he proposed sending to Baron Koller; he informed me he could not do so to-day, but he hoped to be able to forward it, together with the full development of the views of this Cabinet, to-morrow or the next day.

The project of the Protocol is as follows:—

The preamble and Article 1 are identic with the Protocol of the 2nd of August.

Article 2 is also the same, omitting the words from "sans altérer" to the end of that Article.

Article 3 is omitted altogether in the Austrian project.

Article 4 of the Protocol already signed becomes Article 3 of Prince Schwarzenberg's project, and a fourth Article is added of the following tenor:—

"Article 4. Il reste bien entendu que les stipulations du présent Protocole ne pourront porter préjudice aux droits de la Confédération Germanique."

I was kept waiting so long to see his Highness that I have not time to report the conversation which passed on this occasion; but nothing was said by the Prince, the omission of which I think is of importance, when your Lordship is furnished with the project about to be sent to Baron Koller for the consideration of the Conference.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 59.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 22.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 19, 1850.

IN execution of the directions contained in your Lordship's despatch to me of the 13th instant, I yesterday waited upon Baron Schleinitz, and I urged his Excellency to instruct the Prussian Representative in London to sign the Protocol of the 2nd instant, relative to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy. In so doing I observed to him, that the Protocol only contains the expression of a wish, and that it is not proposed that the Conference of London should dictate the arrangements which the

King of Denmark may make in the order of Succession in his Royal House, with a view to maintain the political union of the States which are now under his rule; that all the Protocol says on that matter is, that the parties to it approve of the intention of the King of Denmark to make such arrangements, and propose to give to them, when made, an additional pledge of stability by a European acknowledgment.

Baron Schleinitz at once requested me to leave your Lordship's despatch with him, which I did, and he stated his intention of replying in detail to the invitation contained in it.

He said that the Prussian Government had approved of the course adopted by the Chevalier Bunsen with respect to the Protocol; that they could not sign the Protocol recording the wish of the Powers for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, because that would be prejudging the question, and beginning with what might be the end; nor was the course adopted by the signature of the Protocol of London that which was pointed out by the Secret Article of the Protocol of the 2nd of July last, between Prussia and Denmark. The Prussian Government, which in this affair must consult the interests of Prussia, wou d therefore await the communications from the King of Denmark referred to in that Secret Article, and would then enter upon the subject of them.

I did not fail to submit to Baron Schleinitz that the interest of Prussia in this question appeared to be identic with those of the other Great Powers of Europe in favour of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish dominions; but he stated that not having yet acquired that conviction, he could not alter his line of conduct. He repeated that he should reply in detail to your Lordship's invitation to accede to the Protocol, and said he would communicate to me the despatch which he intended to address on the subject to the Prussian Representative in London.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 60.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 22.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 19, 1850.

WITH reference to the report in my preceding despatch, of my communication to Baron Schleinitz of your Lordship's invitation to the Prussian Government to instruct their Representative in London to sign the Protocol of London of the 2nd of this month, I took an opportunity of telling Baron Schleinitz, that in another despatch which I had received, your Lordship had observed to me that though a dismemberment of the Danish Monarchy, by separating the States which are now united under the sovereignty of the King-Duke, might be in conformity with the separate views of Prussia, yet such a policy would not be conducive to the general interests of Europe or to those of Great Britain in particular.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 61.

Viscount Palmerston to Count Perponcher.

Foreign Office, August 22, 1850.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON presents his compliments to Count Perponcher, and has the honour to inform him that a Conference will be held at this office to-morrow the 23rd instant, but that as Viscount Palmerston concludes that Count Perponcher is not authorized to assist at it, he merely writes to let Count Perponcher know, in order that it may not appear that there is any intention of excluding Prussia.

No. 62

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 13, 1850.

I HAVE had the honour to receive by the post your Lordship's despatch of the 3rd instant, inclosing copies of two Protocols, dated 2nd instant, respecting the affairs

of Denmark, and I beg leave to inform your Lordship that I communicated these Protocols to M. Séniavine yesterday, as his Excellency had not at that time received copies of them from Baron Brunnow.

The only observation which he made after comparing the Protocol respecting the integrity of the Danish Monarchy with the Draft which had been sent from Vienna was, that it was a great improvement on the Austrian Draft, and that he hoped the Protocol, as now signed by the other Powers, would ultimately be adopted by Austria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 63.

Count Perponcher to Viscount Palmerston.

Legation Royale de Prusse, Londres, ce 23 *Août,* 1850.

LE Soussigné, Chargé d'Affaires de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, a eu l'honneur de recevoir hier au soir la communication par laquelle M. le Vicomte Palmerston, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères, a bien voulu l'informer qu'une Conférence aurait lieu aujourd'hui à trois heures au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

Le Soussigné n'ayant point eu connaissance du but de cette Conférence, suppose que c'est au différend qui reste à vider entre le Danemark et les Duchés du Holstein et du Slesvig qu'elle a rapport. Si tel est le cas et si les questions qui déjà ont été traitées dans les Conférences du 4 Juillet et du 2 Août doivent encore faire le sujet de la discussion dans la Conférence en question, le Soussigné, pour les raisons que l'Envoyé du Roi, M. Bunsen, a eu l'honneur d'exposer à M. le Vicomte Palmerston par ses notes du 4 Juillet et du 2 Août, n'est effectivement point autorisé à y participer.

Le Soussigné n'est point dans le cas de prévoir, comme de raison, si les résolutions auxquelles la Conférence d'aujourd'hui pourrait conduire, porteront sur d'autres points que sur ceux au sujet desquels le Gouvernement du Roi a déjà eu l'occasion de se prononcer, et qui par là même pourraient être de nature à demander son concours.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) PERPONCHER.

No. 64.

Protocol of a Conference held at the Foreign Office, August 23, 1860.

Présens :

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche ;
de Danemark ;
de France ;
de la Grande Bretagne ;
de Russie ; et
de Suède et de Norvège.

LE Chargé d'Affaires d'Autriche a annoncé qu'il a été autorisé par sa Cour à adhérer en son nom aux principes énoncés dans le préambule et l'Article 1 du Protocole du 2 Août, 1850, ainsi qu'aux déclarations renfermées dans les Articles 2 et 4 ; bien entendu que les stipulations du susdit Protocole ne pourront porter préjudice aux droits de la Confédération Germanique.

Le Ministre de Danemark, en acceptant avec satisfaction l'adhésion ainsi donnée par la Cour d'Autriche au Protocole du 2 Août, a cru devoir rappeler de son côté, qu'il est bien entendu que les droits Fédéraux de l'Allemagne ci-dessus mentionnés ne sauraient s'appliquer qu'au Duché de Holstein et à celui du Lauenbourg comme fesant partie de la Confédération Germanique.

Les Représentants de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Russie, et de Suède et de Norvège, en rendant unanimement justice aux sentiments qui ont déterminé la Cour d'Autriche à adhérer aux principes établis par le Protocole du 2 Août, dans un intérêt général de paix et d'équilibre Européen, ont pris acte des susdites déclarations.

(Signé) KOLLER.
REVENTLOW.
E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.
PALMERSTON.
BRUNNOW.
J. G. REHAUSEN.

No. 65.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 26.)

My Lord, *Vienna, August* 20, 1850.

MY despatches of the 13th and 14th instant, which were forwarded by the messenger on the 14th instant, will have already informed your Lordship of the objections which Prince Schwarzenberg felt to the Protocol on Danish affairs signed at the Foreign Office on the 2nd instant, and acquainted you with the project of a new Protocol which the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires in London was authorized to sign, in case of its acceptance by the Plenipotentaries of the Powers who had subscribed the Protocol of the 2nd of August.

I felt that it would consequently be useless to urge the Austrian Government to instruct their Plenipotentiary in London to sign that document.

Prince Schwarzenberg read to me this morning the instructions which he had addressed on the 16th instant to Baron Koller, containing the project of a new Protocol, which I forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 14th instant, and his reasons for approving the reserve of Baron Koller in referring to the consideration of his Court the Protocol of the 2nd before signing it.

As Baron Koller has been instructed to communicate to your Lordship the despatch in question, it is unnecessary for me to allude to what you already are acquainted with; I will therefore merely observe, that Prince Schwarzenberg in reading these instructions to me, accompanied it by verbal explanations. He said, for instance, that the dispute between Denmark and the Duchies was not a struggle between a King on one side and rebellious subjects on the other, as some represented it; neither was it a tyrannical King desiring to trample down his unfortunate German subjects, as was represented on the other hand: however averse he was to the saying in general, that truth lay between the two extremes, in the present instance he thought it did. He laid particular stress on the paragraph in which he states that the antecedent conduct of Austria in this question ought to offer a sufficient assurance that when he desired to guarantee the rights of the Germanic Confederation, there was no covert intention to encroach on the rights of Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 66.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 27, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 13th instant, reporting the language held by Baron Schleinitz in his despatch to the Prussian Representative at Vienna upon the question of the Danish Succession, I have to observe that Prussia seems to have much altered of late her views and opinions on this Danish question, because the language held to me last year by Chevalier Bunsen, was that it was in the power of the King of Denmark to arrange all matters by repealing the *Lex Regia* of Denmark, and by settling the Succession to Denmark, Schleswig and Holstein, upon a Prince of Oldenburg, who, being a German, would be acceptable to Germany, and would thus inherit the three States without any further dispute.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 67.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 27, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 10th instant, reporting the substance of a conversation which you had had with Baron Schleinitz relative to the question of the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, I have to instruct you to ask Baron Schleinitz whether Her Majesty's Government are mistaken in supposing that if no fresh arrangement is made by settling the Succession to the several States now under the sovereignty of the King of Denmark, as King and Duke, Holstein would, at the death of the present King of Denmark and of his uncle, be divided into several fractions. Her Majesty's Government

have been informed that in such case the King of Denmark would lay claim to one part of Holstein, and the Emperor of Russia to Kiel and to a surrounding district, and that the rest would be subdivided among other claimants. If that is so, the conclusion seems inevitable that such a state of things would not be advantageous for Germany; and that, independently of questions which might arise in regard to the Succession to Schleswig, these various claims to portions of Holstein might occasion disputes leading to hostilities.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 68.

Viscount Palmerston to Count Perponcher.

M. le Comte, *Foreign Office, August* 27, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a further copy of the Protocol which was signed at this office yesterday, the 23rd instant, and I have to request you to draw the attention of the Prussian Government to the terms in which the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires has been authorized to accede to the Protocol of the 2nd of August; and I beg to express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the Prussian Government may feel disposed to accede to that Protocol in a similar way, that Protocol being still left open for the accession of Prussia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 69.

Count Perponcher to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August .)

Milord, *Légation Royale de Prusse, Londres,* 28 *Août,* 1850.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la note que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser en date du 24 du mois, en y joignant la copie du Protocole signé la veille au Foreign Office; et m'empresserai à la porter à la connaissance du Gouvernement du Roi.

C'est en vous exprimant, Milord, mes remercîments pour cette communication, que je profite, &c.

(Signé) PERPONCHER.

No. 70.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September* 1, 1850.

AS the best means of executing your Lordship's instructions, I yesterday read to Baron Schleinitz your despatch of the 27th ultimo, instructing me to ask him whether Her Majesty's Government are mistaken in supposing that if no fresh arrangement is made for settling the Succession to the several States now under the sovereignty of the King of Denmark, as King and Duke, Holstein would, at the death of the present King and his uncle, be divided into several fractions.

Baron Schleinitz replied, that some time ago the Prussian Government had submitted the question of the Succession in the Duchies to their Crown lawyers, who had reported as their opinion, that in the contingency referred to by your Lordship, the greatest part of Holstein, and a part even of Schleswig, would revert to the Duke of Augustenburg, and that the Royal House of Denmark had claims to a part, and indeed an important part of Holstein—the district of Pinneberg; but they had not made any mention of the claims of the Imperial family of Russia. Should, however, such claims on the part of the Emperor of Russia be proved on investigation to be valid, Prussia, Baron Schleinitz observed, could only submit to them.

I called his Excellency's attention to the complications alluded to by your Lordship as likely to arise from a subdivision, and from the Russian claims to or possession of the important German port of Kiel; but he remarked that the subdivision in question might not perhaps prove more injurious to German and Prussian interests than the maintenance

of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy; at all events public law would be upheld by it.

Baron Schleinitz took this opportunity of repeating to me the views which he has already frequently conveyed to me, and which I have had the honour of reporting to your Lordship in my former despatches relative to the Danish Succession question. He said that he did not by any means deny that there were considerations bearing upon European interests which spoke in favour of the maintenance of the integrity; there were, however, others connected with German and Prussian interests, which did not render an arrangement based upon it desirable, as it was precisely the union of the German Duchy of Holstein with the non-German dominions of the King of Denmark, which had given rise to the serious complications of the latter years; and it was not in the interest of Prussia that such a source of contentions should be perpetuated; Prussia could not, therefore, accede to the Protocol of the 23rd of August, and express beforehand a wish for the maintenance of the integrity, which maintenance might nevertheless be the result of the negotiations of which the King of Denmark is, according to the Secret Article of the Protocol of the 2nd of July last, to take the initiative for the purpose of regulating the order of Succession in his dominions, and in which Prussia would be ready to take part. In a previous conversation with me, Baron Schleinitz stated that if the union of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig were secured by the arrangements to be made, if the union between them and Denmark were converted into a personal union, and if their relations in respect to Germany were satisfactorily settled, he should then have no objection to the maintenance of the integrity; and yesterday he again alluded to a proposal he had made last year to the Danish negotiator, previous to the signature of the Preliminaries, that the King of Prussia should assist in endeavouring to uphold the integrity on the condition of the union of the Duchies. I beg, however, to remark that these latter observations of Baron Schleinitz cannot be taken as the final decision of the Prussian Government, but merely as indicative of the feelings with which they are likely to enter upon the negotiations. Baron Schleinitz told me, that having received from Count Perponcher your Lordship's invitation to accede to the Protocol of the 23rd of August, he should reply to it through the Prussian Representative in London, previous to his departure from Berlin, and that he would send me a copy of it.

In the course of my yesterday's conversation with his Excellency, I stated to him the remarks contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 27th ultimo upon the apparent alteration of the views of Prussia on the Danish Succession question since last year. He replied that if the King of Denmark should succeed in making such an arrangement as your Lordship referred to for settling the joint Succession to Denmark, Schleswig, and Holstein, after having satisfied the various claimants, Prussia would not oppose it. He added that he did not know what language the Chevalier Bunsen might have formerly held to your Lordship, but that he (Baron Schleinitz) had replied to the reproaches of inconsistency you had addressed to the Prussian Government on this question through Count Perponcher, and he promised to send me a copy of his answer. I then alluded to your Lordship's note of the 27th ultimo to Count Perponcher, and asked him whether he could not take any means, in furtherance of your Lordship's views, for the retirement of the Holstein army from its present threatening position, and for its reduction to the proper peace establishment. Upon this he observed that the Prussian Government had done what they could to prevent the renewal of hostilities, and the Stathalters had replied that their pacific overtures had been rejected by Denmark.

Your Lordship, he said, surely could not expect Prussia to employ coercion against the Holstein troops, her object in signing the peace having been to detach herself from all contact with the affair.

In conclusion, I asked Baron Schleinitz to be so good as to take measures before his departure, so that there might in his absence be no difficulties thrown in the way of the insertion in the Protocol which is to record the partial exchange of the ratification of the Treaty of the 2nd July, of the declaration which the Danish Government is anxious to introduce in it, and I received from him the assurance that he had already spoken upon the subject to M. de Sydow, and there would be no difficulty made in complying with the wish of the Danish Government. He had already told M. de Bielke he would admit of an allusion to the invitation of the Mediating Power.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 71.

Count Perponcher to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September .)

Milord, *Légation Royale de Prusse, Londres, ce 5 Septembre,* 1850.

L'INVITATION adressée à l'occasion de la communication officielle du Protocole du 2 Août par le Chargé d'Affaires de Sa Majesté Britannique, Mr. Howard, au Gouvernement du Roi, pour l'engager à y apposer également sa signature, ainsi que la note que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me transmettre en date du 27 du mois passé, et qui, sur l'accession de l'Autriche au dit Protocole, exprime l'espoir que la Prusse suivrait son exemple, ont déterminé le Gouvernement du Roi à exposer encore une fois succinctement les motifs qui, dans cette affaire, ont tracé sa manière d'agir, et qui lui imposent l'obligation d'y persister.

La dépêche de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Baron de Schleinitz, dont, sur des instructions reçues, je m'empresse, Milord, de vous transmettre une copie, en s'acquittant de cette tâche, démontre les raisons qui malgré les modifications apportées au Protocole du 2 Août dans la Conférence du 23 Août, n'admettent point sa signature de la part du Gouvernement Prussien.

C'est avec empressement, Milord, que je profite, &c.

(Signé) PERPONCHER.

Inclosure in No. 71.

Baron Schleinitz to Count Perponcher.

(Translation.) *Berlin, August* 31, 1850.

THE British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Howard, has, in compliance with the instructions of his Government, officially communicated to me the Protocol signed in London on the 2nd of this month, relative to the future relations of the territories united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, and has, at the same time, added the invitation, on the part of the British Government, that Prussia should likewise sign this Protocol.

With your report of the 28th of this month, the note of the British Minister of the 27th of the same month, relative to the accession of the Imperial and Royal Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, reached me.

I request you to declare to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the Royal Government, after mature and serious consideration, cannot even now consider it to be compatible with the engagements specially contracted by it, or with its duties towards Germany, to accede to this Protocol.

The whole affair has so often been the subject of discussion, that this refusal should be unexpected to the British Cabinet, or that a detailed statement of motives should be required.

Independently of the circumstance that, although in Article 1 of the Protocol there is only a question of the "état des possessions actuellement réunies sous la domination de Sa Majesté Danoise," an expression, "intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise," is employed in the Preamble, which has hitherto been foreign to the public law of Europe as a legal title of possession, which is at least dubious and can give rise to a derangement and an erroneous comprehension of circumstances; independently, further, of the circumstance that in the Protocol there is no mention at all of the Duchy of Lauenburg and its relations with Germany, the Royal Government must, by the engagement it has contracted to take part in the negotiation for the regulation of the question of the Succession of which His Majesty the King of Denmark is to take the initiative, consider itself bound not to forestal the march and result of these negotiations by a declaration which would beforehand imprint upon them a particular direction.

The object and subject of these negotiations can first of all only be, as the Preliminaries of the 10th of July of this year expressly state, to remove the doubts that have arisen relative to the Succession, consequently to ascertain what the documental law is.

The principle of decision in settling the question can only be this existing documental law, to which political expediency, even if it promoted the maintenance of the so-called integrity of the Danish Monarchy, would have to be subordinated; and it can only be shown in the negotiations, whether the claims of the latter can be brought into unison with the stipulations of the law. This is the position which both the German Great Powers and the German Confederation had already assumed in the transactions of the years 1846 and 1847.

Whilst, however, the Protocol of the 2nd of August makes no mention of this legal principle, but only of the importance of general political principles, that position of law, might appear to be endangered, and the Royal Government must therefore scruple to associate itself to such a declaration.

If this is demanded from the point of view of public law which is based upon right, Prussia must the more consider herself bound by her position as member of the German Confederation, totake part in no act which would imply a prejudcie to its rights.

The rights and competency of the German Confederation, which, in settling the question of the Succession, must essentially be discussed, are not reserved in the Protocol itself, in which there is only a question of the relations ("relations") of Holstein with it. The Royal Government cannot be of the opinion that this reservation could adequately take place by a one-sided declaration to be made by it in the Protocol, like that given on the part of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires. It can as little consider it proper for it to pronounce itself beforehand upon a question which so essentially affects the interests of the German Confederation, in favour of the particular principle, before the German Confederation, in its totality, has found occasion and opportunity to express itself thereon, and to take the necessary steps for the preservation of its rights and interests. It is solely the affair of the whole German Confederation to judge how the end, very naturally aimed at by the Royal Danish Government, stands with regard to its own interests and wants, and if the attainment of it can be surrounded with such guarantees and compensations that the Confederation could itself be induced to bind its hand to its accomplishment.

Before the German Confederation, after a common and detailed discussion on the part of its members, is in a position to pronounce a judgment hereupon, the Royal Government must abstain to express a wish or to give its approbation to endeavours which might eventually become at variance with the interests and rights ot the Confederation.

It must, on the contrary, expressly declare that these rights and interests in the case in point cannot in any manner be prejudiced by any acts of third parties, and that it protests, for itself and for the whole German Confederation, against all consequences which might be drawn from such acts, and reserves for the German Confederation its competency and the giving of effect to it.

The negotiations, of which it awaits the initiative from His Majesty the King of Denmark, will afford the opportunity of taking into mature consideration, and, as the Royal Government willingly and confidently hope, of reconciling all the considerations which the general political interests, the rights and interests of the German Confederation, and the claims of those having a right of Succession required.

You will give to the British Secretary of State this frank declaration, and you will communicate to him a copy of this despatch.

(Signed) SCHLEINITZ.

No. 72.

Baron Schleinitz to Count Perponcher.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Perponcher, September 15.)

(Translation.) *Berlin, August* 29, 1850.

IN your political despatch of the 26th instant, you gave me a report of an interview with Lord Palmerston on the subject of the Danish affairs, which makes it my duty to return to this, because the expressions of the British Secretary of State exhibit a conception of the position of the Prussian Government which I cannot but wish to see essentially rectified.

This conception manifests itself chiefly in two points, which assume the character of an inculpation of the Prussian Government.

The first is that the Prussian Government has altered its views, and that its present objection to signing the Protocol of the 2nd August is not in consistency with the obligations it assumed by the Secret Article of 2nd July.

The second, that it is tending to produce the eventual separation of Holstein from the Danish Government.

As to the first point a simple inspection of the documents existing, relative to the whole course of the negotiations, and which must be accurately known to the British Secretary of State, will be sufficient to demonstrate the groundlessness of this inculpation.

It is not the first time that Prussia has declined to make a declaration in favour of the so-called integrity of the Danish Monarchy, or, what amounts to the same thing, the indissolubility of the union of the Duchies with it. The British Secretary of State will without doubt remember that in the course of the negotiations of the spring of 1849, the

"indissoluble union" proposed by the Danish Government to be inserted in different Protocols, was by his own co-operation changed to "political union," and that it was declared by himself on that occasion, that the latter expression did not prejudge the durability of the connexion, and this because Prussia would not and could not recognize the other expression.

In the Preliminaries of Peace of the 10th of July last year, the object of the negotiations about to be entered on was stated to be, "afin de prévenir les complications qui pourraient résulter des doutes soulevés relativement à l'ordre de Succession;" and it was expressly added, that the stipulations of the Preliminaries should in no wise affect the question of Succession, or the right of any parties.

When the negotiations for peace were opened in January last, the first draft of Article 12 proposed by the Danish Plenipotentiary on the 17th January contained the following passage:

"L'union politique qui rattache le Duché de Slesvig à la Couronne Danoise est perpétuelle."

In the declaration of the 19th February, made on the other side by the Prussian Plenipotentiary, this was expressly rejected; and in a statement of the motives for the rejection it was alleged that such a declaration was incompatible with the preceding negotiations, the Preliminaries of Peace, and the attitude assumed therein by Prussia.

That the question remained an open one was expressly acknowledged in the Réplique Danoise of the 22nd March (Article 5, page 18), and subsequently in the Danish draft of 17th March, the demand of a declaration bearing the indissolubility of the union was abandoned, and it was only required that no Articles should be admitted in the Treaty intimating a contrary determination of the question, a demand which was never entered upon by the Prussian Government.

As Prussia at that time had already declined a declaration on the indissolubility of the union even of Schleswig, it really cannot indicate a change of attitude if she refuses a similar declaration when extended to Holstein,

In the present course of the negotiation this point did not again come under discussion until the period when on the occasion of sending the Prussian Lieutenant-General von Bülow to Copenhagen, the Chamberlain von Reedtz declared to him that the Danish Government could not but wish that in concluding the peace, the question of the order of Succession should be taken into consideration,

The Prussian Government then again declared in what sense and with what object it could alone take part in such negotiations; and while it rejected the position desired on the part of Denmark, that is to say, that the restoration of an order of Succession common to all the territories united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark should be the object of the negotiations, it assented to the tenor of the Secret Articles corresponding with the Preliminaries of the 10th July, which by the words, "à l'effet de régler l'ordre de Succession," as well as by the rejection of any other arrangement, most clearly proves that the Prussian Government even at that time would not establish a principle anticipatory of the result of a negotiation not yet opened, as it would have done by acceding to the Protocol of the 2nd August.

All these points must be perfectly well known to the British Secretary of State, and it seems scarcely necessary to recall them to his recollection. But all these points also prove that the attitude of the Prussian Government from the beginning until this moment has remained unchangeably the same.

In the Preliminaries of the year 1849, it assumed the obligation of lending its aid in removing the doubts which had arisen on the Succession question; it has again taken this obligation, and no other, by the Treaty of the year 1850, and it is ready to discharge it. But it has always openly declared that it could not, nor would it undertake any further obligation, and that the manner in which the doubts should be removed, and the Succession question decided, must be only apparent from the negotiation itself.

Prussia as well as Germany, has an undoubted interest in the decision of the question; but she has as great an interest that this question be not decided without full regard to all existing rights, and to the claims and interests of the German Confederation; for otherwise the very doubts to be removed would constantly recur again, and the most deplorable complications would reappear. The Prussian Government must therefore insist that the point of view in this matter may not be again removed, and that the result of the negotiations may not be prejudged by laying down for them a leading principle, and that, perhaps, other than the true one.

With respect to the second point, in the conception of the British Secretary of State, namely, the reproach that Prussia shows a desire to separate Holstein from Denmark, I have to make the following observations.

The Prussian Government has never lost sight of the weighty European interests which may be attached to the maintenance of that territorial union which it has been usual to name the Danish Monarchy, although this expression is in every point of view as inexact as if some years ago Hanover had been included under the British Monarchy, and a political value cannot be attached to the expression. It has not kept out of view that so essential a diminution as would result from a separation of the two, or even of one of the Duchies from Denmark, would endanger the stability and existence of the whole State, whose maintenance, without doubt, is a matter of European interest. It has even shown itself ready to take part in negotiations, with the object of endeavouring to find, according to the very natural wish of the King of Denmark, whether this object desired by Denmark may be attained in a way which may conciliate the rights and interests of all parties.

But, on the other hand, as a German Power, and a member of the German Confederation, it has not been able to hide the disadvantages and complications springing from the connexion of German Federal territories with foreign countries. It is not now the first time that these complications show themselves; but the events of recent years have shown more obviously than ever how great may be the embarrassments and confusion arising from them. It has never entered into the ideas either of the German Confederation or of Prussia, to contend against existing rights and well-grounded possessions, on account of these inconveniences. But before the Prussian Government can lend its hand to render perpetual such a state of possession, bound up as it is with decided difficulties and disadvantages, and to declare that state unalterable, it must be convinced that guarantees and counterpoises exist, which, in the interest of the German Confederation, may outweigh these disadvantages and dangers, and serve to obviate eventual embarrassment. Whether such guarantees can be given for securing to these countries a close union, materially and politically, with the German Confederation, as might perhaps be found in their being bound up in the general provisions regulating the Federal territories, in pure personal union with the other portions of the Monarchy, and in full independence and self-government as to internal constitution; whether the guarantees offered may be suitable to the interests and the rights of the German Confederation—this cannot be known but from the result of the negotiations.

The interest of the German Confederation is closely connected with that of the Prussian Government, and the latter cannot accede to any declaration, even of a wish or of an opinion, until it has obtained from the negotiation a conviction that the realizing such a wish or opinion is in accordance with the true interests of the German Confederation.

But it is not in any way to be forgotten, that in the matter before us there is no question of making changes in things now existing, but of introducing something new; that is to say, to declare the indissolubility of a union which has hitherto never been recognized as indissoluble, but which rather, under certain contingencies (and as it has been acknowledged by Denmark herself in the public letter of the 8th July, 1846, in reference to single portions), has been always looked upon as subject to dissolution. The Prussian Government must therefore reserve to itself the right of bringing both sides of the question seriously under review in the forthcoming negotiations.

This is the sense in which I have invariably expressed myself, and these are the principles which will be maintained by the Prussian Government.

I request that you will read this despatch to the British Secretary of State, and place before him clearly the attitude of the Prussian Government, declining decidedly any other view of the matter.

(Signed) SCHLEINITZ.

No. 73.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 6.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, September* 2, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch inclosing a copy of the Protocol signed in London on the 23rd.

The Government had already, two days previously, been informed by the way of Ostend, of the signature having at length taken place, and I have been particularly requested by M. de Reedtz to express the sincere gratitude of the Government for your Lordship's exertions in bringing about a measure from which they expect so beneficial a result.

Twenty ratifications of the Treaty of Peace by the small Powers of Germany were yesterday received from Berlin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 74.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 6.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September* 3, 1850.

HAVING received from the Prussian Foreign Department the copies which Baron Schleinitz promised me of his instructions to Count Perponcher, dated the 30th and 31st ultimo, the one relating to your Lordship's observations on the line of conduct pursued by the Prussian Government on the Danish Succession question, and the other declining to accede to the London Protocol of the 2nd of August; I have the honour of transmitting herewith a translation of the latter,* in case you should not already have received a copy of it, which Count Perponcher is directed to communicate to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 75.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 9.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September* 5, 1850.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 3rd instant, I have now the honour of transmitting a translation of Baron Schleinitz's despatch of the 30th ultimo to Count Perponcher,† on your Lordship's observations relative to the line of conduct pursued by the Prussian Government in respect to the Danish Succession question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 76.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 13.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 3, 1850.

AT an interview which I had yesterday with M. de Séniavine, his Excellency read to me two despatches which he had addressed to the Russian Minister at Vienna, the one on the 31st ultimo and the other on the 2nd instant.

The first alluded to the difficulties which had been raised by the Austrian Government upon the subject of the Protocol on Danish affairs signed in London the 2nd of August; and it expressed the regret of the Russian Government at the little readiness which had been evinced at Vienna to unite themselves to the other Powers in this affair.

The second was an answer to an inquiry which had been made by Prince Schwarzenberg as to the present feelings of the Russian Government respecting the renewal of diplomatic relations with the Germanic Confederation.

In this despatch, M. de Séniavine, besides referring to the present disorganized state of the Confederation, declares, that though the Danish question has undergone a material change since the communication made by Prince Gortchakoff last winter at Frankfort, stating the conditions upon which he was authorized to deliver his letters of credence to the body at that time representing the Confederation, the Emperor must still decline accrediting a Minister at Frankfort until such time as all the States composing the Germanic Confederation shall have ratified the Treaty of Peace concluded at Berlin on the 2nd of July between Prussia and Denmark, under the mediation of England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

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* See Inclosure in No. 71. † No. 72.

No. 77.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 13.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, September 3, 1850.*

WITH reference to the Emperor of Russia's disinclination to accede to the request of the King of Denmark for military assistance, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I spoke on the subject yesterday to M. Séniavine, and that he confirmed the accuracy of the intelligence which I had forwarded to your Lordship.

He gave me at the same time to understand that the Russian Government were anxiously awaiting intelligence from London, as they wished to learn the manner in which your Lordship proposed to carry out the stipulations of the Protocol of the 2nd ultimo.

From other sources I hear that so far from there being a disposition on the part of the Emperor to assist Denmark in the manner requested, His Imperial Majesty would not on any account risk the sending abroad a small force at this season of the year, as they would be necessarily almost immediately cut off from Russia during the winter.

I hear also that the Emperor is at the present moment dissatisfied with the King of Denmark, in consequence of intelligence which has reached him, of His Danish Majesty being disposed to adopt Prince Christian of Glücksburg as his successor.

No. 78.

Baron Brunnow to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September .)

Ashburnham House, ce $\frac{6}{18}$ Septembre, 1850.

LE Baron de Brunnow présente ses compliments à M. le Vicomte Palmerston et s'empresse de lui communiquer, ci-jointe, une dépêche de M. Séniavine, adressée durant son absence à M. de Berg.

Cette dépêche exprime le désir du Cabinet Impérial de faire proposer à la Prusse, au nom des Puissances signataires du Protocole du 23 Août, d'y accéder de son côté et sous les mêmes réserves qui ont accompagné l'accession de l'Autriche.

Le Cabinet Impérial, en communiquant cette idée au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, attache un vif intérêt à connaître le point de vue sous lequel il voudra bien l'envisager.

Le Baron de Brunnow, en s'acquittant de cet ordre, a l'honneur de prier son Excellence M. le Vicomte Palmerston d'avoir la bonté de le mettre à même de faire connaître au Cabinet Impérial le jugement que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique aura porté sur l'objet de la présente proposition.

En priant son Excellence de vouloir bien en son tems lui faire restituer les annexes, il saisit, &c.

Inclosure 1 in No. 78.

M. Séniavine to M. de Berg.

Monsieur, *St. Pétersbourg, $\frac{26 \text{ Aout}}{7 \text{ Septembre}}$,* 1850.

UN des derniers rapports du Baron de Brunnow annonce l'adhésion de la Cour de Vienne au Protocole du 2 Août qui constate la reconnaissance Européenne du principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise. Je n'ai pas perdu un moment à faire parvenir ce résultat à la connaissance de l'Empereur, et vous jugerez de la haute satisfaction que Sa Majesté Impériale en a éprouvée par la dépêche ci-jointe que j'adresse à notre Ministre à Vienne.

L'accession de l'Autriche au Protocole de Londres a complété l'isolement où la Prusse s'est laissé placer par la protestation de M. Bunsen. Il n'est guère à supposer que cet isolement puisse à la longue lui convenir, à moins qu'elle n'y trouve de nouveaux titres à la popularité. Dans aucun cas il ne saurait être indifférent aux Puissances qui ont pris part au Protocole, de voir la Prusse persévérer dans son opposition au principe que ce Protocole a consacré, et se renforcer même par l'assentiment d'une grande partie de l'Allemagne. C'est donc à la faire revenir sur ses résolutions que doivent tendre les soins des autres Cabinets. La dépêche ci-jointe au Baron de Budberg a été conçue dans cette pensée. Elle répond à quelques uns des arguments que M. Bunsen a cherché à faire valoir contre le

Protocole. Mais il semble que dans le cas présent ce sont moins des arguments que des procédés qui pourraient engager le Cabinet de Berlin à renoncer à son attitude. Ce qui parait avoir principalement influé sur ses déterminations, c'est le fait, vrai ou supposé, qu'il n'a pas été formellement, ni en temps utile, invité à prendre part aux Conférences de Londres. Le sentiment qu'il en a éprouvé se trahit dans toutes ses explications sur le Protocole. Ce serait donc lui faciliter en quelque sorte le retour à des déterminations plus conformes à une saine politique que de lui proposer aujourd'hui, au nom des Puissances signataires du Protocole, d'y accéder de son côté, et sous les mêmes réserves qui ont accompagné l'accession de l'Autriche. Quel que soit le résultat de cette démarche au moins elle enlèverait tout prétexte au refus de la Prusse, et les autres Puissances auraient épuisé tous les moyens de conciliation en leur pouvoir pour l'associer à leur marche politique.

Je vous engage, Monsieur, par ordre de l'Empereur, à faire part de cette idée au Ministre Britannique en lui communiquant la présente dépêche et ses annexes. C'est avec un juste intérêt que Sa Majesté Impériale attend à connaître le point de vue sous lequel il l'envisagera.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) LEON SENIAVINE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 78.

Count Nesselrode to Count Medem.

St. Pétersbourg, le $\frac{26 \text{ Aout}}{7 \text{ Septembre}}$, 1850.

MA dépêche du 19 Août relative au Protocole de Londres était préparée quand un nouveau rapport du Baron du Brunnow est venu nous annoncer l'adhésion formelle du Cabinet de Vienne aux principes que cet Acte est destiné à consacrer. Le nouveau Protocole, signé au Foreign Office le 23 Août N.S., sert donc à compléter un arrangement auquel notre auguste Maître attache un haut et juste intérêt. Sa Majesté Impériale en éprouve d'autant plus de satisfaction qu'elle voit l'Autriche se replacer sur la même ligne avec les autres Puissances pour le maintien d'un principe que les promoteurs de la guerre de Danemark prétendaient exclure du droit public Européen. Je prie votre Excellence de témoigner au Ministère Autrichien combien Sa Majesté apprécie la résolution qu'il a prise.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) NESSELRODE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 78.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Budberg.

St. Pétersbourg, le $\frac{26 \text{ Aout}}{7 \text{ Septembre}}$, 1850.

LE Ministère Impérial vient d'être informé par les rapports du Baron de Brunnow de la signature du Protocole du 23 Août par lequel le Cabinet de Vienne a déclaré son adhésion au principe du maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité actuelle. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire, M. le Baron, combien l'Empereur en a été satisfaite. Les réserves sous lesquelles le Baron de Koller a eu l'ordre d'annoncer l'accession de sa Cour ont pu être admises d'autant plus aisément que le Protocole du 2 Août en lui-même n'a aucunement pour but ni ne saurait avoir pour effet dans son application, de nuire aux droits justement reconnus de la Confédération Germanique. D'ailleurs le principe qu'il est destiné à consacrer n'est pas un principe nouveau. S'il n'a pas trouvé jusqu'à présent son expression formelle dans un acte public, le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise n'en a pas moins été pour les Grandes Puissances, même avant les évènements de 1848, un objet de sérieuse sollicitude. Ce qui le prouverait c'est que dès l'année 1845, elles reconnurent au Roi de Danemark l'initiative des arrangements à prendre pour régler la Succession au Trône, de manière à concilier les droits éventuels des agnats avec la conservation de l'intégrité de sa Monarchie. A plus forte raison elles se croient appelées à consacrer formellement ce principe, depuis que les agitations des dernières années ont mis au grand jour les prétensions et les projets du parti Révolutionnaire en Allemagne. Le Protocole du 2 Août, corroboré par l'adhésion de l'Autriche, est un acte essentiellement conservateur, dont l'Allemagne reconnaîtra elle-même les conséquences salutaires. En le laissant ouvert pour la Prusse, les autres Cours ont voulu offrir un juste témoignage d'égards au Cabinet de Berlin. Il dépendra de lui d'en profiter et de compléter ainsi pour sa part l'œuvre de pacification que le Traité du 2 Juillet a si heureusement commencée.

Je vous engage, M. le Baron, à présenter ces considérations au Ministère Prussien en lui exprimant l'espoir où nous sommes que la Prusse ne voudra pas se tenir plus longtemps isolée des autres Puissances dans une question qui touche de si près au maintien de la paix générale.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) NESSELRODE.

No. 79.

Viscount Palmerston to Count Perponcher.

M. le Comte, *Foreign Office, September* 24, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of and to thank you for your note of the 5th instant, communicating the copy of a despatch from Baron Schleinitz, in explanation of the reasons which prevent the Prussian Government from authorizing their Representative here to sign the Protocols upon the affairs of Denmark, which have been agreed to at the several Conferences held at this office; and I have to express the regret of Her Majesty's Government at the difference of opinion which seems to exist between the Government of Prussia, on the one hand, and the Governments of England, Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden, on the other, as to the expediency of maintaining the union between the States which are under the domination of the King of Denmark.

Her Majesty's Government will not on this occasion enter at length into the reasons which lead them to entertain the opinion which they hold on this matter, but I must be allowed to say, M. le Comte, that it seems to Her Majesty's Government that the continuance of the above-mentioned union would be conducive to the interest of Germany as well as to the general advantage of Europe.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 80.

Viscount Palmerston to Baron Brunnow.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 27, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 21st instant, communicating to me a despatch addressed to you by M. de Séniavine on the $\frac{2}{14}$th instant, and inclosing a copy of a despatch addressed by that Minister to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, by which it appears, first, that the Russian Government has urged the Prussian Government faithfully to execute its engagements under the Treaty concluded by Prussia on behalf of the Germanic Confederation with Denmark on the 2nd of July last; and secondly, that the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh has concurred with the British Government in recommending the Danish Government to adopt a conciliatory policy in regard to the administration of affairs in Schleswig and in Holstein.

In returning to you these papers, and thanking you for the communication of them, I have the honour to state to you that it affords very sincere pleasure to Her Majesty's Government to find that such an agreement of views and opinions exists between the Governments of Great Britain and of Russia upon matters so important in their bearing on the general interests of Europe.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 81.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 1st instant, reporting the substance of a conversation which you have had with Baron Schleinitz, upon the question of the Danish Succession, I have to instruct you to represent to Baron Schleinitz, that some of the arguments used by him do not seem to tally with some of the conclusions at which he would arrive; for while, on the one hand, he objects to the maintenance of the integrity of

the Danish Monarchy, because it would tend to perpetuate a union between a German and a non-German State, that is to say, between Holstein and Denmark, he is, on the other hand, desirous of cementing and perpetuating precisely the same sort of union in another case, by an intimate union between Holstein, which is a German, and Schleswig, which is not a German State.

With reference also to Baron Schleinitz's remark that it is the union of Holstein with Denmark which has been productive in late years of serious embarrassments and complications, it is to be observed that those embarrassments and complications have arisen not out of the connexion between Holstein and Denmark, but out of the alleged claim of Holstein, a German State, to be united with the non-German Duchy of Schleswig.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 82.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 30, 1850.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 5th instant, inclosing a translation of a despatch which has been addressed by Baron Schleinitz to Count Perponcher, on the subject of the line of policy adopted by the Prussian Government with respect to the question of the Danish Succession, I have to instruct you to state to Baron Schleinitz, that as the Prussian Government appear to have finally resolved to separate itself in regard to this matter from Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, and has determined not to be a party to the Protocol of the 2nd of August, Her Majesty's Government forbear from pressing the Prussian Government any further on this subject, but Her Majesty's Government cannot, however, refrain from observing that the reasoning in this despatch from Baron Schleinitz turns upon an assumption that the Protocol is different from what it really is; for a very cursory perusal of the Protocol and of the despatch will serve to show that the objections and arguments of the despatch are not in any degree borne out by the contents of the Protocol, and that the Prussian Government might have acceded to the Protocol with perfect consistency, retaining all the opinions stated in the despatch, with the single exception of the opinion never till lately expressed by, or known to be entertained by, the Prussian Government, that it is more desirable that Holstein should be separated from Denmark than that the two should continue to be united. So little was this opinion ever till lately expressed, or supposed to be entertained by Prussia, that the Minister of Prussia at this Court frequently dilated last year in conversation, not only with me but also with some of his diplomatic colleagues at this Court, upon the facility with which the King of Denmark might settle all difficulties by doing the very thing his intention to do which is approved in the Protocol of the 2nd of August, namely, by so arranging the order of Succession in his several States that they might all continue under the sovereignty of one and the same person; and the Prussian Minister even suggested as an idea of his own indeed, and not as a proposal of his Government, that the very person whom it is understood the King of Denmark has had in view might be chosen for the aggregate inheritance.

It is not the wish or intention of Her Majesty's Government to enter into a detailed answer to the despatch of Baron Schleinitz, but I must be allowed to remark, that when that despatch represents the relative position of Holstein towards Denmark to be the same as the relative position in which Hanover stood towards Great Britain before the reign of Her present Majesty, Baron Schleinitz seems to overlook not only geographical differences, but most essential historical diversities. In fact, no transactions ever took place between Great Britain and Hanover of the same kind as those which, in the fourteenth century, took place between the King of Denmark and the Dukes of Holstein.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

P.S.—You will read this despatch to the Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and you will give him a copy of it.

No. 83.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

My Lord, *Berlin, October 9, 1850.*

I YESTERDAY had an interview with General de Radowitz, at which I commenced by reading to him an extract from my despatch to your Lordship, reporting the objections stated by Baron Schleinitz to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, founded upon the complications arising from the union of the German Duchy of Holstein with the non-German possessions of the King of Denmark.

I then read to the General your Lordship's despatch to me, of the 30th ultimo, commenting upon those observations of Baron Schleinitz.

General de Radowitz at once said, with reference to Baron Schleinitz's remark as to the interests of Prussia, that Prussia had no particular interest of her own in the matter; that what she wished, in respect to the settlement of the Danish Succession, was an arrangement which should satisfy the interested parties; that the Prussian Government had no objection to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and would be ready to agree to any arrangement based upon that principle, satisfactory to those parties. The Prussian Government, however, were unwilling to accede to the Protocol of the 2nd of August last, because they considered that by so doing they should be prejudicing the claims of the parties in question.

With regard to the views which Baron Schleinitz had conveyed to me concerning the union of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig as a condition of the maintenance of the integrity, General de Radowitz said that his predecessor had no doubt stated them as his private opinion; such views he knew were entertained by some persons, but they were not those of the Prussian Government, which, as he had already observed, would be ready to co-operate in any arrangement of the nature he had referred to. Several modes had been brought forward for the settlement of the general questions pending; one of these modes was the union of the Duchies, another was the independence of Schleswig, and he was sure that a third and a fourth might be found. Why should not your Lordship make a proposal? Should you do so, he should be happy to take it into consideration.

I replied that your Lordship had been unremitting in your endeavours to bring the contending parties to an understanding; that, amongst other proposals, you had brought forward that upon which the Preliminaries of the 10th of July were based, and that you had regretted the abandonment of that basis. As matters stood I did not see what more your Lordship could do.

General de Radowitz proceeded to state that what he should now wish to see done was, that the Duchies should again address themselves directly to their Sovereign, offering to lay down their arms, and to consent to any arrangement based upon the integrity of the monarchy by which their political position should be secured, and that His Danish Majesty should meet them by a candid statement of his intentions in their regard. He said, that although he had not made any proposal to the Holstein authorities to that effect, such was the language he had held to the persons who had spoken to him on the subject.

He was convinced there existed in the Duchies a large party in favour of a pacification, and if a form of negotiation could be found, there would not be as much difficulty as might be anticipated in arriving at an understanding. He feared, however, that there were some elements in the Danish Ministry but ill-disposed to conciliation.

I replied that it appeared to me the first thing for the Holsteiners to do would be to cease hostilities and to lay down their arms, and that I saw but little prospect of such a direct negotiation leading to any good result, unless they were to transmit to Copenhagen proposals of a very different nature from those which they brought forward some months ago, and which had been very generally considered to be inadmissible. As to the dispotion of the Danish Government, I would myself bear testimony to the conciliatory feelings which I know are entertained by several of the statesmen who direct the counsels of the King of Denmark, and upon which they were ready to act, when the Holstein Stadtholders frustrated their good intentions by recommencing the war. Moreover, the Treaty itself pointed out the manner in which the King of Denmark was to declare his intentions in respect of the pacification of Holstein.

General de Radowitz, who did not admit that the Holsteiners should lay down their arms as a preliminary step, then again referred to the proposal he had made of a Mixed Special Commission which should represent the several States of Germany, and take the settlement of these questions connected with the execution

of the Treaty of Peace in hand, and he renewed the expression of his wish that your Lordship should use your influence with the Austrian Government to induce them to separate those questions from their general German policy, and to agree to the appointment of such a Commission. He repeated, at the same time, in very strong language, the determination of the Prussian Government not to admit the armed intervention of the Diet of Frankfort in Holstein.

I observed to his Excellency that the Prussian Government, on the one hand, declined to enforce the execution of the Treaty on the Holsteiners, and on the other, they stated their intention of preventing those German States which were so disposed, from taking measures with the objects of which Prussia was probably agreed, and it appeared to me that by so acting the Prussian Government would fall into the same error with which they reproached the Austrian Government, and would render their policy with regard to the Holstein question subservient to their general German policy, thus impeding a solution rendered doubly urgent by the calamitous state of warfare in the Duchies. I also alluded to the position in which Prussia would place herself with regard to the allies of Denmark, and more particularly with regard to Russia.

General de Radowitz, however, replied that he had taken the considerations I had presented into account, but that the Prussian Government could not tolerate the execution of decrees issued by the Frankfort Diet in the name of the Confederation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 84.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

My Lord, *Berlin, October* 12, 1850.

AVAILING myself of the first opportunity which has occurred since their receipt on the 8th instant of your Lordship's instructions, I yesterday read to General de Radowitz your despatch to me of the 30th ultimo, in reply to Baron Schleinitz's despatch of the 30th August to Count Perponcher, on the line of policy adopted by the Prussian Government with respect to the question of the Danish Succession, and I also delivered to his Excellency a copy of it.

General de Radowitz did not enter into the points touched upon by your Lordship, but referred me for his answer to the observations which he had already made to me on the same subject as reported in my despatch of the 9th instant, saying that Prussia had no particular or separate interest of her own as to the manner of settling the question; what she desired was a settlement both with regard to the Succession and to the general arrangement, for both questions were closely allied, which should be lasting and which should satisfy the various interests concerned.

His own private opinion, General de Radowitz proceeded to state, was, as he had lately told me, in favour of a direct arrangement between the Duchies and their Sovereign, and he was inclined to think that such an arrangement might not be so difficult to effect as was supposed. At the same time he expressed to me, and requested me to convey it to your Lordship, the wish which he had already less positively intimated at my last interview, that your Lordship should come forward with a new proposal of your own for a settlement, and that you should communicate it to the Prussian Government.

He would be most happy to enter upon such a proposal of your Lordship, and he had no doubt but that such an agreement would very speedily be arrived at between Prussia and England, which should then exert their influence with the contending parties, Prussia with the Holsteiners, and England with the Danish Government, so as to obtain their concurrence with the plan so concerted; and he added that he had good hopes of the success of such a mode of proceeding.

I need not trouble your Lordship with the observations I made in reply, further than to say that I repeated how little prospect I conceived there was of any satisfactory result from a direct negotiation between the contending parties as long as the Holsteiners continued their hostilities; and that I remarked, with regard to his wish concerning a new proposal from your Lordship for a general settlement, that after the various proposals you had already brought forward without success, although the Danish Government has shown their readiness to be guided by your advice, and although the course they had adopted during the late negotiations on the basis of the Preliminaries had met your approval, I did not know how far you might be now disposed to make new propositions. I also alluded to the unreasonable demands hitherto made by the Holsteiners, and to the

contempt they had shown for the proposals and wishes of Her Majesty's Government, and I concluded by saying that, at all events, I was convinced that the first thing which your Lordship would require would be the immediate cessation of hostilities, and the evacuation of Schleswig.

General de Radowitz answered, that he hoped your Lordship would not be discouraged by what had passed, but would begin your mediation anew; should you do so he felt confident your efforts would be attended with success, and let there be no recriminations between Prussia and England, and between Denmark and the Duchies, but let all parties endeavour to bring the pending questions to a settlement. He, on his side, repeated his opinion that there was a large party in Holstein in favour of peace, and said that the occupation of Schleswig by the Danes could not help having the effect of reducing the pretensions of the Holsteiners; precisely the present state of things was favourable for a negotiation, and he, on his part, would have regretted a victory of the Holsteiners over the Danes, because it would have rendered the former more difficult to treat with. At the same time, however, he remarked, with reference to my observation that the evacuation of Schleswig, and the cessation of hostilities by the Holsteiners in virtue of the Treaty of the 2nd of July last ought to take place immediately; that such a course would be beginning by what should be the end, meaning, as I understood, that it should only be the result of the negotiation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 85.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, February* 4, 1851.

IN conversing yesterday with Count Nesselrode upon the progress which the Schleswig-Holstein affair was making, I inquired what was to become of the question of the Succession. The Chancellor said that the conduct of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg had been of a nature to preclude all chance of its being placed in that family, but that he did not see the least objection to Prince Christian of Glücksburg, particularly as that Prince appeared to be the one most favourably viewed by the King of Denmark.

Having asked how he thought the claims of the Augustenburg family would be set aside, he replied that they had been mainly supported by Prussia, and would still meet with sympathy in Germany; but that, in his opinion, the Duke, by his own conduct towards his Sovereign, had forfeited all his claims: besides, said his Excellency, we have guaranteed, by the Protocol of London, the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and the severance of any portion of the King's dominions must no longer be contemplated.

No. 86.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February* 18, 1851.

WITH reference to the report contained in your despatch of the 4th instant, of your conversation with Count Nesselrode on the affairs of Denmark, I have to observe that Count Nesselrode is mistaken in supposing that the Protocol of London contains any guarantee. It merely expresses opinions and wishes, but it does not bind the parties who signed it to any engagement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 87.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 24.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 20, 1851.

I HAVE the honour of inclosing translation of Prince Schwartzenberg's official reply to Count Sponneck's communications on the subject of the organisation of the Danish Monarchy.

Inclosure in No. 87.

Prince Schwartzenberg to Count Sponneck.

(Translation.)
(Extract.) *Vienna, February* 8, 1851.

THE Imperial Cabinet has seen with not a little satisfaction from the papers submitted to it that it is the firm intention of His Majesty the King of Denmark to maintain the continual unity of the Monarchy by the establishment of a law of Succession to comprise all its parts, and to be recognized by Europe.

His Majesty the Emperor sees, in the renewed expression of this resolution of the King, a confirmation of the wishes and expectations recorded in the Protocol of London of the 2nd of August, 1850, to which His Majesty acceded, with the feeling that a great European interest predominated; and it only remains for His Majesty in this place, to express the hope that His Royal Majesty of Denmark will not delay to bring this equally difficult and important question under negotiation, with the assistance of his allies, as promised in § 4 of the Protocol of London. If Denmark's Sovereign shall have afforded to the nations united under his Crown, by the presentation of a law of Succession recognized as public law, the certainty that they are to remain for evermore undivided, and members of one Monarchy, certainly a great part, as we are persuaded, of the difficulties which have at present arisen, but which had originated in the uncertainty as to the future eventualities concerning the Succession, will prove to have been removed.

No. 88.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 3.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 24, 1851.

M. DE REEDTZ lately mentioned to me the necessity there was of some determination being taken on the subject of the Danish Succession, and his anxious wish that Her Majesty's and the Russian Governments would join in their recommendation of a Successor, and thus give them a support against opposition from other quarters. He said that considering that the question more immediately concerned His Imperial Majesty, as an agnate having rights to a Succession to a part of Holstein, he had last week written very strongly on the subject to their Minister at St. Petersburgh, instructing him to press for some decision on the subject. He then in the course of conversation on the subject went through the different claimants and candidates, beginning with regretting that the most natural and direct arrangement, that of preserving the Succession in the next branch of Oldenburg, had been rendered impossible by the extraordinary, not to say hostile, conduct of the Duke and the Hereditary Prince, who however favourably they at first listened to the proposals made on the part of His Danish Majesty by M. de Bulow, and on the part of the Emperor of Russia by M. de Budberg, had not since returned any acknowledgment or answer to the King, and on the contrary had never lost an opportunity of showing how decidedly their inclinations were for the Schleswig-Holstein cause. Passing over the next in Succession, the Princes of Augustenburg, who by their conduct had rendered their maintaining the integrity of the Monarchy impossible, he proceeded to the Prince of Hesse, who was unpopular, both here and in the Duchies, and who was inclined to follow the advice of his father-in-law the Emperor of Russia not to risk his direct and undoubted rights in Hesse by putting forward any pretensions to the Crown of Denmark. These having been also renounced by his elder sister, married to a Prince of Dessau, would then naturally fall on the Princess the consort of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, who would then for himself or his sons acquire a right in addition to the general favourable disposition felt towards him, both by the Sovereign and the two races of people he might be called on to govern. M. de Reedtz concluded by saying that other candidates might individually have better rights to separate parts, but no Prince would unite so many suffrages for maintaining the integrity of the Monarchy.

I promised to relate this conversation to your Lordship, assuring him, however beforehand, that Her Majesty's Government had not any predilections to consult, and that they would be ready to acquiesce in and support any selection which His Danish Majesty may conceive most likely to insure the integrity and future welfare of the country; that your Lordship had already so expressed yourself when

called on to give your opinion, and had only mentioned the family of Oldenburg as then appearing the most likely to be agreeable.

The Government are naturally anxious to be prepared on this head when the Notables meet. They are occupied with the selection of proper persons both here and in the Duchies, where it will be more difficult. I understand that they are not to be called together till towards the end of next month, as the Government are anxious to avail themselves of the services of some of the members of the Rigsdag, which will not before then be closed.

No. 89.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 8, 1851.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 24th ultimo, reporting what passed between you and M. de Reedtz on the question of the Danish Succession, I have to inform you that I entirely approve the language held by you on that occasion. Her Majesty's Government have no individual predilections or personal partialities in regard to the several Princes, from among whom the choice of a successor to the Danish Monarchy is to be made. But Her Majesty's Government, both with a view to the general interests of Europe, and out of regard to the long-established ties of friendship which have existed between the British and the Danish Crowns, are of opinion that it is highly desirable that the States which now compose the Monarchy should continue to be governed by one and the same Sovereign.

It is obvious that this can be accomplished in no other way than by so settling the order of Succession in each of the States of which the Danish Monarchy is composed, that the sovereignty of each part should at some future, though it is to be hoped distant, time devolve upon one and the same person. The settlement of such an arrangement, Her Majesty's Government are well aware is surrounded by many and great difficulties; and to effect it many rights and claims must be considered, and many consents must be obtained. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that His Danish Majesty will enter into the consideration and discussion of these intricate and complicated questions with that liberal and conciliatory spirit which will be found best calculated to lead to a satisfactory conclusion. But there are many and various reasons which disincline Her Majesty's Government from taking the lead, or from bearing any active part in the discussion of these matters.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 90.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 15, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 8th instant, on the question of the Danish Succession.

Although not instructed by your Lordship to communicate it to M. de Reedtz, I have thought it important that he should be distinctly informed of the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government, more especially as I was sure that though your Lordship is not inclined to come forward as decidedly as they might wish, yet that the friendly expression of the interest taken by Her Majesty's Government in the preservation of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy would be highly agreeable. In this I was not deceived, as M. de Reedtz was not only satisfied, but desired me to return his best thanks to your Lordship, with the assurance that they never expected Her Majesty's Government to take any lead in this question in its present state, but aware as your Lordship is of the many and great difficulties which they have to encounter, they still hope for your Lordship's assistance in overcoming them.

No answer has as yet been received from St. Petersburgh.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 91.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 21, 1851.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 15th instant, reporting your communication to M. de Reedtz of my despatch of the 8th instant on the question of the Danish Succession, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the course pursued by you on this occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 92.

Mr. Bligh to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 7.)

(Extract.) *Hanover, April* 4, 1851.

ALTHOUGH the Succession to the Throne of Denmark is a question with which I have officially no concern,—as it is one of general political interest, and must as such, in failure of direct heirs, eventually be arranged by the common consent of the Powers who were parties to the actual settlement of Europe,—I took occasion of my last visit to Oldenburg to endeavour to ascertain what foundation there might be for the reports which had reached me, that the views of Russia had been turned to the Grand Ducal branch of the Holstein family as the eventual successors of the Danish Monarchy.

It would not appear that any positive steps have been taken upon the subject by the Court of St. Petersburgh, but there is no doubt that the Emperor has been at some pains to become acquainted with the character of the Hereditary Grand Duke, as is supposed by many, for the purpose of judging whether it would suit Russian views to support him as a candidate for the future proprietorship of the Sound.

The Emperor having signified a wish to see His Royal Highness, it was intended that he should have gone to Warsaw when the Emperor was last there, and subsequently to St. Petersburgh; but when the time for his visit came he received no encouragement to make it.

No. 93.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, April* 3, 1851.

IN my despatch of the 24th February I had the honour to inform your Lordship that Baron Plessen, the Danish Minister at St. Petersburgh, had been instructed to obtain a declaration of the Emperor's wishes as to the Succession. As the result has not been as distinct as was expected, and as the approaching meeting of the Notables renders any further delay of decision on this important question impossible, M. de Reedtz informed me to-day that it had been determined to send Baron Pechlin to St. Petersburgh, and that he will set out the day after to-morrow on this special Mission. I in vain endeavoured to ascertain from the Danish Minister what proposition Baron Pechlin would make; but he has throughout been so strenuous a partizan, and I may say adviser, of the Prince and Princess of Glücksburg, that I do not think he would undertake the recommendation or even consideration of any other candidate.

I know not whether the Duke of Oldenburg or his son still consider themselves as candidates. In addition to the other marks of inclination to the Schleswig-Holstein cause which has given such offence here, the Duke has lately conferred the valuable living of Eutin (an enclave in Holstein) to a clergyman who took part against the King in Schleswig, and was ejected on account of the violence of his political publications and language of the same nature in the pulpit.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 94.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 14.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 2, 1851.

I HAVE thought it advisable to communicate to Count Nesselrode the copy of your Lordship's despatch to Sir Henry Wynn of the 8th ultimo, which was forwarded to me in your despatch of the same date, in order that his Excellency might be informed of the last instruction which your Lordship had sent to Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen on the question of the Succession to the Danish Throne, and I trust that your Lordship will not disapprove of my having done so.

Count Nesselrode has now returned the despatch to me with his thanks for the communication, and informed me that he thought the best thing he could do under present circumstances was to prepare a Memorandum on the subject, to be laid before the Danish Government, in which he would endeavour to discuss the merits of the different candidates.

The Chancellor stated that, like your Lordship, he had no favourite to propose; that he wished that the King of Denmark would come to an early decision on this important matter, in order that it might be set at rest; that he still thought the Oldenburg Family would be the best selection, but that the conduct of the Grand Duke and his son during the Schleswig-Holstein struggle had rendered the acceptance of that family distasteful to His Danish Majesty, and that therefore he supposed the King would prefer choosing Prince Christian of Glücksburg; that he could, however, assure me that Russia had no wish to interfere in the question, or to influence His Majesty's choice one way or the other.

Having heard that an idea existed of a son of Prince Peter of Oldenburg, a nephew of the Emperor of Russia who resides here, being proposed as a candidate for the Danish Throne, I inquired of Count Nesselrode if this report were true; and his Excellency confirmed the truth of the rumour, stating that it had come from Copenhagen, and had been thrown out, he believed, in a vague manner by the King of Denmark in the course of conversation with the Austrian Minister, but that on its becoming known to the Emperor, His Imperial Majesty had declared that he would not hear of any such arrangement.

I have had some conversation with my Danish colleague on this rumour, and he told me that he had heard nothing of it from Copenhagen, but that Count Nesselrode had mentioned it to him incidentally.

I then explained to Baron Plessen the nature of your Lordship's last instruction to Sir Henry Wynn as to the Succession, when he expressed his regret that Her Majesty's Government were not disposed to take a more active part in the discussion of the question, for he thought that the greater the support His Danish Majesty received from England in this matter the easier would be the negotiation.

I replied that though we did not wish to take the lead in the discussions, we should always take the most lively interest in them.

We then conversed on the idea which had been thrown out of selecting a son of Prince Peter of Oldenburg for the King's successor, and on the opinion expressed by the Emperor in this matter; and I told him that I thought your Lordship would take the same view of it. I added also that I thought he would do well himself to discourage the project put forward by the King, because it had on the face of it an appearance of acting under Russian influence, which could not fail to render the proposal unpopular at Copenhagen.

Baron Plessen appeared to agree with what I said on this point; and it is not impossible that the King of Denmark may have thrown out the idea more as a compliment to His Imperial Majesty and as a return for the support he has received from him in his difficulties than with any serious notion that it would be adopted.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 95.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 14, 1851.

I HAVE to acquaint your Lordship that I approve of your having communicated to Count Nesselrode, as reported in your despatch of the 2nd instant, my despatch to Sir

Henry Wynn of the 8th of March, on the question of the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 96.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 16, 1851.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 2nd instant, reporting a conversation which I had held with Count Nesselrode upon the subject of the Danish Succession, and stating that his Excellency had mentioned his intention of preparing a memorandum to be communicated to the Danish Government, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have since inquired of the Chancellor if he had prepared this paper.

In reply I learnt from him that he had reconsidered the matter, and had thought it better not to send any memorandum to Copenhagen, and had merely addressed a sort of general instruction to the Russian Minister at that Court, directing him to omit no opportunity of pressing the question; that the Russian Government did not put forward any one candidate in preference to another, but urged the necessity of the King's proceeding with as little delay as possible to select a successor to his Throne who would unite the most advantages and offer the best chance of effecting a settlement of the numerous difficulties with which the question was surrounded.

Count Nesselrode added that the news from Copenhagen was not satisfactory, that the influence of the ultra-Danish party appeared so to predominate at the present moment that much unnecessary discontent existed in the Duchies, and that M. de Tillisch's Administration appeared to be very unpopular in many parts of Schleswig, where the wholesale removal of clergymen had given great offence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 97.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 1.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, April* 26, 1851.

WITH reference to the conversations reported by Lord Bloomfield to your Lordship in his despatch of the 2nd instant as having had with Count Nesselrode and Baron Plessen on the subject of the Succession, and of an idea being entertained here of proposing Prince Peter of Oldenburg, or his son, as candidate, M. de Reedtz has assured me that he has never heard their names mentioned further than as eventual successors in the case of the elevation and subsequent failure of the present Grand Ducal family. If it was thrown out in a vague manner by His Danish Majesty in a conversation with the Austrian Minister, it must have arisen from an indifference which I understand the King now professes as to his successor.

No. 98.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 12.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 29, 1851.

BARON PECHLIN arrived here last week on a special mission from the King of Denmark, and had an audience of the Emperor yesterday.

I understand that he was most graciously received, that His Imperial Majesty expressed much good feeling towards the King of Denmark, and assured Baron Pechlin that he was quite ready to listen to any proposals of which he might be the bearer as to the question of the Succession, which he was anxious to see speedily settled.

The Baron then proceeded to explain the objections which existed to a continuance of the negotiations which had been opened last year with the Grand Duke of Oldenburg,

and stated that he had been charged by the King his Master to inquire if His Imperial Majesty would sanction the selection of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as his successor to the Crown of Denmark; that he was favourably disposed towards the Prince, and had reason to believe that the choice would be approved of by the people over whom he might be called to reign.

The Emperor is said to have replied that he was far from objecting to the proposal; that he was well aware of the difficulties with which the question was surrounded, and that the only observation he had to make was, that in assenting to the arrangement proposed by His Danish Majesty, he trusted due regard would be paid to the rights of others.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 99.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 12.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, April* 29, 1851.

I HAD some conversation yesterday with Count Nesselrode respecting Baron Pechlin's Mission from the King of Denmark, but as his Excellency had not seen the Emperor since the audience granted to the Baron by His Imperial Majesty, I have nothing to add on the subject of the Succession, to the intelligence forwarded in my preceding number, but that the Chancellor confirmed what I had heard of the opinions of the Emperor, and assured me that no objection would be raised by the Russian Government to the selection of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as Successor to the Danish Crown, though he feared the negotiation with the other claimants would still entail a good deal of trouble.

Count Nesselrode again spoke of the unpopularity of the proceedings of M. Tillisch in the Duchy of Schleswig, and said that the ultra-Danish party were pushing matters so far that serious evils would probably be the consequence of them, and that he was sorry to say there was at the present moment a disposition at Copenhagen to destroy every link that bound Schleswig with Holstein, and to set at nought the arrangements agreed to at Vienna by Baron Sponneck.

The Chancellor seemed anxious as to the impression which these proceedings in Denmark would produce at Vienna and Berlin, fearing that they might have an unfavourable influence on the discussions which must necessarily take place hereafter on the many important questions connected with the Succession.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 100.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, May* 5, 1851.

SINCE I had the honour of writing to your Lordship on the 29th ultimo, on the subject of Baron Pechlin's Mission to this Court, the Baron has had several interviews with Count Nesselrode, and it is evident that the Russian Government are desirous to give every reasonable assistance in carrying out the wishes of the King of Denmark respecting the Succession.

The Chancellor, in speaking to me on the subject, has stated that he thought it would be advisable, and be an assistance to the negotiation, if the Representatives of those Powers who signed the Protocol of London on the 2nd of August last were to reassemble in Conference for the discussion of the question of Succession, because opposition must be expected from the Duke of Augustenburg, and perhaps from other quarters. He added that he supposed the Danish Government would be obliged to give the Augustenburg family some compensation or indemnity on the renunciation of their claims, and was glad to hear from Baron Pechlin that there would be the means of effecting this out of the Ducal domains in Lauenburg.

Baron Pechlin seems to attach the greatest importance to an early solution of the question of the Succession, and has more than once expressed to me the hope that Her Majesty's Government would support the King in his present plan, stating

that an avowed approval by England of the choice of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, which had been made by His Danish Majesty, would have an immense weight throughout the King's dominions, and would reconcile many of those to the selection who were now opposed to it, and that moreover the settlement of this important question would have a most beneficial influence throughout the country, and assist greatly in allaying the feverish excitement which still prevailed to an alarming extent.

Baron Pechlin expects to return in a few days to Copenhagen, and will be the bearer of a letter of the Emperor, written in answer to the one from the King of Denmark of which he was the bearer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 101.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 23.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, May* 13, 1851.

I HAD a short interview yesterday with Count Nesselrode, previous to his departure for Warsaw, when his Excellency confirmed the report I made last week of the favour with which the King of Denmark's selection of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as his eventual successor had been received by the Emperor of Russia.

The Chancellor again stated that His Imperial Majesty was disposed to do all in his power to advance the proposed arrangement, and on my inquiring how he expected to overcome the difficulties with the Agnates, his Excellency replied that he did not think them insurmountable, and that he should avail himself of the opportunity which would offer at Warsaw of discussing the question with the King of Prussia, and that he was not without hope that His Majesty would lend himself to a reasonable arrangement.

I regret to say that the language of my German colleagues on this question is, however, far from encouraging, for they one and all seem to think that the rights of the Duke of Augustenburg, which the Emperor considers to have been forfeited by his having borne arms against his Sovereign, will not be so easily set aside, and that it cannot be done without a decree of the German Diet, and that that Assembly will not be disposed speedily to pronounce an opinion on so important a matter.

Count Nesselrode cannot but be aware of these difficulties. He is prepared to grapple with them, and is, I am told, the more anxious to endeavour to effect a settlement of the question of Succession in Denmark as, in common with many of the Governments of Europe, he is alarmed at the prospects of France and Germany, and feels that it is the duty of all to prepare for the year 1852 by removing, as far as possible, every cause of discontent and uncertainty as to the future.

No. 102.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, May* 24, 1851.

I HAVE to state to your Lordship, in reply to your despatch of the 5th instant, that it does not seem to Her Majesty's Government that the question as to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark and to the Sovereignty of the Duchies is one which ought to be settled by a Conference in London or elsewhere.

That question is rather one of internal arrangement to be made by the Government of Denmark, with due regard to all the interests concerned in it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 103.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 26.)

My Lord, *Berlin, May* 22, 1851.

A DESPATCH has recently been addressed by Count Nesselrode to M. de Struve, the Russian Minister at the Court of Oldenburg, directing him to

explain to the Grand Duke that, in consequence of the course which his Royal Highness and his son the Hereditary Grand Duke have pursued with reference to the affairs of Holstein and Schleswig, the Emperor of Russia has, to his great regret, felt himself obliged to withdraw the support which His Imperial Majesty has hitherto given to the proposed selection by the King of Denmark of his Royal Highness' family to succeed to the Crown of that country.

M. de Struve is further directed to acquaint the Grand Duke that the Emperor deems it right, at the same time, to inform his Royal Highness that it is now his intention to transfer his support to the family of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, in case they should be chosen and proposed by His Danish Majesty as the successors to the Throne of Denmark.

Two of the grounds upon which the Emperor has stated that he had considered himself under the necessity of coming to this decision are, the delay on the part of the Grand Duke in ratifying the Treaty of Peace with Germany of the 2nd of July, 1850, and the reservations with which His Royal Highness had thought proper to accompany his ratification when at length given.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

No. 104.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 26.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, May* 22, 1851.

BARON PECHLIN, who has been detained by illness on his return from St. Petersburgh, is expected here to-morrow. Lord Bloomfield will have informed your Lordship that he was well satisfied with the success of his Mission, and of the approbation (however qualified with respect to the Agnates) expressed by His Imperial Majesty as to the choice of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as eventual successor to the Danish Throne. Having made this progress, the Government are well satisfied to leave that part of the question, for the present, in the hands of the Emperor, and trust to his influence with the Austrian and Prussian Governments to get over the difficulties which must naturally present themselves in every arrangement of equal importance. In the meantime, however, they feel that the state of the Duchies, and that of Holstein in particular, admits of no delay. In order to come to some distinct understanding on this subject, M. de Reedtz informed me yesterday that it had been decided in Council that he should himself repair to Warsaw, and that he should set off to-morrow, so as to find the Sovereigns or their Representatives still assembled there. M. de Reedtz said that his Mission would not be one of accusation against the Commissioners, but only to show the fallacy of the assertion brought forward, that the establishment of the King's authority in Holstein was prevented by measures taken by the Schleswig Government, whereas the contrary was the case, and that it was from Holstein the spirit of insurrection was fomented in Schleswig. Whether, however, he succeeded in proving this or not, there could not be any doubt it was on the increase, the natural result of the impunity with which the promoters had carried on their intrigues. The present state of things could not continue, and he trusted the Sovereigns and Ministers assembled at Warsaw would be able to decide on some line to be decidedly and distinctly acted upon, as much for their own interest as that of His Danish Majesty, who would be found ready to make every just sacrifice, in order to prevent his States being the nucleus of insurrection, from the ramifications of which others would suffer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 105.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 2.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, May* 28, 1851.

BARON PECHLIN, whose return to Denmark I had the honour to report in my despatch of the 22nd instant, was the bearer of a long autograph letter from the Emperor

of Russia to His Danish Majesty. It is of a most friendly nature, rendering justice to His Danish Majesty for his endeavours to settle the question of Succession, and acknowledging that the conduct of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg rendered the arrangement in his favour at first suggested by the King, and approved of by His Imperial Majesty, impossible; that His Imperial Majesty duly appreciated the character and good qualities of the Prince Christian of Glücksburg, and was ready in his favour to renounce all the eventual rights he had to parts of Holstein, declaring, however, that this renunciation was in no wise to be to the prejudice of any rights of the two junior branches of Holstein-Gottorp (Prince Vasa, and Prince Peter of Oldenburg).

The Emperor also announces his intention of informing the Grand Duke of Oldenburg of his being no longer able to support his claims to the Succession. His Imperial Majesty concludes with some compliments to Baron Pechlin, and refers to his conversation with him, not only with respect to the Succession, but also to the manner in which he conceives that the government of the Duchies ought to be carried on.

No. 106.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 5.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, June* 2, 1851.

AS it was known that the affairs of Holstein would be discussed at Warsaw, I took an opportunity after General Rochow's return from thence, to ask him what had passed relative to them. He did not appear to me to be very ready to answer. He merely said that the question of the Succession had been mooted, and that it had been settled to refer it to the Conferences of London.

I observed to him that I had reason to believe that Her Majesty's Government was disinclined to this course. He appeared disconcerted, and asked why. When I thought that the best course I could take, would be to read to him your Lordship's despatch to Lord Bloomfield of the 24th ultimo, in which you state the reasons why you consider that the question of the Succession cannot properly be a matter of discussion for any Conference. General Rochow then said, that it was the Danish Government which desired that the question should be brought before the Great Powers as a means of facilitating to the King of Denmark the settlement of it. I replied, that it was clearly the Province of the Danish Government to make a proposition, and to ascertain whether that proposition would be acceptable to all persons interested. Then, I said, would be the time to ask the consent of the Powers of Europe to the arrangement. General Rochow rejoined that that was what he had intended to convey, and that such was the opinion of the Prussian Government.

Subsequently I saw M. de Bulow, and inquired of him whether he had learned more than I had from General Rochow. He replied, that he had made inquiries of General Rochow, and had been told that a conference of three hours' duration had been held on this question by Count Nesselrode, Messrs. de Manteuffel, Meyendorff, and Rochow; that they had taken Count Sponneck's proposition as the basis of their deliberations, but that naturally no agreement could be arrived at without the participation of Austria, and that Count Nesselrode proposed to confer with Prince Schwartzenberg on the matter at Olmütz.

I believe, however, that Count Thun intends to take an early day to make a report to the Diet of the state of the question, and to propose that the further conduct of it shall again be entrusted to Austria and Prussia.

I incline to the opinion, for the reason that this is a preferable course to subjecting it to open discussion by all the Members of the Diet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 107.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 13.)

My Lord, *Vienna, June* 7, 1851.

I INQUIRED from Prince Schwartzenberg, during a short interview which I had this morning with his Highness, whether he knew what success Count Nesselrode might have had in his communications with His Prussian Majesty and M. de Manteuffel at Warsaw,

in facilitating the arrangement of the Danish Succession in the person of Prince Christian of Glücksburg or of his son by removing the difficulties raised by the Agnats of the Danish Crown. Your Lordship will recollect that Lord Bloomfield, in his despatch of the 13th ultimo, copy of which I had the honour to receive, stated that Count Nesselrode had declared to him his hopes of coming to some agreement with the Prussian Cabinet on this subject while at Warsaw.

Prince Schwartzenberg replied that he was unaware of what success the Russian Chancellor of State may have had at Warsaw on this point. His Highness did not, however, appear to look upon it as offering serious obstacles, nor did he state any marked preference for any candidate for the Succession to the Danish Crown, but said they would accept whoever offered the necessary conditions of maintaining the integrity of that kingdom, and who might be selected by His Danish Majesty.

Prince Schwartzenberg then alluded to Colonel Hodges' visit to Schleswig, which he characterised as being made *en curieux*; I answered that it was not at all *en curieux*, but in consequence of instructions to that effect, and that so little mystery had been made about it that Lord Westmorland had officially requested the Prussian Government to instruct General Thümen, their Commissioner in Holstein, to facilitate Colonel Hodges' inquiries, and even to furnish him with the principal heads of their "accusations" against M. de Tillisch's administration in Schleswig.

His Highness answered, We make no "accusations" against, merely observations on, M. de Tillisch's administration. Austria has proved herself by her acts the best friend to Denmark on the Continent, which assertion he followed up by the enumeration of all his Government had done, which it is unnecessary to repeat to your Lordship:—We desire to see a lasting state of things established, and to be enabled to withdraw our troops; we therefore remark when the Danish Government pursues a course which we think likely to prevent that consummation, and if such a course be continued, "ma fois, nous serons tentés de planter Sa Majesté Danoise."

I may observe that such a threat, if ever made to the Cabinet of Copenhagen (which I very much doubt), would produce but little effect, because the withdrawal of the foreign troops from the Duchies would seem to be what that Cabinet desires at this moment. Prince Schwartzenberg then proceeded to say that their views of M. de Tillisch's administration were fully confirmed by Colonel Hodges; to which I replied, that if it were so I congratulated him, because the opinions of Colonel Hodges, both from his knowledge of the relations of the Duchies acquired by a long residence there, as well as from his impartiality, which was admitted on all sides, could not fail to have due weight with the Danish Cabinet.

Count Plessen informs me that he has not seen Prince Schwartzenberg since his Highness's return from Olmütz, and that he is entirely ignorant whether the Danish question has made any progress either at Warsaw or at Olmütz.

Prince Schwartzenberg expresses his satisfaction at the meeting at Olmütz, but he avoided mentioning any political end that may have been attained there,—a reserve which I have learned from some of my German colleagues he has equally maintained with them, and it is not probable that he would be more communicative with me on this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 108.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 13.

My Lord, *Warsaw, June* 6, 1851.

I HAVE just seen Count Nesselrode, and on my alluding to the return of M. de Reedtz to Copenhagen, which took place yesterday, his Excellency said that he looked to the best results from this visit of the Danish Minister; that he trusted the different conversations which he had held with him would have an important influence in advancing the settlement of the complicated affairs of his country; and that he was satisfied after what had passed during the stay of the King of Prussia at Warsaw, that M. de Reedtz would find Baron Manteuffel well disposed to meet the propositions he had to make to the Prussian Cabinet.

As to the question of Succession, Count Nesselrode said that he now believes the arrangement in favour of the Glücksburg family will be easily effected, as the King of Prussia was ready to communicate on the subject with the Duke of Augustenburg, and

to recommend his acceptance of the indemnities to be offered by Denmark; and I understood the Chancellor to say that His Prussian Majesty appears to have so far changed his opinions that he may be induced to become a mediator in the future negotiations.

Having observed to the Chancellor that Her Majesty's Government did not consider the Danish Succession matter for a Conference in London, his Excellency replied that the Prussian Government were of the same opinion, and that he therefore thought it would be best at the present moment for the different Cabinets to discuss the question amongst each other, with a view finally to record the settlement at which they may arrive, in a Protocol to be signed in London.

With respect to the claims of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg in the Danish Succession, Count Nesselrode told me that the Imperial Government saw no serious objection to his maintaining his reservations, because the matter was in reality unimportant, as the whole family of the Emperor of Russia must become extinct before the claim of the Grand Duke could be brought forward, and there was no likelihood, according to present appearances, of a failure in the Russian line, and the Emperor, as I knew, was quite ready to do all in his power to facilitate the proposed arrangement in favour of the Glücksburg family.

Our conversation closed by the Chancellor making some observations to the effect, that the whole question was in an improved condition; that nearly all the parties interested in it seemed willing to co-operate with each other for the purpose of bringing about a settlement; and that there was a spirit of confidence, and an increasing cordiality amongst the Sovereigns and their Governments, which must produce a beneficial influence in the future discussions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 109.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 17.)

My Lord, *Berlin, June* 14, 1851.

I WAITED upon Baron Manteuffel to-day upon his return from the country, where he has been passing several days. He told me that, at his suggestion, the King had written a letter to the Duke of Augustenburg, in which, after assuring him that he would always give his support to those rights of his family which he might be able to establish, he said that yet, under all the circumstances which had marked the Duke's conduct during the last three years, he could not but recommend him to endeavour to arrange those rights by the way of compromise, and that he strongly advised his doing so by negotiation with the King of Denmark as the head of his family.

Baron Manteuffel stated his belief that this was the best advice which could be given, because until the Duke's rights had been examined the King was not informed of their extent, and they might be far short of what the Duke supposed them to be, and the King would give him no support beyond that which he could be proved to have an undoubted right to.

The King's object in this proceeding was to induce the Royal Family of Denmark to settle the question of the Succession amongst themselves, and he would give his assistance to carry out whatever arrangement they should come to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

No. 110.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 23.)

My Lord, *Vienna, June* 17, 1851.

M. DE REEDTZ, whose arrival here I had the honour to announce to your Lordship last week, left this on the evening of the 15th, and purposed stopping at Dresden, Berlin, Kiel, and Flensburg, on his return to Copenhagen.

I saw his Excellency on the day of his departure from Vienna, and after his last interview with Prince Schwartzenberg, and found him on the whole satisfied with the result of his mission here, though as M. de Reedtz made no specific proposals, as Count Sponneck had done, I could not learn from him any particular point which had been

attained by him. His satisfaction appeared rather to be grounded on the general expression of good will on the part of this Government, and of their desire to see the Danish question finally settled.

Prince Schwartzenberg expressed to me too this morning his satisfaction with M. de Reedtz, whose views he found conciliatory and statesmanlike, though his Highness appeared less confident of his power of making them prevail in the Cabinet of Copenhagen.

M. de Reedtz told me that he had received from Prince Schwartzenberg the same answers which I had the honour to report to your Lordship had been given to Count Plessen, on the question of the demarcation of the frontier between Schleswig and Holstein, and on the removal of the Customs line from the Eider to the Elbe, and Prince Schwartzenberg was equally reserved with him as to the grounds of his opposition to the former measure, neither was any difficulty raised as to the question of Succession.

The negotiation, or conversation, appears to have turned principally on the internal administration of the Duchies, and on the complaints urged against M. de Tillisch's government of Schleswig. M. de Reedtz, in reply to the latter, informed Prince Schwartzenberg that he could not admit the right of the Austrian and Prussian Government to interfere in the internal affairs of Schleswig; his Excellency added that there were, however, two points in those affairs on which they might be justified in requiring assurances, which he was prepared to give them. The one was, that there existed no intention of incorporating Schleswig into Denmark; the other that there was no desire to make Danes of ("Daniser") the German portion of its inhabitants.

In return for these assurances on the part of his Government, he added he was ustified in requiring that the two Governments would assist to re-establish the King of Denmark's authority in Holstein, and show by their conduct there that those persons who endeavoured as much as possible to prevent that consummation should meet with no support from them.

M. de Reedtz, in the course of our conversation, expressed his regret that your Lordship had so decidedly expressed your unwillingness to refer the question of the Danish Succession to the Conference of London, adding that it was essential to the Danish Government to obtain a European sanction to the Successor to be chosen to the Danish Crown. I added that your Lordship's opinions were, that the choice of that Successor was an internal arrangement which should be left to Denmark, and in which foreign Powers ought not to interfere; but that as far as I was aware, your Lordship had never declined that the sanction of the Conference should be given to the choice of His Danish Majesty and his people.

My explanation, if I have correctly interpreted your Lordship's views, appeared to satisfy M. de Reedtz, whose desire is, to obtain the sanction of the Great Powers to the choice of His Danish Majesty, rather than to delegate that selection to the Conference in London.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 111.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Magenis.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 25, 1851.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 17th instant, reporting what passed between you and M. de Reedtz on the subject of my supposed unwillingness to refer the question of the Danish Succession to a Conference in London, I have to inform you that you understood my opinions on that subject rightly.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 112.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 26.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, June* 23, 1851.

M. DE BULOW has been desired to communicate to the Diet the measures taken by the Danish Government to alleviate the pressure consequent on the state

of siege in the Duchy of Schleswig, and he is instructed to state that these measures will be followed by others of a still more conciliatory nature. The Danish Government trust that the Diet will see in this a proof of its sincere desire to act with as little harshness as circumstances will permit.

During a short conversation which I had this morning with Count Thun on the Holstein question, he said that unless the Danish Government diminished their pretensions there was little chance of an early settlement of the long-pending affair. As the matter is now in the hands of the Austrian and Prussian Governments, I thought it more prudent to avoid any discussion with him, and I did not therefore enter further into the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 113.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 27.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, June* 23, 1851.

I UNDERSTAND that the proceedings of the Commissioners for settling the frontier line between the two Duchies proceed very slowly, as, in addition to the town and fortress of Rendsburg, the German Commissioners now lay claim to the Island of Fehmern.

With respect to Rendsburg a curious document, and one very favourable to the Danish pretensions, has been lately discovered among the secret archives of the Kingdom. This document dates 1260, and is a mortgage signed by Queen Matilda, the widow of King Abel, and guardian of her two sons, Dukes of Schleswig, who were minors, giving temporary possession to the Duke of Holstein of the territory between the Eider and Schlei, including Oppidum Rendsburgice, as a security for loan of 8,000 marcs silver, which were repaid, and the instrument returned. The German Commissioners wished to see the original of this document, but it is considered here to be of too much value to be trusted out of the care of the keeper of the archives; an attested copy has, however, been sent to Hamburgh.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 114.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 2.)

My Lord, *Berlin, June* 28, 1851.

THE King of Prussia received two days ago an answer from the Duke of Augustenburg to the letter which His Majesty addressed to him, pointing out to him the dangers likely to result to the peace of Europe were he to insist upon the rights which he conceives himself to possess, and recommending him to endeavour to arrange those rights by way of a compromise with the King of Denmark.

Baron Manteuffel informs me that the Duke's letter is couched in very vague terms, On the one hand, his Highness speaks of the rights he has received from God; on the other, he thanks the King for his letter, and disclaims any wish to disturb the peace of Europe. Baron Manteuffel is, upon the whole, of opinion that his Highness's reply cannot be viewed in the light of a refusal to negotiate; at all events such a refusal is not stated in it.

I find that the King of Prussia's letter was preceded by one from the Duke requesting His Majesty to protect his rights.

Baron Manteuffel is now awaiting the communications which he expects to receive from M. de Reedtz after his return to Copenhagen, previous to taking any further steps in respect to the affairs of the Duchies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 115.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 7.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, July* 2, 1851.

IN reading over again the Earl of Westmorland's accounts of M. de Reedtz's audience of His Prussian Majesty, I find there is one point respecting the Duke of Augustenburg's claim which the Danish Minister probably omitted to mention to his Lordship, though he describes it as having apparently made some impression on His Majesty.

In addition to the mésalliances, and the circumstance of the Princes of that family having for centuries omitted, according to the law, to put in any eventual claim, on the succession of a Sovereign, he reminded His Majesty that in the Treaty of 1767 with the Empress Catharine, confirmed in 1773 by the then Grand Duke Paul, on his majority, the Duke of Augustenburg was not consulted, nor was his accession to it considered in any manner requisite.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 116.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, July* 7, 1851.

M. DE BIELKE, the Danish Chargé d'Affaires, called upon me yesterday, and communicated to me the two Protests of the 22nd ultimo, addressed by the Duke of Augustenburg to the Diet, and referred by that Assembly, in its sitting of the 30th of that month, to the Committee for Reclamations.

As your Lordship will no doubt have been already informed, the Duke in the first of these documents protests against the accusation of having taken part in an insurrection, as brought forward in the King of Denmark's Patent of the 10th of May last; and in endeavouring to refute it, dwells principally upon questions of Danish law and the events that took place at Copenhagen in the beginning of 1848, whilst in the second he protests against the sequestration of his property situated in the Duchy of Schleswig.

M. de Bielke said that as these protests related to the affairs of Denmark and Schleswig, with which the Diet had no concern, he could not recognize its competency to take any resolution concerning them; and he had stated this view to Baron Manteuffel, and expressed the wish that they might not be entertained. Baron Manteuffel, on his part, admitted that the Duke might have chosen a more proper form for his petitions, and observed that it would have been more natural for his Highness to have confined himself to the subject of his Holstein claims.

M. de Bielke being desirous that I should see Baron Manteuffel, and urge him to instruct the Prussian Plenipotentiary at the Diet to vote for the rejection of the Protests, I accordingly brought the subject of them under his Excellency's notice at an interview which I had with him yesterday evening, and expressed my hope that he would conply with the wishes of the Danish Chargé d'Affaires. Baron Manteuffel stated in reply that he was likewise of opinion that the Protests in question, relating as they did to Danish and Schleswig affairs, did not come within the competency of the Diet, and that he should lose no time in instructing General de Rochow, at Frankfort, in that sense.

No. 117.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 15, 1851

WITH reference to your despatch of the 7th instant, reporting what passed between you and Baron de Manteuffel on the subject of the Protests presented by the Duke of Augustenburg to the Diet, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the course followed by you on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 118.

*Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 15, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin,† reporting a conversation with Baron Manteuffel relative to the Duke of Augustenburg's protests at the Diet of the Germanic Confederation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 119.

Mr. Bligh to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 21.)

My Lord, *Hanover, July* 17, 1851.

I HAVE just returned from a visit to the Grand Duke of Oldenburg at his country house, a short distance from the capital, having gone there to compliment His Royal upon the return of his Highness' birthday.

The Hereditary Grand Duke returned home unexpectedly for the same occasion, from his visit to Athens and Constantinople, having passed a day here on his way, and having been most courteously received by the King. In short, the relations of the two Courts and Governments are now, again, upon a more satisfactory footing than they have been for some time past.

Admiral Brommy, who commands the German fleet, and several of his officers, had come from their ships in the Weser to pay their respects to the Grand Duke upon his fête. I found His Royal Highness very anxious that the fleet should be maintained as a defensive arm for the Confederation, and he observed that he did not see why the internal States should any more object to pay their part of the expense for the security of the coasts of their common country than the northern and maritime States should be taxed for the construction and keeping up of the fortresses which were not in their immediate neighbourhood.

The questions at issue respecting Denmark and the Duchies having been incidentally touched upon in conversation between His Royal Highness and myself, he expressed his regret that his conduct, past and even present, as regards those questions, should not have been approved of by the Head of his family, the Emperor of Russia, who had lately sent to him a letter in that sense by the hands of the Imperial Representative at his Court, M. Stuve. He said, however, that he repudiated the imputation of having taken any more prominent part in the assistance given by Germany to the armed resistance to their Sovereign of the German subjects of the Danish Crown, than his position, as a member of the Confederation, required; and that, on the contrary, he had been instrumental in hastening the conclusion of the Peace.

As to the question of the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, he did not seem at all anxious that the choice should fall upon his Family, as he was conscious of the embarrassments which might result from his sentiments as regards the rights of the Duchies, and of the annoyances which he foresaw would always be the lot of the "Porter of the Sound," as he called it, depending, as he must, more or less, on the will of England or of Russia.

Being in ignorance of the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government, I was little more than a listener when it was thus touched upon; but I thought it right to report to your Lordship what passed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

No. 120.

Sir E. Lyons to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 25.)

My Lord, *Stockholm, July* 15, 1851.

THE Queen of Sweden and Norway having changed her mourning for the Dowager Duchess of Leuchtenberg, I have had the honour of delivering the Queen's letter

* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Cowley and Mr. Magenis. † No. 116.

announcing that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to select me as Her Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at this Court.

After the ceremony I had the honour of dining with the King and Queen. The King took me aside and spoke on the subject of the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, expressing hopes that the recent change of Ministry at Copenhagen might not occasion any considerable degree of delay in the question being definitively settled by the selection of Prince Christian of Glücksburg or his eldest son. The same hopes are expressed to me by His Majesty's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Baron Stierneld.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND LYONS.

No. 121.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 25.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, July* 22, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, a translation of the petition presented by the Duke of Augustenburg to the Diet; as also a translation of the protest entered against its reception by the Plenipotentiary of Holstein and Lauenburg.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 121.

Petition of the Duke of Augustenburg to the Diet.

(Translation.)

High Assembly of the Germanic Confederation!

THE High Germanic Diet has already once permitted me to resort to it, when, in my capacity of a member of the House of Holstein, I maintained my rights in a Protest in opposition to the assertions put forward in a public letter of the King of Denmark of the 8th July, 1846. In consequence of the complications that have since ensued, I am now obliged to appeal to the intervention of the Diet, as the legitimate organ of the Most Serene Germanic Confederation.

The Government of the King of Denmark, on proclaiming the closer union of the Duchy of Schleswig with the Kingdom of Denmark, took possession, among other parts of the Duchy of Schleswig, of the Island of Alsen, and, since the 10th of April, 1848, have deprived me of the administration and use of my possessions situated in that island.

They comprise the estates of Augustenburg, Rumorshof, Olvelgönne, Gammelaard, with the Courts of Gunstrup and Wertheminde, Rönhof, Langenvorwerk, with the Castle of Sonderburg, Maibüllgaard, Kekenisgaard, with the villages and appurtenances attached thereto; these are the freehold property of myself and my family. The first three estates were bought by my ancestors; the latter five were ceded, in virtue of various contracts, to the male branch of the House of Augustenburg as freehold property.

The only notice which I received of the intended deprivation of the administration and enjoyment of these estates was the annexed paper, written by the Danish Commandant at Alsen, and by the Court-House of Sonderburg, to my head agent, Counsellor Bahrt. A further step was taken later, when my head agent was removed from my property in connection with the events of the war. This withdrawal from me of the administration and enjoyment of my estates still continues, and the steps which I took during the Armistices of 1848 and 1849 for their recovery have been hitherto fruitless.

Since August 1850 the Danish Government has likewise withdrawn from me the administration and use of my possessions on the mainland of the Duchy of Schleswig situated on the Peninsula Sundewitt, viz., Anenbüllgaard, Gravenstein, Fishbeck, Kieding, Aarup, Kielstrup, and the four so-called "Schwabstedten Ploughs." These, the purchase of my ancestors, are the freehold property of myself and my family.

These estates, as well as those situated on the Isle of Alsen, in consequence of a private arrangement, are family entail.

I am not able to specify the grounds which the Danish Government may have to

adduce for having taken these measures, and I would fain hope that their motive originated solely from military precaution during the war, of which the neighbourhood of my estates was the chief theatre, as the Danish Government had declared in the first instance. I consequently expected my estates to be returned to me at the conclusion of the war, but which, under prevailing circumstances, I am not in a situation to solicit from the Danish Government. The present state of affairs obliges me to request the intervention of the High Germanic Diet to obtain for me the restitution of my property.

I can look with the more confidence to the fulfilment of this request as the jurisdiction of the Diet is beyond question. The peculiar circumstance that the King of Denmark is also Duke of Holstein, as also the peculiar state of the rights and actual state of the Duchies, force me to apply to the Diet.

I claim that protection of the Diet which it will afford me, no less in my quality of member of a German Princely House, than as living in a German Federal State, against attacks upon my rights made by a foreign Government.

I conclude thereupon with the humble request, "that the High Diet will take steps for restoring to me my possessions on the Island of Alsen and on the Peninsula of Sundewitt, together with the moveable effects therein contained."

I remain, &c.

(Signed) CHRISTIAN AUGUST, DUKE OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

Nieustadten, June 22, 1851.

(Translation.)

Illustrious Assembly,

THE Undersigned finds himself under the necessity of solemnly protesting against an accusation contained in a Patent of His Majesty the King of Denmark, dated Christiansborg, May 10, 1851. As an Agnate of the Princely Houses of a German Federal State he looks to the High Diet as the legitimate organ of the German Confederation, and consequently that Body before whom he should lay this protest, and begs a favourable reception of the same.

With due respect the Undersigned remains, &c.

(Signed) CHRISTIAN AUGUST, DUKE OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

Nieustadten, June 22, 1851.

His Majesty the King of Denmark has, in a Patent dated Christiansborg, May 10, 1851, put forward an accusation against me, that I took part in an insurrection, or was instrumental in bringing it about. This accusation, without any foundation, and resting on simple assertion, compels me to a solemn denial.

It is a fact that His Majesty the King of Denmark was, on the 21st of March, 1848, compelled by a popular commotion, and a change in his Ministry, to allow the suspension of the Fundamental Laws, the introduction of a constitutional administration, and the suspension of the ancient relations of the Duchy of Schleswig with that of Holstein, to the prejudice of the Succession in its inseparable connexion with the Kingdom of Denmark. His Majesty the King, no doubt, acted in this respect against his wishes and his own good and free will.

It is moreover a fact that His Majesty the King of Denmark, on the 28th of January, 1848, made a solemn promise that no change should take place in the connexion existing between the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

It is a fact that His Majesty's predecessor and father, King Christian VIII, declared to the Diet on the 7th September, 1846, that he never contemplated bringing about any changes in the relations connecting the Duchy of Holstein with that of Schleswig, and that the Diet accepted this solemn assurance, and under reservation of its own competence, grounded its Resolution of the 17th September for the preservation of the legitimate rights of Succession and State rights of the Duchies.

It is further a fact that the Fundamental Law of Denmark, the Danish Kingly Law, allows at least the introduction of a limited form of a Constitution as now existing in Denmark.

It is finally a fact, that according to Article 26 of the Danish Kingly law, whenever anything is done tending to injure or subvert in any way whatever the sole sovereign authority of the King of Denmark, such will be considered null and of no effect, and the parties so acting be looked upon as offenders against Majesty and traitors. If, therefore, His Majesty the King of Denmark cannot freely support the Constitution factiously established, cannot freely hold to the solemn promise given by himself, and his father before him, if he was compelled to this by a popular commotion, such a commotion in

fact as deserved punishment, that at least which was done by the Duchies with the consent of all the German Governments, and under the protection of the Diet with regard to the disturbances at Copenhagen, can hardly be called insurrection.

And the conduct of the German Diet and the German Sovereigns excludes the possibility of fixing upon this the accusation of insurrection.

The High Diet, as soon as it was acknowledged as such, took under its protection that Government "which constituted itself to defend the rights of the country, with the reservation of the rights of the Duke, and in the name of the same." There is neither in the Treaties of Armistice of the 26th of August, 1848, and 10th of July, 1849, nor in the Treaty of Peace of July 2nd, 1850, and its explanatory Protocols or Memorandums, any declaration or allusion which justifies the Crown of Denmark in designating as insurrection what took place in the Duchies since the month of March 1848. When, notwithstanding, His Majesty the King speaks of insurrection in his Patent of the 10th of May of this year, and designates me as a participator in it, I can only see in this the unabated influence over His Majesty of those persons who in the month of March 1848, persuaded him to do away with the Danish Fundamental Laws, which existed in full force for two centuries, to suspend the old established rights of the Duchies, and to consider as nothing the "solemn assurance given to the High Diet."

I accordingly enter my solemn protest against the accusation contained in the Royal Patent of the 10th of May, and the consequences resulting therefrom, and I entertain the conviction that a time will come when the King of Denmark himself will not refuse me satisfaction.

Given under my Princely signature and seal at Nieustadten, June 22, 1851.

(Signed) CHRISTIAN AUGUST, DUKE OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

We, the Undersigned, have been informed by Privy Counseller Bluhme, acting under Royal orders, that although His Majesty has not thought proper to sequestrate by a direct Royal Decree all the moveable and immoveable property of the Duke of Augustenburg on the Island of Alsen, leaving this to the future decision of his Ministry, it is nevertheless His Majesty's will that the said property should remain under special control, that not only the seal which has been put upon the writing room of the Duke should remain unbroken until the Ministry cause the necessary examination of the papers therein contained to be made, but also that nothing, under any pretence whatever—money, effects, corn, horses, or anything else—shall be allowed to be taken or sent away. We have been further enjoined that so far as the above objects may be required for public, military, or civil purposes, a written requisition to that effect should be given to us, when the delivery should take place under proper control, to the order of the Privy Counsellor, and taking a receipt for the same.

The above is herewith communicated to the Privy Counsellor for his information, and for doing what is necessary.

The Royal Commandant station at Alsen, and office at Sonderburg, April 10, 1848.

(Signed) RIEGELS.
JOHANNSEN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 121.

Protest of the Plenipotentiaries of Holstein and Lauenburg in the sitting of the Diet of the 30th of June, 1851.

(Translation.)

ON the Protest and Petition presented by His Serene Highness the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg to the Diet being read in the 13th sitting of that High Assembly, the Envoy stated at once the grounds which appeared to preclude him on his part from giving explanation on the points mooted by the Petitioner. A closer inspection of the documents in question has only confirmed him in the conviction that it is exclusively a question of a Royal Ordinance, emanating from the Duchy of Schleswig, and of property situated exclusively within that Duchy; and that therefore any connection between this and family agnatic concerns with respect to the Duchy of Holstein is as groundless as are the Petitioner's substantial claims in general. The Envoy meanwhile postponed pursuing the subject further, in deference to its having been laid before a Committee of Petitions for examination, and for the same reasons abstains likewise for the moment from laying any stress on the fact that the Duke, on the very grounds which he himself has chosen to adopt (the validity of which the Envoy impugns withal),

could only address the Diet through the Sovereign. (Provisional Laws of Jurisdiction of 1817, § 5, C. c.)

If, on the other hand, the Petitioner points to the Diet as the organ before which to lay his explanatory Protest (the validity of which the Envoy disclaimed in the 18th sitting), and in this document submits for discussion resolutions and deeds taken and executed by His Majesty the King of Denmark otherwise than in his high capacity of a Prince of the Germanic Confederation, in that case the Envoy must declare at once such to be inadmissible, and the more decidedly as the Duke in this special instance undoubtedly cannot appear in the character of a Holstein subject of His Majesty, and he owes it to the dignity of his Sovereign to enter his most solemn protest against such an attempt, as likewise against the reception of this explanatory Protest, in the name of His Majesty the King of Denmark, Duke of Holstein and Lauenburg.

No. 122.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 25.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, July* 21, 1851.

SINCE I had the honour of addressing your Lordship, steps have been taken with respect to the Succession which, though as yet necessarily only preparatory, show the sincerity of the declaration made by M. de Reedtz that the settlement of that question would be the first object and endeavour of the new-formed Government.

After having obtained the full approbation of His Danish Majesty, formal renunciations to all rights to the Throne in favour of Princess Louisa have been signed by the Landgravine of Hesse and her son Prince Frederic. M. de Reedtz, considering this as the long-desired initiative on the part of His Majesty, told me when I saw him the day before yesterday that he had been fully occupied for the last three or four days in drawing up a declaration (accompanied by a memoire controverting all other claims) which he hoped in the course of the week would be ready for communication to the Parties signing the London Protocol. What had as yet occurred was a family compact among the undoubted heirs to the Danish Throne, not, in fact requiring the consent of the King or the States, which, however, would be necessary in the further progress—that of the cession by the Princess of her rights in whole or in part to her husband, Prince Christian of Glücksburg. It would, of course, be more desirable that this arrangement should receive the sanction of the Great Powers before it was formally submitted by the King to the Diet, as the means, together with the abrogation of the *Lex Regia* as to the Succession, of insuring the continuance of the Danish dominions under one Sovereign. M. de Reedtz has frequently expressed his satisfaction and that of his colleagues at the readiness with which the King entered into all their views, and His Majesty's favourable disposition towards Prince Christian. The Prince and Princess, who had intended to set off last week for a bath in Germany, were requested by the Ministers to delay their departure, and the Prince the day before yesterday went down to the King to thank His Majesty for his concurrence.

No. 123.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir E. Lyons.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 29, 1851.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 15th instant, reporting the substance of a conversation which you had had with His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, upon the question of the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, I have to observe that though Her Majesty's Government do not interfere in this matter, yet they are of opinion that the choice of the Prince of Glücksburg, or of his eldest son, would be a good one.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 124.

*Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Orme.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 29, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copies of despatches relative to the Succession to the Throne of Denmark which I have received from Her Majesty's Ministers at Copenhagen and Stockholm.† I likewise inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir E. Lyons, in reply to his despatch of the 15th instant.‡

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 125.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 1.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, July* 28, 1851.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 21st instant on the subject of the Succession, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the announced official communication has not yet been made; M. de Reedtz says, he is now waiting for the signature of the Princess of Dessau, and for the approval by the Landgrave of that of the Landgravine. Much praise is bestowed on the speech with which the young Prince of Hesse accompanied the renunciation of his rights, when all the Ministers were assembled to receive his signature as well as that of his mother. He said that he considered it a sacrifice necessary for the welfare of the country to which he had so many reasons to be attached, that he made it without demanding or expecting any indemnity whatever, and that the only condition he made was, that it should conduce to preserve the integrity of Denmark to the Elbe, as heretofore existing. The latter part of the speech having been favourably responded to by Count Sponneck, Count Charles Moltke took an opportunity of binding his colleague to the opinions he had expressed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 126.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 4.)

My Lord, *Berlin, July* 31, 1851.

HAVING inquired this morning of M. de le Coq if any progress had been made in the Schleswig-Holstein question he replied that in the affair of the Succession a communication might be shortly expected from Copenhagen, but that otherwise things remain much as they had been for a long sime past. He said also that it was to be regretted that the late changes in the Danish Government had been very insignificant and were not calculated to restore a good feeling in Holstein, but that nevertheless a gradual improvement was going on in the Duchy.

M. de le Coq did not appear to have received any news of interest as to the proceedings of the Diet. General Rochow, I understand from him, is to remain at Frankfort till the 19th of August, about which time he will join the King of Prussia at Hohenzollern and proceed with His Majesty from thence to Ischl, where, I am informed from another source, that there is a question of a meeting taking place between the King and the Emperor of Austria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 127.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 8.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, August* 4, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of 29th July, covering a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Stockholm, and

* The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to Sir H. Wynn and Mr. Magenis. † Nos. 120 and 122.
‡ No. 123.

your Lordship's reply, stating that, though Her Majesty's Government do not interfere in the matter of the Succession, they think the choice of the Prince of Glücksburg a good one, I have only to remark on the unaccountable procrastination which prevails before any official communication is made on the subject, thereby giving time for the intrigues and appeals of the Duke of Augustenburg to His Prussian Majesty, which M. de Reedtz owns have already been too successful, though he does not attach any importance to them, relying on the invalidity of his claim for any eventual sovereignty. With respect to His Highness' territorial possessions, the Government are ready to give the most liberal compensation.

By this delay the Government are acting in direct opposition to the advice of the Emperor of Russia, who, from his connection and rights to part of Holstein, is entitled to express a stronger opinion on the course to be taken than Her Majesty's Government are inclined to do.

M. de Reedtz does not abandon the hope that, when the official communication is made, Her Majesty's Government will not be disinclined to join in a further expression of their approval of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 128.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 18.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 14, 1851.

BARON MANTEUFFEL mentioned to me to-day that Baron Budberg had communicated to him a despatch which he had just received from Count Nesselrode upon the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg in the Danish Succession, and that he could not agree to the opinions laid down in the Russian despatch.

His Excellency said that the Emperor of Russia appeared to adopt entirely the views of the Danish Government, and to consider that nothing was more simple than to declare the Duke of Augustenburg's title as null and void in consequence of some early renunciations and some omissions in the registration of his claims, but that the King could not consent to the adoption of any such arbitrary course, and that his opinions would be guided by those of the German Diet, which was alone competent to settle the question; that further the King could not admit that the question was an European one, and that certainly, as far as the Succession in Holstein was concerned, he must consider it a purely German one.

I told Baron Manteuffel that I was sorry to learn the existence of this great difference of opinions between the Prussian and Russian Cabinets on so important a question, and that I hoped some means would be discovered of enabling the negotiations which had been opened on the question of the Succession in Denmark to be continued in the same spirit in which they had been commenced.

Baron Manteuffel seemed to persist in the opinion that it was a mere question for the decision of the Diet, and he gave me to understand that the King was indisposed to admit of any modifications on this point, though he might be willing to communicate with the Duke of Augustenburg as to future indemnifications; leaving, however, the decision as to the legality of the Duke's rights of Succession entirely to the Diet.

After my interview with Baron Manteuffel I called on the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, who told me that he had had a most unsatisfactory conversation with the Prussian President of the Council, and that he feared there was for the moment a complete stop in the question of the Danish Succession; that the King said an unfair interpretation had been put on his words at Warsaw, and that he had never offered to become a negotiator with the Duke of Augustenburg in any other sense than that of considering how far he would be justified in accepting the indemnities to be offered by Denmark.

Baron Budberg told me that for the moment he did not see what was to be done; that he had used to Baron Manteuffel every argument he could bring forward in the hope of modifying his opinions, and thereby exercising some influence on those of the King, but that he feared he had made but little impression on him. He urged Baron Manteuffel to advise the King to write another letter to the Duke of Augustenburg, and his Excellency has promised to submit the question to His Majesty during the journey to Frankfort.

In speaking with Baron Budberg on this communication, he said to me that the Emperor would never yield the point of considering the question a purely German one,

much less would he allow his title to a portion of the Danish Succession to be submitted to the ordeal of the Diet; that it was an European and not a German title which had to be established if ever the discussion of this point arose.

He added further, that the Danish Government had brought much of the present difficulties on themselves by their slowness in preparing Reports which they had promised long ago; and that whilst the Danes seemed, on the one hand, inclined to neglect their interests, the Duke of Augustenburg, on the other, was displaying the greatest activity at Frankfort. That the hope of a satisfactory termination of the differences must rest mainly in the opinions of the London Protocol, and in the favourable disposition of Austria, for it was unfortunately but too evident that the King of Prussia was more likely to complicate than to assist in smoothing down the difficulties with which the question was surrounded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 129.

*Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Buchanan.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 21, 1851.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Lord Bloomfield respecting the question of the Succession in Denmark.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 130.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 22.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, August* 18, 1851.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires at this Court has received a despatch from Count Nesselrode, in which, I understand, he is instructed to express to M. de Reedtz the satisfaction with which the Emperor has heard of the late change in the Administration of this country. His Imperial Majesty regrets that it has been found necessary to retain some members (Count Sponneck, Madvig, and Tillisch), preventing the Administration having that "caractère homogène" which would ensure a more conciliating policy being adopted in the Duchies. Great compliments are paid on the part of His Imperial Majesty to M. de Reedtz and to Count Charles Moltke, and confidence expressed in the salutary influence which he trusts they will be able to exert in His Danish Majesty's Councils.

The same messenger was charged with a letter from the Emperor to his son-in-law, Prince Frederick of Hesse, expressive of His Imperial Majesty's satisfaction at the dignified manner in which His Serene Highness had announced his renunciation of the eventual right to the Danish Throne.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 131.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 22.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, August* 19, 1851.

THE Danish Plenipotentiary, M. de Bülow, has informed me that since I last saw him, he has been instructed to obtain an Act of Renunciation to the Crown of Denmark from the Landgrave William of Hesse, and from His Serene Highness' daughter the Princess of Dessau, who are sojourning at Rumpenheim in this neighbourhood. M. de Bülow has succeeded in obtaining both, the Princess having alone asked for a

* Similar despatches were addressed to Mr. Magenis (dated 29th August), and to Sir H. Wynn, Lord Cowley and Sir E. Lyons(dated 30th of August).

† No, 128.

pension in favour of her unmarried daughters whenever the question of the Danish Succession is settled, a request which M. de Bülow stated to me his Government had authorized him to acquiesce in.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 132.

*Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Magenis.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 26, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copies of despatches upon the affairs of Denmark and the Duchies, which I have received from Her Majesty's Ministers at Frankfort and Copenhagen.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 133.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 29.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, August* 25, 1851.

THE letters to the different Sovereigns whose Representatives were Parties to the London Protocol, and also one to the King of Prussia, were yesterday signed by His Danish Majesty, and will be sent off to-day or to-morrow. I have seen that addressed to the Queen, in which His Danish Majesty announces his intention of settling the Succession on Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his descendants by his present Consort Princess Louisa of Hesse, and expresses his hope that Her Majesty will receive favourably the different communications which Count Reventlow is charged to make on the subject, and that she will co-operate in thus preserving the integrity of Denmark, so necessary to the general interests of Europe.

I have not seen the different documents which will at the same time be transmitted to the Danish Minister, but I understand the most important is a long memoir showing the invalidity of any claim on the part of the Augustenburg family. As some time must elapse before any answer can be received, M. de Reedtz is going to his estate in Jutland for ten days or a fortnight.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 134.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 30.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 23, 1851.

A REPORT having reached me yesterday from Berlin that some difference of opinion had arisen between the Prussian and Russian Governments respecting the right of the Duke of Augustenburg to the Ducal Crown of Holstein, and as to the nature of the engagements undertaken by the King of Prussia at Warsaw, to use his influence with the Duke of Augustenburg for the purpose of removing any difficulties which the claims of that Prince might offer to an arrangement for establishing the Succession to the Danish Monarchy, I availed myself of an opportunity, in the evening, to speak to Baron Brunnow on this subject.

I said to him that I understood the King of Prussia did not seem inclined to take the part in this question which he had been expected to do; and that some difficulties had arisen as to the light in which the Duke's claims should be regarded.

Baron Brunnow said it was the duty of the King of Denmark to take the initiative in the question; and that the first step must clearly come from His Danish Majesty by the offer of an indemnity for the acceptance of the Duke. I then asked whether the refusal to acknowledge the existence of any rights on the part of the Duke was not likely to

* Under flying seal to Lord Bloomfield. † Nos. 130 and 131.

prove a stumbling-block in the negotiation to be entered into with him; and Baron Brunnow rejoined that, in his opinion, where no rights existed indemnities were never offered; that it would be therefore as well to leave that question in the background; and that, without entering into any discussion upon it, the King of Denmark should make a liberal offer, say 10,000*l.* a-year, intimating, at the same time, that if it was not accepted means would be found to settle the question without the Duke's participation.

Although Baron Brunnow spoke as if expressing his personal opinions, it is not probable that they can differ from those of his Government, and I have therefore thought it advisable to report them to your Lordship; and it may, perhaps, be deduced from them that if an objection as to the principle on which the question is to be treated has been raised at Berlin, there is at present a disposition here rather to avoid than court a discussion on the subject, as the principal object in view may be obtained without entering into a controversy as to the relative rights of the parties interested.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 135.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Buchanan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 3, 1851.

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Sir H. Wynn respecting the Succession to the Throne of Denmark.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 136.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 3.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 30, 1851.

COUNT BILLE-BRAHE, the Danish Minister at Vienna, who has been for some time on leave of absence, arrived here yesterday from Copenhagen, on his way to his post.

He is charged likewise with a special mission to this Court on the subject of the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, and directed to inform the Prussian Government that the King's choice has fallen upon Prince Christian of Glücksburg.

Your Lordship will, no doubt, have been fully informed by Sir Henry Wynn of the exact nature of Count Bille-Brahe's instructions, and as the Danish Envoy is likely to remain here ten days or a fortnight longer, and as I understand that he is also charged with instructions respecting the restoration of the King-Duke's authority in Holstein and ordered to press the evacuation of the Duchy by the Federal troops, I have the honour to request your Lordship to send me any directions with which you may think it advisable to supply me, in the event of Count Bille-Brahe's applying to Her Majesty's Legation for advice and assistance during his stay here.

He had at first intended to proceed without delay to Ischl, in the hope that he might be able to see the King and Baron Manteuffel there, but upon further consideration he has decided to remain at Berlin until their return. His Majesty will be here on the 8th of September; Baron Manteuffel is expected two days earlier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 137.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 5.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 26, 1851.

I REGRET that I have not been able to see Count Nesselrode since I had the honour of addressing your Lordship on the 23rd instant, and I have therefore endeavoured to obtain from my Prussian colleague some further information on the

* No. 133

subject of the difference of opinion between the Cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburgh respecting the eventual claims of the Duke of Augustenburg on the Duchy of Holstein.

I have been informed by Count Henckel that in consequence of M. de Reedtz having stated on his return to Copenhagen that the King of Prussia had expressed to him at Berlin his concurrence in the opinion of the Danish and Russian Governments that the Duke of Augustenburg had forfeited all claims to the eventual sovereignty of the Duchy by his rebellion, by marriages in his family, and by other irregularities, a despatch was addressed to Baron Werther denying that His Prussian Majesty had ever taken upon himself to pronounce such a judgment upon the claims of the Duke, and maintaining that if those claims were to be contested, they must be duly examined and decided upon by a competent tribunal; but I believe the despatch further stated that the King was willing to recommend to His Highness' consideration any proposals of an acceptable character which the King of Denmark might be disposed to make to him for the withdrawal of his claims.

Count Henckel told me that a copy of this despatch was sent to him for his own information, with permission to use it only in the event of his finding that M. de Reedtz's statement had been repeated at St. Petersburgh, and that Count Nesselrode participated in the erroneous impressions which he entertained of the views of the King.

M. de Henckel said that having ascertained this to be the case, he put the despatch to Baron Werther into his Excellency's hands, who remarked, after reading it, that he regretted to perceive the Prussian Government were inclined to raise a discussion upon legal points and the rights of parties; because if the question were to be treated legally, its practical solution, which Russia was most anxious to arrive at, would be indefinitely postponed or never attained.

The Chancellor, after keeping the despatch for some days, addressed an instruction to Baron Budberg about the 9th instant, making some animadversions on its contents, and urging the King to fulfil the engagements which he had contracted at Warsaw, and some discussion on the subject appears consequently to have taken place between that Minister and Baron Manteuffel, during which the latter maintained that the Diet at Frankfort was the only competent tribunal in which questions of right could be decided, and that the King could not interfere in them at all.

Count Henckel, in communicating this information to me, declared that there was no ground for accusing his Sovereign of a wish to avoid the complete fulfilment of his engagements, as His Majesty was ready to recommend the Duke of Augustenburg to accept a fair compensation for his claims; but on the other hand he said that the King could neither force the Duke to enter into the arrangements which might be proposed to him, nor, if the Duke chose to reserve his claims and have their value decided by the Confederation, could His Majesty prevent him from taking such a course.

Your Lordship must be already acquainted with the facts above alluded to, and have also better means of judging than I have how far the Prussian Government are disposed to act inconsistently with the spirit of the King's engagements at Warsaw, and encourage the Duke of Augustenburg to persist in submitting his rights in Holstein to the examination of the Diet at Frankfort; but I have nevertheless thought that Count Henckel's statements to me might prove interesting to your Lordship, as they were evidently made with a view to satisfy me of His Sovereign's sincerity and of His Majesty's fidelity to his engagements, and also for the purpose of attributing the entire blame of the correspondence which has taken place on the subject to the Cabinet of Copenhagen. Count Henckel could not however inform me whether, when Count Nesselrode urged the expediency of not discussing questions of right, his Excellency considered that the Danish Government in bringing forward their proposals for the arrangement of the Succession, should abstain from expressing their sentiments respecting the claims of the Duke, and from declaring the forfeiture of his Highness's rights. But though M. de Henckel does not appear to have put any question on this point to the Chancellor, he evidently thinks that such a course will be recommended to the Cabinet of Copenhagen by the Russian Government, and that his Excellency wishes an arrangement to be made with the Duke without any discussion whatever as to the value of his rights.

Your Lordship will be aware how far I am correct in believing that no such

ideas prevail at Copenhagen, but that on the contrary it is contemplated there to pronounce authoritatively the forfeiture of the Duke's rights, and that there is little probability of the offer of any compensation which may be intended for him being made in a manner particularly agreeable to his feelings.

Perhaps however it may be inferred from Baron Brunnow's observations to me reported in my despatch of May 23, that Count Nesselrode, whatever may have been his Excellency's previous opinions, begins to feel that the Danish Government will do well to avoid if possible the discussions to which a declaration of the forfeiture of the Duke's rights might occasion, and that however distrustful the Russian Government may be of the King of Prussia, and however necessary they may think it to hold strong language to the Prussian Cabinet, they may perhaps also feel at present that M. de Reedtz would have acted more prudently if he had abstained from quoting admissions as to the untenable character of the Duke of Augustenburg's claims which the King of Prussia may possibly have made to him, but which it might not be convenient for His Majesty publicly to avow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 138.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 5, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch upon the question of the Danish Succession which I have received from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburgh.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 139.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, September* 4, 1851.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Count Bille-Brahe has delivered to M. de le Coq a copy of a letter which the King of Denmark has addressed to His Prussian Majesty respecting the affairs of the Duchies, and that he hopes to have an audience of the King immediately after His Majesty's return to Berlin, which is expected on Monday next.

I am told that the two principal points in this letter are the announcement by the King of Denmark of the selection which he has made of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as his Successor, and the expression of his hope that His Prussian Majesty will be disposed to co-operate with him in endeavouring to bring to a satisfactory termination the several long-pending questions connected with the Duchies.

Count Bille-Brahe is charged with several voluminous reports which he is to communicate to Baron Manteuffel. He is instructed to press the evacuation of Holstein by the Federal troops, and to invoke the assistance of the Prussian Government in re-establishing the authority of the King-Duke in the Duchy; to request the adhesion of Prussia to the London Protocol, and if that is not obtainable, to propose that a separate declaration to the same effect shall be published.

I have had some conversations with Count Bille-Brahe since his arrival, and have found him moderate and conciliatory in his language, and apparently most desirous to do everything in his power to close the whole affair. He informed me that the wishes of his Government with regard to Schleswig were that it should have its own States, separate from Denmark and from Holstein; that Holstein should also have its own independent States; that complete freedom of intercourse shall exist between the two Duchies; and that a Commercial Tariff shall be established for the whole Kingdom, one of the objects of the Danish Government being to keep Holstein out of the Prussian Commercial Union.

* No. 134.

The Danish Minister mentioned to me also that in the future arrangements for Holstein the Danish Government were desirous to give every reasonable consideration to the views and wishes of the German Confederation, but at the same it was their desire to make the Duchy as independent as possible of German influence.

He stated likewise that he was charged with a communication upon the Duke of Augustenburg's claims, and that he trusted the propositions he had to make would be found acceptable, but that he feared they would encounter serious difficulties.

No. 140.

Count Reventlow to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September .)

M. le Vicomte, *La Légation Danoise, ce* 8 *Septembre,* 1851.

DES le moment où la paix fut heureusement rendu au Nord de l'Europe, le Roi mon auguste Maître, animé du désir aussi vif que sincère d'asseoir la tranquillité dans ses Etats sur une base forte et durable, a espéré que dans ses efforts pour atteindre ce grand résultat il pourra, comme par le passé, compter sur la co-opération des Puissances amies et alliées.

Depuis longtemps déjà le Roi mon auguste Maître ne s'est point dissimulé qu'une des principales causes des déplorables événements qui ont marqué les dernières années de l'histoire du Danemark doit être cherchée dans les doutes qui ont été élevés touchant la Succession dans certaines parties de la Monarchie Danoise. Le Roi a pensé que le moment était venu pour son Gouvernement et ses illustres alliés de réunir leurs efforts dans le but de mettre un terme à ces doutes fâcheux et de consolider ainsi la paix dans le Nord de l'Europe.

Comme la question de Succession, indépendamment de l'intérêt Européen qui s'y rattache en général, est d'une importance spéciale pour la Maison d'Oldenbourg, puisqu'en grande partie il s'agit de fixer la véritable et juste interprétation de Traités conclus entre les deux lignes principales de cette Maison, le Roi a dû s'adresser en premier lieu à Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies en sa qualité de Chef de l'une de ces deux lignes.

Les ouvertures qui ont été faites en cette circonstance par le Cabinet de Copenhague ont trouvé, grâce aux nobles et généreuses intentions de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, un accueil qui a rendu possible au Roi mon auguste Maître d'obtenir, au moyen d'un arrangement de famille dans sa Royale Maison, un résultat qui parait promettre à la question de Succession une solution prochaine et satisfaisante.

La sollicitude constante du Roi ne lui permet cependant pas de s'en tenir à une réussite partielle de cette importante affaire. Sa Majesté doit vivement désirer d'obtenir l'assentiment et le concours de ses alliés, afin que la combinaison qui, à l'aide du Tout Puissant, devra garantir la paix du Nord, puisse être inaugurée par la sanction générale de l'Europe. En m'acquittant des ordres du Roi mon auguste Maître, j'ai l'honneur de soumettre à la haute appréciation du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique un exposé succinct des vues et des considérations qui en cette grave circonstance ont guidé Sa Majesté et son Gouvernement.

Aussi longtemps que la Divine Providence daignera conserver les jours de Sa Majesté et de Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Héréditaire Frédéric Ferdinand, l'ordre de Sucession dans la Monarchie Danoise entière ne saurait être sujet à aucun doute ni à aucune controverse. Ce n'est que dans le cas où le Roi et le Prince Héréditaire viendraient à décéder sans laisser de descendance mâle que le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise pourrait paraître menacé; car, tandisque dans une semblable éventualité, la Succession continuera à être à l'abri de toute incertitude dans la partie de la Monarchie qui en raison de son étendue et de sa population est de beaucoup la plus prépondérante, des doutes quant à la Succession dans certaines parties de la Monarchie ne sont pas entierèment exclus.

En présence de cette perspective il est donc indispensable de choisir pour successeur un Prince qui devienne cessionnaire à la fois des droits incontestables et des prétentions douteuses aux différentes parties de la Monarchie Danoise:—

1. Les prétentions douteuses portent sur la Succession dans la plus grande partie du Duché actuel de Holstein, à savoir, la portion dont se composait, jusqu'à la chûte du Saint Empire, le Duché fief de Holstein, à l'exception toutefois du district de Ploen. Comme prétendants se présentent:—

La Maison Royale de Danemark, en vertu des dispositions de sa Loi de Succession, le Chef de la ligne principale dite de Kiel de la Maison d'Oldenbourg, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et enfin les Princes apanagés séparément ("abgetheilte Herren") de la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg, nommément les Princes d'Augustenbourg.

Se fondant sur différents titres, chacun de ces prétendants s'attribue le droit de succéder dans la plus grande partie de l'ancien Duché fief de Holstein, après l'extinction éventuelle de la descendance mâle de la Maison Royale de Danemark (la ligne principale dite de Glückstadt de la Maison d'Oldenbourg).

Il a souvent été démontré combien les arguments qui ont été produits pour établir le droit prétendu de Succession des Princes de Sonderbourg, et nommément d'Augustenbourg, sont dénués de fondement.

Cette ligne collatérale et apanagée avait, longtemps déjà avant la dissolution de l'Empire d'Allemagne, cédé ses possessions féodales et les droits dans le Holstein qui s'y rattachent à la Maison Royale de Danemark, et avait cessé ensuite de demander l'investiture simultanée reconnue solennellement comme étant une condition indispensable sur laquelle reposait, pour cette ligne collatérale, tout droit de Succession dans l'ancien Duché fief de Holstein.

Ces faits décident par eux-mêmes la question d'une manière si concluante qu'il devient superflu de rappeler ici ce que les Princes d'Augustenbourg ont pu compromettre par des mariages inégaux, et ont perdu récemment encore par leur felonie contre leur légitime Souverain.

Les arguments qui ont été allégués comme militant en faveur du droit de Succession revendiqué par la Ligne principale dite de Kiel méritent une appréciation particulière; mais les titres sur lesquels la Maison Royale de Danemark fonde ses prétentions ne la méritent pas moins. D'ailleurs il n'est pas question ici d'examiner la plus ou moins grande validité que peuvent avoir ces deux catégories de prétentions. Il suffit de bien établir que le droit de Succession dans le ci-devant Duché fief de Holstein doit revenir ou à la Ligne principale dite de Kiel, ou à la Maison Royale de Danemark comme telle, et que par conséquent Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark possèdent indubitablement, en leur qualité de chefs de famille, la faculté de règler, par un commun accord, le droit de Succession dans l'ancien Duché fief de Holstein.

Et en effet l'Empereur de Russie a déclaré être prêt à renoncer en faveur de Son Altesse Monseigneur le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle à tous les droits et titres de Succession pouvant appartenir à Sa dite Majesté Impériale et à ses descendants mâles dans l'ancien Duché fief de Holstein.

De son côté le Roi a pris une disposition dont il sera fait mention plus tard et en vertu de laquelle les prétentions analogues de la Maison Royale de Danemark pourront être transférées sur le même Prince. La Succession dans le Holstein, d'incertaine et de flottante qu'elle pouvait être entre la Ligne principale, dite de Kiel, et la Maison Royale de Danemark, se trouve hors de toute atteinte, en étant transférée sur la personne du Prince Christian de Glücksbourg et sur sa descendance mâle, dès que le moment sera venu où ce Prince et ses héritiers cumuleront sur leurs têtes les deux prétentions principales.

2. La Succession dans le reste de la Monarchie Danoise est incontestablement réglée par la *lex regia*, qui établit l'ordre de Succession agnatique aussi longtemps qu'il existe des descendants mâles du Roi Frédéric III, premier Roi héréditaire de la Maison d'Oldenbourg, et ce n'est qu'après leur extinction que la Succession cognatique est admise. Suivant les dispositions de la dite Loi de Succession de la Maison Royale ces règles sont en vigueur non seulement pour les parties appartenant à la Couronne Danoise ("Danmark's Rige: Regnum Daniæ") à savoir les îles Danoises, le Nörrejylland, le Slesvig ou le Sönderjylland, avec les dépendances et les Colonies Danoises, mais aussi pour toutes les autres possessions que les Rois de Danemark ont acquises ou acquerront à titre de propriété particulière (le "sœr Eyeres Ret" de la *lex regia*), à savoir, le Duché de Lauenbourg, et dans le Holstein les anciennes possessions allodiales des Schauenbourg et le district de Ploën, et pour tous les titres et droits enfin qui pourraient appartenir à la Maison Royale de Danemark sur le ci-devant Duché fief de Holstein.

Il est vrai de dire que dans les derniers temps, on a de certains côtés tenté d'invalider l'application de ce mode de Succession dans quelques unes des dites parties. Après la publication de la Lettre Patente du 8 Juillet, 1846, le Gouvernement du Roi croit superflu de déclarer que les doutes qu'on a ainsi voulu accréditer à cet égard sont entièrement dénués de fondement. Car pour ce qui regarde le Slesvig il est de notoriété publique, que tant que le Danemark a existé, cette province a constamment formé une partie intégrante de la Couronne de Danemark, et que, quand par l'effet d'événements malheureux cet antique lien eut été un instant relâché, le Slesvig fut au commencement du siècle passé incorporé à la Couronne Danoise par de nouvelles prestations de foi et d'hommage, par de

nouvelles renonciations, et par des garanties de la part des Grandes Puissances ; actes solennels et obligatoires pour les autres Parties Contractantes. Ainsi l'ordre de Succession es parfaitement clair dans les pa es susmentionnées de la Monarchie Danois.

Après le Roi actuellement rég nt et Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Héréditaire Frédéric Ferdinand, Son Altesse Royale Madame la Landgrave Louise Charlotte de Hesse se trouve sans contredit être la plus proche et la plus légitime héritière de la Couronne, et après elle ses enfants et leurs lignes, dans l'ordre suivant :—D'abord Son Altesse Serénissime Monseigneur le Prince Frédéric de Hesse, ensuite sa sœur ainée Son Altesse Serénissime Madame la Princesse Marie, épouse de Son Altesse Serénissime Monseigneur le Prince Frédéric d'Anhalt-Dessau, et puis sa sœur cadette Son Altesse Madame la Princesse Louise, épouse de Son Altesse Monseigneur le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg, le même Prince en faveur duquel Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie a manifesté l'intention de renoncer à tous les droits de Succession qui peuvent lui revenir sur l'ancien Duché fief du Holstein.

Le mariage entre le Prince Christian et la Princesse Louise, appelée elle-même éventuellement à la Succession en vertu de la *lex regia*, paraît offrir le moyen le plus naturel de conserver l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, sans léser aucun droit réel. Cette heureuse combinaison facilite singulièrement la réalisation des vues du Roi, et c'est pour la faire réussir que sur son invitation Son Altesse Serénissime Madame la Landgrave Louise Charlotte de Hesse, Son Altesse Serénissime Monseigneur le Prince Frédéric de Hesse, et Son Altesse Serénissime Madame la Princesse Marie d'Anhalt-Dessau, ont volontairement rénoncée en faveur de Son Altesse Madame la Princesse Louise de Glücksbourg à tout le droit de Succession qui leur revient en conformité de la *lex regia*.

Le droit de Succession à la Couronne Danoise ainsi transféré à la Princesse Louise et à ses descendants embrasse, comme il est dit plus haut, le Royaume de Danemark proprement-dit avec le Duché de Slesvig, les dépendances et Colonies Danoises, ensuite les possessions qu'ont acquises les Rois de Danemark à titre de propriété particulière, à savoir, le Lauenbourg et dans le Holstein les anciennes possessions allodiales des Schauenbourg et le district de Ploen, ainsi que tous les droits et titres enfin pouvant appartenir à la Maison Royale de Danemark sur l'ancien Duché fief de Holstein.

3. Par conséquent le droit de Succession dans toute la Monarchie Danoise pourra être réuni d'une manière facile et naturelle sur la tête du Prince Christian de Glücksbourg, de son épouse la Princesse Louise, et de leurs descendants.

Mais comme il est dans l'intérêt du pays et dans celui de l'Europe d'éviter que la Monarchie Danoise, ne fût-ce que momentanément, soit placé sous les sceptres de deux Souverains dont l'un, le Prince Christian, régnerait sur une partie de la Monarchie, tandis que la Princesse son épouse régnerait sur l'autre, le Roi a cherché, à l'aide d'un arrangement de famille qu'il vient de conclure dans sa Maison Royale, à prevenir qu'une pareille éventualité ne puisse se présenter dans la suite.

Le Prince Christian, issue de la ligne collatérale des Sonderbourg, ne possède, il est vrai, en raison de sa descendance du Roi Christian I aucun droit de Succession ni à la Couronne Danoise ni à aucune autre des parties dont se compose la Monarchie Danoise. Mais du lustre que ce Prince tire nécessairement de sa qualité de membre de la Maison d'Oldenbourg viennent s'ajouter les sympathies méritées qu'il a su conquérir par sa belle et noble conduite, et ces circonstances réunies sont de nature à rendre possible la combinaison qui fait reposer sur sa personne le grand principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise.

Une transaction préparatoire a déjà eu lieu dans le but de mettre à exécution ce projet. La Princesse Louise de Glücksbourg a volontairement renoncé tant en son nom qu'en celui de ses enfants issus de son mariage avec lui de telle manière que la Succession venant à s'ouvrir, même du vivant de la Princesse Louise, le Prince Christian, et après lui ses enfants tenant leur droit de Succession du côté de leur mère, monteraient sur le Trône du Danemark.

C'est ainsi que le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg et la descendance issue de son mariage avec la Princesse Louise pourront réunir tous les droits et titres de Succession dans la Monarchie Danoise.

Le Roi ne doute pas qu'après avoir pris connaissance du présent exposé, les Puissances alliées et amies du Danemark ne reconnaissent que la question de la Succession a fait des progrès qui faciliteront et simplifieront éminemment la solution de cette importante affaire, naguère si épineuse et si compliquée. Car en premier lieu Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies et Son Altesse Royale Madame la Landgrave Louise Charlotte de Hesse ont renoncés à leurs droits et titres respectifs, et en second lieu le Roi mon auguste Maître s'est déterminé pour une combinaison qui est de nature à assurer

l'intégrité de la Monarchie, aussi longtemps que la Maison Impériale de Russie et le Prince Christian de Glücksburg auront des descendants mâles.

Les points auxquels dans de telles circonstances le Roi s'est arrêté définitivement sont:—

Que la Succession dans l'ancien Duché fief de Holstein appartient après Sa Majesté et Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Héréditaire Frédéric Ferdinand, ou à la Maison Royale de Danemark, comme telle, c'est-à-dire, en vertu de l'ordre de Succession établi par la *lex regia*, à Son Altesse Royale Madame la Landgrave Louise Charlotte de Hesse, ou à la ligne principale dite de Kiel de la Maison d'Oldenbourg, c'est-à-dire, en vertu du statut de primogeniture de l'année 1608, à Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies;

Que Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies possède le droit de substituer à la place de son auguste personne et de ses descendants mâles, le Prince Christian de Glücksburg et ses descendants mâles; et de même que Son Altesse Royale Madame la Landgrave de Hesse, son fils et fille ainés, peuvent également renoncer à leurs droits et titres respectifs en faveur de la Princesse Louise de Glücksbourg afin que de son côté cette Princesse puisse les transférer en son nom et en celui de ses enfants à son époux, et après lui aux enfants issus de son mariage avec lui; et

Qu'en vertu des dites renonciations de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies et de Son Altesse Royale Madame la Landgrave de Hesse et de ses enfants, Son Altesse Monseigneur le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg avec ses descendants mâles est désigné comme le plus proche à succéder dans toutes les parties de la Monarchie Danoise après le Roi et Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Héréditaire Frédéric Ferdinand, conformément à une nouvelle loi de Succession à promulguer pour la Monarchie Danoise.

C'est pour ses résultats simples et pratiques, au moyen desquels, si telle est la volonté du Tout Puissant, la question de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise pourra être heureusement résolue pour l'avenir, que le Roi mon auguste Maître désire obtenir l'assentiment et la garantie de ses alliés en demandant que les Puissances signataires du Protocole des Conférences tenues à Londres au Foreign Office le 2 et 23 Août, 1850, ainsi que la Prusse, consentent à munir leurs Représentants à Londres des pleins pouvoirs nécessaires à l'effet de donner le caractère d'une transaction Européenne au principe que l'état des possessions actuellement réunies sous la domination de Sa Majesté Danoise soit maintenu dans son intégrité, et de procurer par un acte de reconnaissance Européenne un gage additionnel de stabilité aux arrangements en vertu desquels le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg conjointement avec son épouse Madame la Princesse Louise, et leur descendance mâle, seront reconnus comme successeurs présomptifs au Trône de Danemark.

Le Roi mon Maître croît qu'une Conférence des Ministres, munis à cet effet d'instructions et de pleins pouvoirs spéciaux par leurs Gouvernments respectifs serait le mode le plus approprié pour atteindre le but qui forme l'objet de sa constante sollicitude, et Sa Majesté a pensé qu'une pareille Conférence pourrait peut-être convenablement se rattacher aux négociations qui ont eu lieu à Londres en vue de la conservation de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise. En ayant l'honneur, par l'ordre de mon Gouvernement, d'inviter celui de Sa Majesté Britannique à vouloir bien se réunir dans une Conférence avec les autres Puissances co-signataires du Protocole de Londres du 2 et 23 Août, 1850, ainsi qu'avec la Prusse, à l'époque et dans le lieu sur lesquels on tomberait d'accord plus tard, j'ai l'honneur d'ajouter que le Roi a cru devoir exprimer ce désir directement à Sa Majesté Britannique en adressant dans une affaire qui concerne les premiers et les plus précieux interêts de sa Couronne, un pressant appel à l'amitié de Sa Majesté Britannique. Sa Majesté vient à cet effet d'écrire à Sa Majesté Britannique une lettre particulière que je suis chargé de remettre à sa haute destination et dont je m'empresse de transmettre sous ce plie la copie d'usage à votre Excellence.

En réclamant l'intervention de sa bienveillance accoutumée pour obtenir la faveur d'une audience auprès de Sa Majesté Britannique, j'ose prier votre Excellence de me faire connaître les résolutions prises par son Gouvernement au sujet des demandes que j'ai l'honneur de lui soumettre par ma présente note.

C'est, &c.
(Signé) REVENTLOW.

No. 141.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 8.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, September* 2, 1851.

COUNT PLESSEN, the Danish Minister Extraordinary at this Court, has been charged by his Government with a communication relative to the Succession

to the Throne of Denmark, identical, as the Count informs me, with that which Count Bille-Brahe is now at Berlin to make to the Prussian Cabinet, and which Count Reventlow is to make to your Lordship. It is unnecessary, then, that I should advert to it, and I will merely add that Count Plessen informs me that he has delayed presenting to Prince Schwartzenberg this voluminous document until his Highness returns from Ischl.

No. 142.

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord Cowley.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 8, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, copies of despatches upon the affairs of Denmark and the Duchies, which I have received from Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen and from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburgh.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 143.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Buchanan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 10, 1851.

I INCLOSE herewith, for your information, copies of correspondence as noted in the margin‡ respecting the state of affairs in Holstein and the question as to the Succession in Denmark.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 144.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 12.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 2, 1851.

AT an interview which I had yesterday with Count Nesselrode I observed to his Excellency that I was sorry to learn that a misunderstanding existed between the Prussian and Russian Governments as to the arrangements to be made with the Duke of Augustenburg for completing the re-settlement of the Danish Succession, and I inquired whether the difficulties which had arisen as I understood on the part of the King of Prussia were merely matters of form, or whether his Excellency looked at them in a more serious light.

Count Nesselrode said, "But is it certain that any difficulties have been made by the King of Prussia?" And on my answering that I had reason to believe that the King had objected to consider the rights of the Duke as forfeited, and had spoken of the Diet at Frankfort as being alone capable of deciding that question, his Excellency rejoined, however that might be, it would be incompatible with the dignity of the King of Denmark to pursue any other course than that of declaring the invalidity of the Duke's claims; that a memoir in that sense would therefore be submitted in the course of a few days to the King of Prussia; and that subsequently he presumed a confidential communication would be made to His Prussian Majesty which would enable him to treat with the Duke on the subject of the indemnities which the King of Denmark would be willing to grant to his Highness.

His Excellency in making this statement did not express any distinct opinion upon the present position of the question, but his observations were intended to convey the impression that he believed the matter would be arranged satisfactorily by the good offices of His Prussian Majesty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

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* The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to Lord Bloomfield and Mr. Magenis. † Nos. 133 and 134.
‡ Nos. 139 and 141.

No. 145.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Magenis.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 13, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch upon the affairs of Denmark, which I have received from Her Majesty's Minister at Berlin.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 146.

Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(September 15.)

(Extract.) *Vienna, September* 9, 1851.

THE Danish Minister at this Court has presented to Prince Schwartzenberg, since his Highness' return from Ischl, the communication (the receipt of which I announced to your Lordship in my despatch of the 2nd instant) upon the question of the Succession of Prince Christian of Glücksburg to the Danish Throne, in the event of the decease of the present King of Denmark.

Prince Schwartzenberg abstained from expressing to Count Plessen any opinion either upon the above-mentioned communication, or upon that which the Count had forwarded to him to Ischl, respecting the withdrawal of the Federal troops from Holstein.

I learned from Prince Schwartzenberg, during our conversation, that from the communications which he had had with His Prussian Majesty and M. de Manteuffel at Ischl, he had no reason to think that the King of Prussia was desirous of regarding the question of the Danish Succession as a question to be decided by the Diet. When I made allusion to such an opinion, his Highness added that I must have been misinformed.

No. 147.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, September* 11, 1851.

I INCLOSE an extract of Count Bille-Brahe's instructions, which that Minister has communicated to me, respecting the indemnities which the Danish Government would propose to give to the Duke of Augustenburg, in the event of his consent to retire from the King's dominions, giving certain guarantees that he will remain quiet.

Inclosure in No. 147.

M. de Reedtz to Count Bille-Brahe.

(Extrait.) *Copenhague, le* 26 *Août,* 1851.

JE ne crois pas devoir passer ici sous silence que la question d'indemnités éventuelles a été traitée dans les entretiens que j'ai eus avec M. le Baron de Manteuffel à mon dernier séjour à Berlin.

Je fis entrevoir à cette occasion la possibilité que le Gouvernement du Roi consentisse, quant au Duc d'Augustenbourg, à lui accorder, soit une rente réglée sur la valeur et en sus de ses terres de Slesvig, soit le payement d'un capital y conforme, à condition qu'il prenne sa demeure avec sa famille en dehors des Etats du Roi, et donne des garanties qu'il se tiendra dorénavant tranquille; mais je déclarai en même temps que si le Duc et ses proches parents, au lieu de se tenir tranquilles, s'ingéniaient à préparer des difficultés au Gouvernement du Roi, la possibilité sus-mentionnée n'aurait non seulement pas de suite, mais lui et les Princes d'Augustenbourg qui ont pris part à l'insurrection seraient inévitablement jugés et condammés selon les lois du pays. Quant aux possessions du

* No. 139.

Duc dans le Slesvig, il est vrai qu'elles sont séquestrées à présent, mais elles sont soigneusement administrées par une administration spéciale nommée à cet effet.

Quant au Prince de Noer, je me borne à la remarque que ses terres qu'il possède en Slesvig n'ont pas été séquestrées, ce qui lui en rend la vente facile.

No. 148.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, September* 11, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the King of Prussia returned to the Palace of Sans Souci on the 9th instant.

His Majesty granted Count Bille-Brahe a private audience this day, and received from the Danish Minister the letter of his Sovereign. I regret to say that I have not been able to see Count Bille-Brahe since his audience, as he was to dine with the King, and has not yet returned; but I have just had a few minutes' conversation with Baron Manteuffel, who informed me that nothing was said by His Majesty upon the occasion of any importance, and no assurances given, except of his general good-will and desire to see the difficulties removed with which the Danish question was surrounded.

Baron Manteuffel then said, in reply to several inquiries which I addressed to his Excellency as to the course which would now be followed by the Prussian Government, that the King had no objection to the choice of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as eventual Successor to the Crown of Denmark; and that a Memoir was being prepared in his Department respecting the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg. That M. de Bismarck, the Prussian Minister at the Diet, who left Berlin for Frankfort two days ago, had been charged to seek an interview with the Duke at Homburg, and to sound him as to the amount of indemnity to which he would consider himself entitled on renouncing his claims.

Some days ago his Excellency gave me to understand that the King of Prussia would never accede to the Protocol of London, but I have now been informed that His Majesty is not indisposed to make a declaration of nearly the same effect provided the Duke of Augustenburg can be brought to accept the proposals of the Danish Government.

I must not omit also to mention to your Lordship that having asked Baron Manteuffel if Prince Schwartzenberg had not delivered to him at Ischl a memorandum on the affairs of Denmark, he replied that his Highness had done so; that the arguments were entirely those employed by the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, and that the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg were treated as almost unworthy of serious consideration.

From this observation I was led, by what is stated at the end of Mr. Magenis' despatch of the 9th instant, forwarded by the present messenger, to inquire if the Prussian Government had changed their opinions, as stated to me by his Excellency about a month ago, that the claims of the Augustenburg family must be submitted to and decided by the Diet of Frankfort, and I was assured by Baron Manteuffel that he knew not how a reference to the Diet could be avoided, but that he should be very glad if it could be so.

No. 149.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 15.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, September* 11, 1851.

BARON BUDBERG has communicated to me the last despatch which has been addressed to him by Count Nesselrode on Danish affairs. It is dated St. Petersburgh the 6th instant. A copy of it is herewith inclosed.

The objects of this communication to Baron Budberg are, that he should make known officially to the Prussian Government the Protocol signed at Warsaw on the 5th of June last by Count Nesselrode, Baron Meyendorff, and M. de Reedtz, which is called a family arrangement, concluded between the Emperor and the King of Denmark, based upon the Treaties of 1767 and 1773, and records their agreement as to the choice made by the King of Denmark of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as his successor. It further expresses the Emperor's desire to maintain the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, announces the wish of the Danish Government to obtain the recognition of the King's choice of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as his successor by the Powers of Europe, and directs Baron Budberg to

co-operate with the Danish Representative at Berlin in endeavouring to obtain the adhesion of the Prussian Government to a work of European policy, and to furnish its Representative in London with full-powers and instructions similar to those already furnished to the Representatives of Russia, England, France, Austria, Denmark, and Sweden.

Baron Budberg informs me that he has made to Baron Manteuffel the communication ordered by Count Nesselrode, and that he found the Prussian President of the Council much better disposed to entertain the proposals than he could have expected from his late conversations with him; that it was true he made no promises and gave no positive assurance, but that he still hopes to obtain, in some shape or other, the adhesion of this Government to the London Protocol of the 2nd August, 1850.

Inclosure in No. 149.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Budberg.

M. le Baron, *St. Petersbourg, le* $\frac{25 \text{ Aout}}{6 \text{ Septembre}}$, 1851.

JE vous communique ci-joint copie d'une dépêche circulaire que je viens d'adresser à nos Représentants à Paris, à Londres, à Vienne, et à Stockholm, à la demande du Cabinet Danois, pour appuyer les démarches que ses Agents vont faire auprès des dites Cours dans le but d'assurer par un acte de reconnaissance Européenne le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et faire approuver la combinaison au moyen de laquelle le Gouvernement Danois croit pouvoir établir un ordre de Succession uniforme dans les diverses parties qui composent sa Monarchie.

Cette pièce est basée sur les stipulations du Protocole de Londres du 2 Août, 1850; elle rend compte des intentions du Cabinet Danois et des arrangements de famille conclus entre les augustes Chefs des deux branches de la Maison d'Oldenbourg.

Comme le Cabinet de Berlin s'est refusé dans le temps d'adhérer au Protocole de Londres, nous n'avons pas cru devoir lui adresser la même communication qu'aux autres Puissances. Rien n'empêche pourtant que vous donniez confidentiellement lecture de notre circulaire à M. de Manteuffel, en même temps que vous porterez officiellement le Protocole signé à Varsovie à la connaissance du Cabinet de Berlin.

C'est un arrangement de famille conclu entre l'Empereur et le Roi de Danemark, sur la base des Traités de 1767 et de 1773, dans le but de constater leur parfait accord sur le choix qu'avait fait Sa Majesté Danoise du Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg, pour lui succéder dans la Monarchie Danoise à l'extinction de la lignée mâle actuellement régnante.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur voulant pour sa part faciliter une combinaison qui promettait d'assurer le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie, a spontanément renoncé, en faveur du Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg, aux droits éventuels de Succession qu'il possède sur une partie du Duché de Holstein, pour le cas où le Roi de Danemark réussirait à le faire reconnaître pour Successeur dans le reste de la Monarchie.

Fort de cet appui le Gouvernement Danois a eu à tâche dès lors de s'assurer de la rénonciation de ceux des agnats et cognats de la Maison Royale de Danemark qui en vertu de la *Lex Regia* avaient des droits éventuels à la Couronne Royale à faire valoir.

Ces Actes de Renonciation le Ministère Danois vient de les obtenir en faveur du candidat dont le choix avait reçu déjà la sanction de notre auguste Maître. Le Gouvernement Danois est désireux maintenant de faire agréer le choix par les autres Puissances, et le Ministre de Danemark à Berlin sera chargé de faire auprès du Cabinet Prussien les démarches nécessaires pour obtenir sa sanction en faveur d'une combinaison qui lui a paru la seule capable d'assurer d'une manière efficace le maintien de la paix, et pour mettre un terme à ces discordes intestinés qui déchirent depuis trois ans les diverses parties qui composent la Monarchie Danoise.

Je vous invite, M. le Baron, à vous entendre avec votre collègue de Danemark sur le moment où il s'acquittera auprès du Gouvernement Prussien des communications qui lui seront prescrites à ce sujet, afin que les vôtres puissent avoir lieu simultanément. Engagez le Cabinet de Berlin à vouloir bien agréer dans un esprit de conciliation les ouvertures que le Ministre de Danemark sera appelé à lui faire, et priez-le instamment à ne pas refuser son assentiment à une œuvre qui aura reçu l'approbation de toutes les autres Grandes Puissances de l'Europe, et dont dépend le bonheur et la paix du Nord de l'Allemagne.

Nous espérons que le Gouvernement Prussien, cédant à nos instances, voudra bien s'associer à une œuvre de politique Européenne et munir son Représentant à Londres de pleins pouvoirs nécessaires et d'instructions analogues à celles dont seront munis les Représentants de la Russie, de l'Angleterre, de la France, de l'Autriche, du Danemark, et de la Suède et Norvège.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) NESSELRODE.

No. 150.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 19.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, September* 16, 1851.

LORD BLOOMFIELD, in his despatch of the 14th ultimo to your Lordship, mentions that Baron Budberg, in a conversation with him, had alluded to the great activity which the Duke of Augustenburg was displaying at Frankfort in support of hs claims. I cannot, on inquiry, learn that this activity has led to any result favourable to the Duke's pretensions, or that he has many partisans in the Diet. The Plenipotentiaries of Oldenburg, the Thuringian States, and the Free Towns, are represented to be inclined to support his interests; but the larger States are, if my information is correct, disposed to favour a settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question to the exclusion of the Duke from the Succession, provided he is indemnified. M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, assures me that such is the desire of his Government, and that the King, in his late passage through Frankfort, pronounced himself in a like sense. He further mentioned to me this morning his intention of trying to see the Duke, who still remains in the neighbourhood, with the view of endeavouring to persuade him to lend himself to a fair arrangement; a step which M. de Bismark would hardly take without authority from his Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 151.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 19.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, September* 15, 1851.

THE only answer which has yet been received to the different letters in which His Danish Majesty notified his intention as to the Succession is from the King of Sweden I understand that it is couched in the most friendly terms, expressing His Majesty's high approbation of the choice of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, and promising that immediate instructions should be sent to his Minister in London to give every assistance, in His Majesty's name, to any transaction which may take place there in furtherance of this object.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 152.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 12, 1851.

BARON PLESSEN, the Danish Minister here, received this morning from Copenhagen a copy of the note which has been lately addressed to your Lordship, communicating the arrangement which has been effected between the King of Denmark and the Emperor of Russia, and the other Members of the Danish Royal Family, for the settlement of the Succession to the Danish Monarchy.

Baron Plessen has made me acquainted with the contents of this note, and he mentioned to me at the same time, that he had requested Count Nesselrode some days previously to employ his good offices with your Lordship, with a view to induce Her Majesty's Government to comply with the wish of the Danish Government that a European sanction might be given to the arrangement which has been come to. It

appears, however, that his Excellency excused himself on the ground that, during Baron Brunnow's absence, Russia had no diplomatic Representative in London; and that, besides, he felt assured the communication about to be made to Her Majesty's Government on this question would be most favourably received, and that Count Reventlow would find your Lordship disposed to give the most friendly consideration to the wishes of his Sovereign.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No 153.

Sir E. Lyons to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord, *Stockholm, September* 12, 1851.

M. DE BILLE, the Danish Envoy at this Court, has lately returned from Copenhagen, and I learn from him that he has delivered to the King of Sweden and Norway a letter from his Sovereign relating to the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, and also that he has addressed a note on the same subject to Baron Stierneld; and he assures me that he finds the King, as well as His Majesty's Minister, heartily disposed to favour the choice of Prince Christian of Glücksburg.

M. de Bille offered me the perusal of his note to Baron Stierneld, of which your Lordship has no doubt a counterpart; and on my observing to him that the proposal of the King of Denmark did not provide for the possible case of the Prince Christian of Glücksburg dying without leaving male issue, he answered that perhaps it was consisidered better that a suggestion to meet that case should emanate from the Conference, which he trusted would be held in London for the settlement of the whole qustion.

M. de Bille is in daily expectation of being appointed Envoy at Berlin.

M. Lobstein, who was for some years Secretary to the French Legation here, has just arrived from Paris and delivered his credentials as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND LYONS.

No 154.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, September* 18, 1851.

SINCE I had the honour of writing to your Lordship on the 14th instant the Schleswig-Holstein question has made no progress.

I have just seen Baron Manteuffel, and learnt from him that the King has not yet taken a decision as to the terms in which His Majesty will declare his desire for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

His Excellency told me, however, that he had received accounts from M. de Bismark of an interview which that Minister had held with the Duke of Augustenburg, and that the Duke had consented to enter upon a negotiation as to to the indemnities offered by the King of Denmark in the event of his renunciation of his eventual rights in Holstein; but it appears to me from his Excellency's language that there is some difficulty raised by the Duke which influences the arrangements originally intended, and that there is an unwillingness also to say more on the matter until answers are received from Copenhagen respecting the propositions which were sent off from here on Monday last upon the subject of the convocation of the Provincial States in the Duchies of Schleswig and of Holstein.

Having alluded in the course of my conversation with Baron Manteuffel to the advantges of an early decision being taken by the King of Prussia on the subject of the proposed declaration as to the Succession, in consequence of the Danish Parliament being convoked for the 4th of October, because the settlement of this question could not fail to give strength to the Government and enable it to meet the difficulties with which it might be surrounded at the opening of the Session, his Excellency replied that he was aware of this; and I cannot but think that the present delays are to be mainly attributed to the King, and that the Prussian Government, though desiring to see the question in a train of settlement, looks to the prolongation of the negotiations as the means of bringing on a further modification of the Danish Cabinet.

No. 155.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

(Extract) *Berlin, September* 18, 1851.

COUNT BILLE-BRAHE, the Danish Minister, told me that the King assured him of his wish to co-operate in bringing the affair of the Succession to a conclusion, observing that he was anxious to insure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and should consider any other arrangement an European calamity. Count Bille-Brahe appears, indeed, to have left the King under the impression that His Majesty was very favourably disposed, and willing and anxious to lend his assistance towards the settlement of the difficult questions which he has been charged to negotiate.

No. 156.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, September* 16, 1851.

SINCE I last had the honour of addressing your Lordship the Austrian Minister has had an audience of His Danish Majesty, to present his Sovereign's answer to the King's letter on the subject of the Succession. M. de Reedtz has described it to me as highly satisfactory. The Emperor not only expresses his approbation of the steps taken by His Danish Majesty to insure the future integrity of his dominions, but also of the choice made of Prince Christian of Glücksburg. No mention is made in the letter of any contingent claims of the Agnates, but in an accompanying despatch Prince Schwartzenberg has reserved the right of giving advice on the question without particularizing any particular point.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 157.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to you a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburgh,* reporting the substance of a conversation with the Prussian Representative at that Court, relative to the eventual claims of the Duke of Augustenburg on the Duchy of Holstein; and I have to instruct you strongly to urge the Danish Government to make to the Duke of Augustenburg a fair proposal of compensation for the surrender of his eventual claims on Holstein, and you should point out that such a proposal might be made without involving any admission by Denmark of the validity of those claims, while it might be accepted by the Duke without implying any abandonment of those claims by him.

I had a conversation with the Prince de Noer, the brother of the Duke of Augustenburg, while the Prince was in England, and I found him far from averse to the notion of compensation for the surrender of the claims of his family, and he did not appear to think that any objection would be made to accepting a compensation in money, provided that the amount was permanently secured, and he mentioned as an arrangement that might be accepted, the investment of a capital in the Bank of England or in the English Funds.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

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* No. 134.

No. 158.

*Viscount Palmerston to Lord Bloomfield.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburgh,† relative to the eventual claims of the Duke of Augustenburg on the Duchy of Holstein. I likewise inclose a copy of an instruction upon the subject which I have addressed to His Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen.‡

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 159.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 25, 1851.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 14th August last, on the subject of the difference between the Russian and Prussian Cabinets respecting the question of the Succession to the Danish Crown, and I have to instruct your Lordship to state to Baron Manteuffel that Her Majesty's Government cannot consider the arrangements connected with the question regarding the Succession to the Danish Monarchy as a purely German question, inasmuch as the whole arrangement is a matter deeply affecting the general interests of Europe; and Her Majesty's Government are persuaded that the German Diet in dealing with any questions which may come under its consideration in connection with that matter will bear in mind that those questions are parts of a greater matter, which involves important European interests, and which if not satisfactorily adjusted may at some future time lead to European conflicts.

It is for the general interests of Europe that Denmark, Schleswig, and Holstein, which form together an aggregate Body, which is by the rest of Europe considered as being the Danish Monarchy, should remain united under one and the same Sovereign. But it is for many reasons manifestly impossible that they can be so united under a member of the Augustenburg family as their Sovereign.

Her Majesty's Government do not feel themselves competent to pronounce an opinion with regard to the alleged rights of the Augustenburg family in the Duchy of Holstein, but it is well known that those rights are by many persons denied, and Her Majesty's Government believe that even many of those persons who assert the validity of those rights do not allege that those rights extend over the whole of Holstein. It is pretty clear, moreover, that if no arrangement in regard to the Danish Succession were to be made, and if the event were to happen which would bring the alleged rights of the Augustenburg family to a practical issue, that issue would, in all probability, not be determined without a contest, in which greater and more powerful States than Denmark and Holstein would be led to take a part.

It appears, then, to Her Majesty's Government that the course which it would be most wise for the Augustenburg Family to take, and which all their true friends ought to advise them to take, would be, to come without delay to a fair arrangement in regard to this matter, and to accept an equitable compensation for their eventual claims on the Duchy of Holstein. Such an arrangement would be productive of immediate advantage to the Augustenburg Family, and it would avert a prospective danger to the general peace of Europe.

Her Majesty's Government are well aware that the Prussian Government, when it declined to be a party to the Protocol of the 2nd of August, 1850, assigned as its reason for so declining, that the Protocol laid down as a fundamental principle that it is desirable to maintain the integrity of the Danish Monarchy; while the Prussian Government, on the contrary, thought and stated that its own political interests might be better promoted by a dismemberment of that Monarchy, and by a separation of Holstein from Denmark: but Her Majesty's Government are convinced that the Prussian Government is too enlightened and high-minded to wish to pursue what must be acknowledged to be a doubtful scheme of separate advantage for Prussia, at the expense of the general interests of Europe; and Her Majesty's Government trust that the Prussian Government

* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Cowley and Mr. Magenis. † No. 134. ‡ No. 157.

will, on reflection, see, that even viewing the matter solely with reference to Prussian interests, the real interests of Prussia cannot be opposed to the general interests of Europe, but must be at variance with any system of policy which is calculated to lay the foundation for international conflicts, in which Prussia herself would probably be a prominent party.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 160.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Buchanan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 25, 1851.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 21st ultimo, I inclose for your information a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Lord Bloomfield on the subject of the difference between the Russian and Prussian Cabinets respecting the question of the Succession to the Danish Crown.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 161.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 25.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September* 22, 1851.

I SAW Baron Manteuffel yesterday and heard from him that Baron Werther would probably not set out for Copenhagen before the end of this week, as the King had not yet decided on the exact terms in which he would reply to the letter of His Danish Majesty on the question of the Succession, a copy of which was forwarded in my despatch of the 11th instant.† His Excellency said, however, that Baron Werther would positively be charged with the answer, and that the Baron would cease to be employed merely on a special Mission at Copenhagen, and be henceforward permanently accredited as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Baron Manteuffel told me that the King would state in his letter that he approved of His Danish Majesty's choice of a Successor, and that he would also express his desire for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, but that His Majesty would, nevertheless, observe that due regard must be allowed to any just claims that may be put forward.

In reply to an inquiry which I addressed to Baron Manteuffel as to the memorandum which had been lately drawn up here on the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, as reported in my despatch of the 11th instant.‡ his Excellency said that it was very unfavourable to the Duke; and he gave me further to understand that though the Duke might have a claim to a small portion of Holstein, that claim was [personal?], and that according to German law his sons could in no case inherit.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 162.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 18, 1851.

AS regards the question of the Succession Count Nesselrode adverted to the divergence of views between the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets, arising from the wish entertained by the latter that before any final decision bearing upon the interests of the Duke of Augustenburg should be taken, his claims should be fully examined by a Committee, who should be entrusted to report upon them.

It was not difficult to observe that this idea did not meet with the approbation of Count Nesselrode, who appeared anxious for a termination of the Succession

* No. 159. † No. 147. ‡ No. 148.

question, and who conceived that a conclusion might be indefinitely postponed were it made contingent upon the opinions of a Committee of Prussian lawyers and historians.

No. 163.

Sir E. Lyons to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.) *Stockholm, September* 19, 1851.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th instant, reporting to your Lordship that M. de Bille, the Danish Envoy at this Court, had received from the King of Sweden and Norway, as well as from His Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, assurances of cordial co-operation in favour of the last proposal of the King of Denmark for the settlement of the question of the Danish Succession, I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that instructions to that effect were sent to Baron de Rehausen by yesterday's post.

No. 164.

Lord Bloomfield to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 29.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September* 25, 1851.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Baron Werther leaves this to-morrow morning for Copenhagen. He is the bearer of his credentials as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Prussia to the King of Denmark, and of an answer from His Prussian Majesty to His Danish Majesty's letter on the question of the Succession.

Baron Manteuffel told me this morning, that he trusted the King's letter would give satisfaction; that His Majesty had expressed his approval of the selection of Prince Christian of Glücksburg as the Successor to the Throne of Denmark, and his desire for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy; that no direct mention was made of the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, and that that part of the letter which alluded to the rights of the Agnate was conveyed in very general terms. His Excellency added that he should forward to Chevalier Bunsen a copy of the King's letter, accompanied by an instruction as to the views of the Prussian Government on the Schleswig-Holstein Question, which would likewise be sent to Paris and St. Petersburgh.

Having heard that a second memorandum on the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg had been prepared under the direction of the Prussian Government, which was as favourable to the Duke as the first was unfavourable, I addressed an inquiry to Baron Manteuffel on the subject, when his Excellency replied that this was perfectly true, and that the first memorandum about which we had spoken a few days ago was undergoing a re-examination, and that he could not yet tell me the result.

I then asked, how far the King would support the Duke's cause, and Baron Manteuffel's reply was that His Majesty was desirous to see a fair settlement of the claims effected, and that if the Duke made unreasonable demands, the King would withdraw his support from him, and leave the case to be settled by the Diet. I think it right here to observe to your Lordship that this is the very point which those who desire to see the question settled have been anxious to avoid; for if it is brought again to Frakkfort, the discussion of it may be indefinitely prolonged.

To judge from all I have heard from the members of the Prussian Government, and from my colleagues, on the present state of the question, the general impression would appear to be that Denmark refuses to submit to dictation from Germany or to make any distinct promises as to the future government of Schleswig, and is willing merely to give the assurance that she has no intention to incorporate Schleswig. Germany, on the other hand, replies that the intention of summoning Deputies from that Duchy to attend the Danish Parliament is a virtual incorporation.

The Russian Chargé d'Affaires here supports this view of the question, and the opinions of the Governments of Austria, Prussia, and Russia are certainly identical as to the expediency of restricting to Denmark the working of the consti-

tutional principle, and of preventing its establishment in either of the Duchies, when they consider that Provincial States are a form of representation better adapted to the wants of the inhabitants, whilst it certainly would be more in harmony with their own views and wishes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 165.

Colonel Hodges to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.) *Hamburgh, September* 26, 1851.

I HAD a conversation yesterday with a friend of the Duke of Augustenburg, and who has recently seen his Highness. This gentleman assured me that under no consideration will the Duke relinquish his claims in regard to the Succession to the Duchy; who says, my informant added, that although appearances may now be against him, time and perseverance will, however, lead him to success. When I remarked that his Highness' reliance upon time and perseverance would have but little avail in opposition to the London Protocol, his friend replied, "The Duke, Sir, is not without supporters, and does not stand so much alone as you may imagine."

From my own knowledge of the Duke's character, I am firmly convinced that he will reject all offers made to him in lieu of his claims, to whatever extent they may go as an inducement.

No. 166.

Viscount Palmerston to Lord Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 2, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Berlin,* reporting the substance of the answer returned by the King of Prussia to the King of Denmark on the question of the Succession.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 167.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September* 29, 1851.

I LOST no time in seeking an interview of Baron Manteuffel for the purpose of fulfilling your Lordship's instructions, and I saw his Excellency this morning, when I communicated to him your despatch of the 26th instant, stating the reasons of Her Majesty's Government for not considering the arrangements connected with the question regarding the Succession by the Danish Monarchy as a purely German question, pointing out the importance for the general interests of Europe that Denmark, Schleswig, and Holstein should remain united under one and the same Sovereign, and the manifest impossibility that they can be so united under a member of the Augustenburg family as their Sovereign, and therefore recommending that the Augustenburg family should be advised to accept an equitable compensation for their eventual claims on the Duchy of Holstein.

Previous to reading your Lordship's despatch to Baron Manteuffel, I made a short verbal statement of its contents, and when I came to the concluding part of it, in which you refer to the refusal of the Prussian Government, for motives connected with Prussian and German interests, to be a party to the Protocol of London of the 2nd of August, and to affirm the principle of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and in which you argue that the real interests of Prussia cannot be opposed to the general interests of Europe on this question, I conveyed my satisfaction that, since the King of

* No. 162.

Prussia's recent letter to the King of Denmark, expressing himself in favour of the maintenanee of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy and approving of the successor selected by His Danish Majesty, and after the interest which, I was bound to say, he, (Baron Manteuffel) had always evinced for an arrangement based on that principle—any views of separate Prussian interests, such as had been alluded to by your Lordship as having at one time been entertained by the Prussian Government, and as had been expressed to myself last year by a former minister for Foreign Affairs, had now been abandoned.

Baron Manteuffel at once denied that the Prussian Government entertained any views unfavourable to the integrity of the Danish Monarchy; on the contrary, they considered that its maintenance would be conducive to the tranquillity of Germany; therefore they desired it, and the King of Prussia's letter to His Danish Majesty of the 24th instant was the best proof of their sincerity.

The King of Prussia, he said, had approved of the object which the Protoco London of the 2nd of August had in view, viz., the preservation of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, but His Majesty had refused to become a party to it because he did not consider that the Protocol was the proper means of arriving at that object, being calculated, as he thought, to prejudge the eventual claims of German Princes to the Succession.

With regard to the Duke of Augustenburg's claims, Baron Manteuffel agreed with your Lordship that, whatever they might be, they could only apply to Holstein; and he stated that, as your Lordship would already have learnt through Lord Bloomfield, the Prussian Government had anticipated your Lordship's recommendation, and had strongly advised his Highness to accept any fair compensation which might be offered to him by the Danish Government, and he added that he had yesterday received a letter from M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, reporting that the Duke had expressed, in general terms, his readiness to accept a pecuniary indemnity, but was anxious, before pronouncing himself more explicitly, to ascertain the amount which the Danish Government would be ready to give. Baron Manteuffel observed that it would be extremely desirable that the Danish Government should specify their intentions, and make an adequate offer; he had learnt from Count Bille-Brahe that they were ready to give something beyond the value of the Duke's property in Schleswig, but that they had not yet mentioned a sum. At this stage of our conversation I read to Baron Manteuffel, and at his request left with him a copy of your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd instant to Sir Henry Wynn, instructing that Minister strongly to urge the Danish Government to make to the Duke a fair offer of compensation for his eventual claims on Holstein.

Baron Manteuffel expressed himself highly gratified with your Lordship's instruction, which would be of great service to him at Copenhagen. He said that he was about to write to M. de Bismark, instructing him to tell the Duke that he had requested the Danish Government to make a liberal proposal, and he was glad to be able to add that your Lordship had given similar advice.

He observed that he had been informed that the Danish Government did not demand a formal renunciation from the Duke of Augustenburg, but he should nevertheless endeavour to obtain one as a justification for the Prussian Government, or at least an express renunciation for the time during which the House of Glücksburg should occupy the Danish Throne. His Excellency told me he should represent to His Highness, through M. de Bismark, how much it would be for his interest to accept any equitable proposal from the Danish Government, considering that his sons could not inherit; and should repeat, that were such a proposal made by that Government and rejected by him, the Prussian Government would withdraw all support from him. I inquired from Baron Manteuffel what would then be the consequence; he replied that the King of Prussia's consent to the arrangement of the Succession would remain recorded in His Majesty's letter, and that the Prussian Government would not bring that question before the Diet, although they could not prevent the Duke from doing so.

I must not omit to mention that when, at the beginning of my interview with Baron Manteuffel, I referred to the difference of opinion between the Russian and Prussian Governments respecting the Succession to the Danish Crown, which I stated I understood to be that, whilst the Russian Government maintained that it was a European question, the Prussian Government contended it to be a purely German one, his Excellency observed that such was not a correct statement of the views of the Prussian Government, for they only considered the question to be a German one inasmuch as it concerned the German Duchy of Holstein.

I cannot close this despatch without bearing testimony to the conciliatory spirit

evinced by Baron Manteuffel, and to the anxiety which he displays to overcome the various difficulties with which he has to contend with regard to the settlement of the important question of the Danish Succession, as well as of Holstein affairs.

I have, &c.
Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 168.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 3.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, September* 29, 1851.

THE French Minister had yesterday an audience of His Danish Majesty, to deliver the President's answer to the King's letter respecting the Succession. It is of as friendly a nature as that from the King of Sweden, expressing complete approbation of His Majesty's choice of Prince Christian, and of his determination "de donner le caractère d'une transaction Européenne aux arrangements projetés dans l'intérêt de l'intégrité du Danemark et l'équilibre du Nord de l'Europe;" and that the French Ambassador in London would be instructed to give his support to any negotiation which might take place on the subject. Baron Werther is also returned, charged with the King of Prussia's answer, with which (though not equally cordial with that from the President of the French Republic) M. de Reedtz is, in general, satisfied; as His Majesty expresses strongly his wish for the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and his approbation of Prince Christian; but that, as far Succession to the German Provinces is concerned, he thinks it will be in the interest of His Danish Majesty to secure future tranquillity by obtaining a formal renunciation on the part of the Duke of Augustenburg of any rights, real or supposed, which he may put forward. And His Majesty offers to engage the Duke to accept a proper indemnity. This, I have already informed your Lordship, the Government are disposed to offer on the most liberal terms. But, if these are not considered sufficient, I shall not fail, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd instant, to urge a further advance. I have, however, to remark that they cannot be expected to make any payment for territorial possessions without an abandonment of all rights whatever to eventual Succession.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 169.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 3.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, September* 30, 1851.

WITH regard to the Duke of Augustenburg, M. de Bulow participates in the feeling predominant in most of the European Cabinets interested in this question, that a fair compensation should be given to his Highness for the abandonment of his claims; but he fears that if propositions are made from Denmark, which in the end prove abortive, the Duke may turn round and produce these very propositions as proofs that the Danish Government recognized the justice of these claims.

No. 170.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 3.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, September* 30, 1851.

M. DE BULOW informs me that he has received in due form the renunciation of the Duke and Duchess of Nassau to their rights as Agnates to any Succession in the Danish dominions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 171.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 3.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, September* 30, 1851.

I REPORTED to your Lordship in my despatch of the 16th instant, that M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary to the Diet, had mentioned to me his intention of seeing the Duke of Augustenburg with reference to his Highness' claims on the Duchy of Holstein, and that I imagined that he was taking this step with the sanction of his Government.

Such appears to have been the case. M. de Bismark has had several interviews with the Duke, and he assures me, I am happy to add, that he is to have this day or to-morrow his Highness' consent in writing to abandon all claims to the Duchy of Holstein if a fair compensation is offered him in lieu of them.

The substance of the Duke's answer to the King of Prussia's recommendation to him to enter into negotiations with the King of Denmark on the subject is this:—

He thanks His Prussian Majesty for the interest which he has taken in his affairs; he acknowledges that he could not hope to establish his rights in Holstein without endangering the peace of Europe, a course which he is not prepared to take, and he admits that the state of his finances makes an early settlement of his claims desirable, if not necessary to him. He therefore considers the negotiation on this matter as opened. But further than this he cannot go. It would be unreasonable ("unbillig") to expect him to make propositions for the abandonment of his claims: he must await those that may be made to him from Denmark.

I mentioned to M. de Bismark the reasons, as stated in your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd instant, to Sir Henry Wynn, which induced you to think that the Duke of Augustenburg would desire a compensation in money provided it were properly secured to him; but the Prussian Plenipotentiary replied that the tenor of the Duke's conversation with him led him to suppose that he preferred a compensation in land, that might be given him either in the Duchy of Holstein or of Lauenburg. But the Duke, he said, had also touched on the possibility of a compensation in money, and had suggested that it might be secured to him on the Crown revenues in Holstein; observing that as he would then be dependent on the Crown, the Crown might see in it a guarantee that his future conduct would not be hostile to his Sovereign.

M. de Bismark then stated that there was a course to take by which he thought the negotiation with the Duke of Augustenburg might be considerably facilitated. He said that the Duke was very desirous that his children should have a reversionary interest in the Crown of Denmark, and that if the line of Glücksburg, on which it was now proposed to settle the Succession, should become extinct, the Crown should revert to his descendants. I asked M. de Bismark whether, supposing there were no other objections, the Duke's marriage with a lady of inferior birth to himself would not place a bar upon the distinction which his Highness desired to see conferred upon their offspring. M. de Bismark answered that he had made the same remark to the Duke, who had replied that it was a mistake to suppose that his marriage was not a proper one; that the grandmother of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, now selected for the Succession, was of inferior rank to the Duchess of Augustenburg, and that there were other instances in the same and in others of the Holstein families of the same kind of marriages, into the details of some of which he entered. As, however, this part of the subject cannot greatly interest your Lordship I do not pursue it.

M. de Bismark's language in regard to the Holstein Question in general is all that your Lordship could desire. He has asserted to me over and over again that the King of Prussia and his Ministers are most anxious to see it settled, and that it is a mistake to suppose that they consider it purely a German question. He takes, likewise, the same view as that which has been from the beginning taken by Her Majesty's Government and constantly put forward by your Lordship,—that it is more for the interest of Prussia to uphold the Danish Monarchy as it is than to see Holstein separated from Denmark and annexed to Germany; that Denmark, as at present constituted, is sufficiently strong to inspire respect without having resources to make her possession of the key of the Baltic a source of fear; that were Holstein taken from her, she would become so weak that she must become an easy prey either to Russia or England.

No. 172.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 3, 1851.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Berlin,* reporting the substance of the answer returned by the King of Prussia to the King of Denmark on the question of the Succession.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 173.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir G. H. Seymour.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 3, 1851.

I TRANSMIT herewith for your information, copies of despatches from Sir Henry Wynn and from Lord Cowley,† respecting the affairs of Denmark, and the disposition of the Duke of Augustenburg to forego his alleged rights in Holstein, on receiving compensation for them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 174.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 6.)

My Lord, *Berlin, October* 2, 1851.

COUNT BILLE-BRAHE, the Danish Minister, having communicated to me the note which he received this day from Baron Manteuffel in answer to his recent communication on the subject of the Succession to the Danish Monarchy, I have the honour of inclosing herewith a copy of it.

This note contains, in terms with which Count Bille-Brahe is highly satisfied, the formal and unconditional assent, on the part of the Prussian Cabinet, to the principle of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and to the selection of Prince and Princess Christian of Glücksburg, and their male descendants, as eventual successors to the Crown of Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

Inclosure in No. 174.

Baron Manteuffel to Count Bille-Brahe.

Berlin, ce 30 *Septembre,* 1851.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note que M. le Comte de Bille-Brahe, Envoyé en mission extraordinaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a bien voulu lui adresser le 26 de ce mois au sujet de la question de la Succession Danoise.

Le Soussigné n'a pas tardé à mettre cette importante communication sous les yeux du Roi son auguste Maître. Plus Sa Majesté a toujours apprécié à sa juste valeur les graves intérêts politiques qui réclament le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, plus elle appelle de tous ses vœux le plein succès de l'œuvre que dans ce but Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark se propose d'accomplir sous les auspices des grandes Puissances.

Sa Majesté rend une pleine justice à la généreuse pensée qui a présidé aux renonciations volontaires destinées à faciliter une combinaison qui concentrerait tous les titres et toutes les prétentions aux différentes parties de la Monarchie Danoise sur leurs Altesses le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg et son épouse Madame la Princesse Louise de Hesse.

* No. 162. † Nos. 164, 165, 169, and 171.

Sa Majesté n'hésite donc pas à donner son assentiment à l'établissement du principe que l'état des possessions actuellement réunies sous la domination de Sa Majesté Danoise soit maintenu dans son intégrité, et elle applaudit de même aux arrangements en vertu desquels le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg, conjointement avec son épouse Madame la Princesse Louise et leur descendance mâle, seront reconnus comme Successeurs présomptifs au trône de Danemark.

En priant M. le Comte de Bille-Brahe de bien vouloir porter la présente note à la connaissance de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark et de son Gouvernement, le Soussigné a l'honneur d'ajouter qu'il ne fait que répéter ici l'expression des pensées que le Roi son auguste Maître a déjà énoncées dans la réponse à la lettre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark dont la note du 26 du mois fait mention.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) MANTEUFFEL.

No. 175.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 6.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, October* 1, 1851.

MR. HOWARD informs me that the Duke of Augustenburg has, in general terms, expressed his readiness to accept a pecuniary compensation, and he expresses a hope that the Danish Government will not limit their offer to something above the real value of the Duke's property. If M. de Reedtz is rightly informed, the Duke's revenue from both estates does not amount to above 50,000 Danish dollars, whereas the compensation which M. de Reedtz thought would not be objected to amounts to double that sum.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 176.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 9, 1851.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 29th ultimo, reporting what passed between you and Baron Manteuffel on the question of the Danish Succession, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language held by you on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 177.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 30, 1851.

THE despatch of which I have the honour of inclosing a copy may very possibly have been brought to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government; if not, it will be read by your Lordship with some interest.

This paper gives probably a tolerably correct notion of the amount of assistance which the Prince of Augustenburg may count upon receiving from the Prussian Government, in support of the claims to indemnity from the Crown of Denmark.

Count Henckel informs me that he has communicated M. de Manteuffel's despatch to the Russian Chancellor, who expressed his warm satisfaction at its contents.

Inclosure in No. 177.

Baron Manteuffel to Count Henckel.

M. le Comte, *Berlin, ce* 9 *Septembre*, 1851.

AVANT mon départ de Berlin, M. le Baron de Budberg a bien voulu me communiquer confidentiellement une lettre particulière de M. le Comte de Nesselrode

du 27 Juillet dernier, et sur les prétentions du Duc d'Augustenbourg à la Succession dans le Duché du Holstein.

D'après cette lettre, M. le Chancelier de l'Empire suppose que le Cabinet du Roi réserve à un examen minutieux les droits éventuels du Duc, qu'il maintient la question de la Succession dans le Holstein sur le terrain du droit public Allemand, et qu'il l'isole ainsi de la question de la Succession dans le Royaume de Danemark proprement dit. Pour nous convaincre de l'invalidité des titres que le Duc pourrait faire valoir, M. le Comte de Nesselrode appelle notre attention sur une déclaration par laquelle le père de ce Prince a reconnu le 28 Mai, 1786, en consentant à l'Acte de Renonciation de la Princesse son épouse, la force obligatoire de cet Acte pour lui-même, et ses descendants et héritiers.

Nous sommes fort reconnaissants de cette communication confidentielle, qui nous fournit une occasion de lever un malentendu sur les idées du Roi notre auguste Maître, et sur l'opinion que son Cabinet est chargé de faire valoir.

Loin d'avoir l'intention de soutenir le Duc d'Augustenbourg ou de séparer les deux questions de la Succession dans le Holstein et dans le Danemark proprement dit, Sa Majesté s'est prononcée déjà explicitement de manière à ne pas laisser subsister de doute sur la haute valeur qu'elle attache au maintien de la totalité de la Monarchie Danoise, telle qu'elle est composée actuellement.

Précisément pour atteindre ce but d'une manière satisfaisante, Sa Majesté désire que l'arrangement sur l'ordre de Succession soit entouré de toutes les formes obligatoires qui écartent d'avance toute contestation possible à l'avenir.

C'est sous ce point de vue que la renonciation expresse du Duc d'Augustenbourg paraît un point important au Roi notre auguste Maître.

Si l'on désire que Sa Majesté continue à user à ce sujet de l'influence qu'elle peut exercer sur le Duc, elle désire de son côté que le Prince obtienne des indemnités.

Ce point paraît au Roi d'une importance majeure, puisque l'intérêt général exige que l'ordre de Succession à établir pour la totalité de la Monarchie Danoise soit arrêté de manière à prévenir pour toujours toute prétention à telle ou telle partie de cette Monarchie. Or, il est évident que le Duc d'Augustenbourg en obtenant des indemnités pour la renonciation à ses prétentions bien ou mal fondées, rentrera définitivement pour lui et ses descendants dans une catégorie clairement distincte de celle des Princes appelés éventuellement à la Succession.

Si nous sommes bien informés le Cabinet Danois ne refuse pas des indemnités au Duc, qui de son côté semble vouloir poursuivre ses droits devant la Diète Germanique et provoquer une décision fondée sur la valeur juridique de ses titres.

Cette voie lente et fastidieuse de vider la question serait évidemment contraire aux vœux légitimes des Puissances qui interviennent dans la question de la Succession justement pour prévenir de nouvelles complications que le retard de l'arrangement final pourrait amener.

En conséquence des principes que je viens d'exposer ci-dessus, le Roi notre auguste Maître, a déjà conseillé et conseillera encore au Duc d'accueillir les propositions qui peuvent lui être faites de renoncer à ses prétentions.

Sa Majesté pourra agir dans ce sens avec plus de force sur le Duc, si la renonciation de ce Prince n'est demandée que moyennaut des indemnités stipulées de gré à gré. Il est entendu que ces indemnités doivent être proportionnés, non aux espérances que le Duc avait conçues, mais au peu de chances qui lui restent dans l'état actuel de l'affaire.

En se prononcant dans ce sens envers le Duc, Sa Majesté est persuadée de le rencontrer avec Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie sur la même ligne, et de contribuer à l'accomplissement de la tâche que se sont proposée les Puissances intéressées au maintien et à l'affermissement de la Monarchie Danoise.

Veuillez, M. le Comte, faire part de la présente dépêche à M. le Comte de Nesselrode, et recevez, &c.

(Signé) MANTEUFFEL.

P.S. Mon absence de Berlin a retardé l'envoi de la dépêche ci-dessus.

A mon retour, j'ai trouvé ici M. le Comte de Bille-Brahe, chargé par Sa Majesté Danoise d'une lettre au Roi notre auguste Maître.

Le premier entretien que j'ai eu avec ce diplomate me fait augurer favorablement de la mission que sa Cour lui a confiée sur la Succession au Trône de Danemark, et sur l'arrangement final de l'affaire du Holstein.

No. 178

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, October 7, 1851.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th ultimo, in which I related to your Lordship what had taken place between the Prussian Plenipotentiary to the Diet, M. de Bismark, and the Duke of Augustenburg, I have now to add that M. de Bismark has since informed His Highness of the approval given by the King of Prussia to the selection of Prince Christian of Glücksburg to succeed to the Throne of Denmark.

The Duke expressed great anger on this announcement being made to him. He said that it was a mere farce to treat with him, when the Great Powers of Europe had already made up their minds to put his claims on one side. M. de Bismark, after allowing the Duke's indignation to cool a little, remarked that there was no intention of setting his claims aside; on the contrary, there was every desire to respect and indemnify them.

The Duke then asked why propositions were not made to him from Denmark. He said that he considered the negotiation to be opened under the mediation of the Prussian Government, but that he could not himself make propositions. He suggested that M. de Bülow, the Danish Plenipotentiary to the Diet, should be charged on the part of the King with the negotiation, and that he, the Duke, should name some one on his part, and that the two should discuss the whole question before M. de Bismark. Any direct negotiation between himself and the Danish Government the Duke considered as sure to prove abortive.

M. de Bismark informed me that the Prussian Government had so far acceded to this suggestion as to propose to the Danish Government to instruct M. de Bülow to confer with the Duke of Augustenburg or his agent on the subject of his claims, offering at the same time its own good offices to assist the negociation, should M. de Bülow require them.

M. de Bismark said to me further, that although no distinct proposition had been made on the part of the Danish Government M. de Bille-Brahe had talked at Berlin of restoring to the Duke his estates and giving him beside a pension of 2,000*l.* a-year, provided his Highness agreed to reside out of the Danish dominions.

The acceptance by the Duke of this latter condition M. de Bismark thought there would be no difficulty in obtaining, but he ridiculed the idea of compensating his claims by so paltry a sum as 2,000*l.* a-year.

As a preliminary step in the negotiation the Duke requires that his estates should all be restored to him, in order that he may no longer appear in a false position, and he asks that the money which he has lost by the sequestration of his property should be refunded to him out of the Crown revenues in Holstein. These, however, are points on which probably he would not insist.

He still urges the line of Succession being vested in his family in case of the failure of the line of Glücksburg, and as M. de Bismark thinks that this concession would facilitate the negotiation, and could never come into operation during the lives of the present generation, he seems anxious to see it made.

The Duke of Augustenburg has taken up his residence at Frankfort, and means, I understand, to pass the winter here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 179.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, October 12, 1851.*

I TOOK an opportunity to-day of stating to Baron Manteuffel the satisfaction expressed by Lord Cowley in his despatch to your Lordship of the 30th ultimo, with the language of the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, M. de Bismark, on the affairs of Holstein and of the Danish Succession; and I inquired of his Excellency, in reference to that despatch, whether the Duke of Augustenburg had actually given his written consent to abandon all claims to the Duchy of Holstein if a fair compensation were offered to him. Baron Manteuffel replied that he had yesterday received a letter from M. de Bismark

stating that he had not yet succeeded in obtaining such a written consent; the Duke had now some of his partisans with him, who did not exercise a good influence upon him. But although the negotiation has not latterly made any progress, Baron Manteuffel did not appear to entertain any doubt of its success as soon as M. de Bülow, the Danish Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, who is to be placed in communication with M. de Bismark on this subject, should have been enabled by his Government to state a fair sum as their offer of compensation.

No. 180.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 17.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, October* 1, 1851.

IT will be in your Lordship's recollection that I mentioned in my despatch of the 24th September having received from Count Nesselrode a copy of the Protocol signed at Warsaw on the $\frac{24\text{th May}}{5\text{th June}}$, and of the despatch by which the Protocol was communicated to Baron Brunnow.

These papers, to my great regret, I abstained from sending on to your Lordship in copy, feeling convinced that they had been communicated to you by the Russian Mission n London.

Baron Brunnow now points out to me the incorrectness of this assumption, and acquaints me that the despatch in question with its inclosures having been addressed to him after his departure from London and his arrival in Moscow, has been placed in his hands only upon his return to St. Petersburgh.

He has now supplied me with a copy of the Warsaw Protocol, which I beg leave to forward to your Lordship, again expressing my regret at the circumstance which prevented this being already in your Lordship's possession. The fault, if fault there be, attaches to me, and neither to Baron Brunnow, who was absent from his post when the despatch was written, nor to the Imperial Mission in London, who, it appears, are furnished during the Envoy's absence with very limited powers of communication either with Her Majesty's Government or with their own; it is indeed very possible that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London may have no knowledge of the inclosed document.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

Inclosure in No. 180.

Protocol of Arrangement for the Danish Succession, signed at Warsaw, June 5, 1851.

SA Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, prenant en considération les transactions conclues entre leurs augustes prédécesseurs dans les années 1767 et 1773;

Considéraut qu'autant pour établir le repos du Nord de l'Europe sur un pied durable, que pour écarter tout ce qui pouvait alors, ou dans l'avenir, donner lieu à des malentendus ou différends dans l'auguste Maison d'Oldenbourg, l'Empereur Paul, de glorieuse mémoire, alors Grand Duc de Russie, a renoncé pour lui-même ainsi que pour ses héritiers et descendants en faveur de Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien VII, de glorieuse mémoire, ainsi que des héritiers de sa Couronne Royale, à tous ses droits et prétentions au Duché de Slesvig en général, comme à la partie ci-devant Princière de ce Duché en particulier;

Que de la même manière et par les mêmes motifs, Sa Majesté l'Empereur Paul a cédé pour lui-même, ainsi que pour ses descendants, héritiers, et successeurs, tout ce qu'il possédait dans le Duché de Holstein, soit en commun avec Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc, soit séparément;

Considérant que cet Acte de Cession du Duché de Holstein n'a eu lieu expressément qu'en faveur de Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien VII, et de sa descendance mâle, ainsi qu'éventuellement en faveur de feu le Prince Frédéric, frère du Roi, et de la descendance mâle de ce Prince; et

Que les éventualités qu'admettaient les termes même de cet Acte de Cession se sont en partie déjà réalisées par l'extinction de la descendance mâle du Roi Chrétien VII, ou peuvent se réaliser dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, sans que les dites transactions y aient pourvu d'aucune manière:

Prévoyant les dangers que ce silence des Traités existants peut avoir pour la Monarchie Danoise, si à la suite de l'extinction de la lignée mâle, actuellement sur le Trône de Danemark, la *Lex Regia* recevait son application pure et simple à une partie de cette Monarchie ;—

Se sont reconnu l'obligation et le droit, comme successeurs des augustes Parties Contractantes aux transactions de 1767 et 1773, de s'entendre ultérieurement sur les combinaisons les plus appropriées au double but qu'elles ont eu en vue.

En conséquence, les Soussignés, après un mûr examen de toutes les questions qui se rattachent à cette affaire, ont arrêté entre eux, sous la réserve expresse de la haute approbation de leurs Souverains respectifs, et ont consigné dans le présent Protocole les points qui suivent :—

1. Le but qu'on se propose dans l'intérêt de paix du Nord, autant que dans celui de la paix intérieure de l'auguste Maison d'Oldenbourg, savoir, le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, ne peut être réalisé qu'au moyen d'une combinaison qui appelle à la Succession dans la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, la seule descendance mâle à l'exclusion des femmes.

2. La descendance mâle du Prince Chrétien de Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksbourg, et de son épouse Madame la Princesse Louise de Hesse, réunit en elle les droits d'hérédité qui, à l'extinction de la lignée mâle actuellement régnante en Danemark, lui échoient en vertu des renonciations de Son Altesse Royale Madame la Landgrave Charlotte de Hesse, de son fils Monseigneur le Prince Frédéric de Hesse, et de sa fille Madame la Princesse Marie d'Anhalt-Dessau.

3. Voulant de son côté compléter les titres résultant de ces renonciations, et amener ainsi une combinaison qui serait d'un si haut intérêt pour le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, comme chef de le branche ainée de Holstein-Gottorp, serait prêt à renoncer aux droits éventuels qui lui appartiennent en faveur de Monseigneur le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle.

Toutefois il est entendu—

Que les droits éventuels des deux branches cadettes de Holstein-Gottorp seraient expressément réservés ;

Que ceux dont l'auguste Chef de la branche ainée ferait l'abandon pour lui-même et pour sa descendance mâle en faveur du Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle, renaîtraient dans la Maison Impériale de Russie à l'époque où (ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise) la descendance mâle de ce Prince viendrait à s'éteindre ;

Que puisque la renonciation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur aurait principalement pour but de faciliter une combinaison que réclament les premiers intérêts de la Monarchie, l'offre d'une pareille renonciation cesserait d'être obligatoire si la combinaison elle-même venait à manquer.

4. Par suite des considérations qu'indiquent les sections 2 et 3 ci-dessus, Monseigneur le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg conjointement avec Madame la Princesse son épouse, et à leur défaut la descendance mâle de leurs Altesses, auraient plus qu'aucune autre branche des titres qui les rendent habiles à succéder, le cas échéant, dans les Etats réunis actuellement sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté Danoise.

En conséquence les deux Cours de St. Pétersbourg et de Copenhague sons convenues—

Que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark désignera le Prince et la Princesse de Glücksbourg conjointement comme les héritiers présomptifs de sa Couronne pour le cas où la ligne mâle de la dynastie actuellement régnante viendrait à s'éteindre ;

Que Sa Majesté fera connaître sa haute détermination aux Puissances amies du Danemark ;

Que si, pour assurer la complète réussite de cette combinaison encore d'autres renonciations étaient jugées utiles et désirables, ce serait à Sa Majesté Danoise à se charger des indemnités auxquelles il pourrait être reconnu des titres justes et équitables ;

Enfin que c'est à Londres qu'auront lieu les négociations nécessaires pour donner aux arrangements en vertu desquels le Prince et la Princesse de Glücksbourg seront reconnus comme successeurs présomptifs au Trône de Danemark, le caractère d'une transaction Européenne.

Les Soussignés se réservent de soumettre le présent Protocole à leurs

augustes Souverains et de solliciter leur haute approbation en faveur des dispositions qu'il renferme.

Varsovie, le $\frac{24 \text{ Mai}}{5 \text{ Juin}}$, 1851.

(Signé) NESSELRODE.
MEYENDORFF.
REEDTZ.

(Translation.*)

HIS MAJESTY the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Denmark, taking into consideration the engagements entered into between their august predecessors, in the years 1767 and 1773;

Considering that, as well for establishing the tranquillity of the North of Europe on a durable footing, as for removing all that could then, or for the future, give rise to misunderstandings or differences in the august House of Oldenburg, the Emperor Paul, of glorious memory, then Grand Duke of Russia, renounced for himself, as also for his heirs and descendants, in favour of His Majesty King Christian VII, of glorious memory, as also of the heirs of his royal crown, all his rights and pretensions to the Duchy of of Schleswig in general, and to the heretofore princely portion of that Duchy in particular;

That in the same manner, and from the same motives, His Majesty the Emperor Paul ceded for himself, as also for his descendants, heirs, and successors, all that he possessed in the Duchy of Holstein, whether in common with His Majesty the King of Denmark, or separately;

Considering that this Act of Cession of the Duchy of Holstein has only been made expressly in favour of His Majesty King Christian VII, and of his male lineage, and also eventually in favour of the late Prince Frederick, the King's brother, and of the male lineage of that Prince, and that the eventualities which the terms themselves of this Act of Cession admitted, have already in part been realized by the extinction of the male lineage of King Christian VII, or may be realised at a period more or less near, without the said transactions having in any manner provided for them;

Foreseeing the dangers which this silence in existing Treaties may cause to the Danish Monarchy, if, on the extinction of the male line actually on the Throne of Denmark, the *lex regia* should receive its pure and simple application to one part of the Monarchy;—

Have acknowledged the obligation and the right, as successors of the august Contracting Parties to the engagements of 1767 and 1773, to come to an understanding as to the ulterior arrangements most suited to the double object which they have had in view.

In consequence, the Undersigned, after mature examination of all the questions connected with this affair, have agreed amongst themselves, under the express reservation of the high approbation of their respective Sovereigns, and have embodied in the present Protocol the points which follow:—

1. The objects proposed in the interest of the peace of the North, as well as that of the internal peace of the august House of Oldenburg, namely, the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, can only be realized by means of an arrangement summoning to the Succession of the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, the male lineage solely, to the exclusion of women.

2. The male lineage of Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksburg and of his consort the Princess Louise of Hesse, unites in itself the rights of inheritance, which, on the extinction of the male line actually reigning in Denmark, devolve upon it in virtue of the renunciations of Her Royal Highness the Landgravine Charlotte of Hesse, of her son Prince Frederick of Hesse, and of her daughter the Princess Mary of Anhalt-Dessau.

3. Wishing on his part to complete the titles resulting from these renunciations, and thus to effect an arrangement which would be of such high importance and interest for the maintenance of the Danish Monarchy in its integrity, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, as chief of the elder branch of Holstein-Gottorp, would be ready to renounce the eventual rights which belong to him in favour of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, and of his male lineage.

Nevertheless it is understood:—

That the eventual rights of the two younger branches of Holstein-Gottorp should be expressly reserved;

That those which the august chief of the elder branch should abandon for himself

* Laid before Parliament, February 21, 1856.

and for his male lineage in favour of Prince Christian of Glücksburg and of his male lineage, should be revived in the Imperial House of Russia whenever (which God forbid) the male lineage of that Prince should become extinct;

That inasmuch as the renunciation of His Majesty the Emperor would principally have for its object to facilitate an arrangement called for by the first interests of the Monarchy, the offer of such a renunciation would cease to be obligatory if the arrangement itself should fail.

4. In consequence of the considerations which are above pointed out by the above §§ 2 and 3, the Prince Christian of Glücksburg, conjointly with the Princess his consort, and in their default the male lineage of their Highnesses, would have, more than any other branch, claims which qualify them to succeed, if the contingency should arrive, to the States actually united under the sceptre of His Danish Majesty.

Consequently the two Courts of Copenhagen and of St. Petersburgh have agreed,—

That His Majesty the King of Denmark shall designate the Prince and Princess of Glücksburg conjointly as heirs presumptive of his Crown, in case the male line of the dynasty actually reigning should become extinct.

That His Majesty shall make known his high determination to the Powers in amity with Denmark;

That if, to insure the complete success of this arrangement, still further renunciations should be deemed useful and desirable, it would be for His Danish Majesty to make himself responsible for the indemnities to which just and equitable claims should be established.

Finally, that the negotiations necessary to give to the arrangement in virtue whereof the Prince and Princess of Glücksburg shall be acknowledged as successors presumptive to the Throne of Denmark, the character a European transaction, shall take place London.

The Undersigned reserve to themselves to submit the present Protocol to their august Sovereigns, and to solicit their high approbation in favour of the provisions it contains.

Warsaw, this $\frac{24 \text{ May}}{5 \text{ June}}$, 1851.

(Signed) NESSELRODE.
MEYENDORFF.
REEDTZ.

No. 181.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 17.)

(Extract.) *St. Petersburgh, October* 7, 1851.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch to Mr. Buchanan of the 25th ultimo, it may be proper to acquaint you that I have taken upon myself to read to Count Nesselrode part of your Lordship's despatch to Lord Bloomfield of the 25th ultimo.

Count Nesselrode listened to the despatch with great satisfaction, and bestowed his warm commendations upon it.

The Danish affairs were those, his Excellency repeated, which caused him more anxiety than any other now pending, and he could only say that all who felt like him should be very thankful to your Lordship for endeavouring to hasten their conclusion.

His Excellency went on to say that no better *coup d'éperon* could be given to the Prussian Cabinet than the despatch which he had just heard; and that, from the information which had reached him from Copenhagen, your Lordship's instructions to Sir Henry Wynn were equally well calculated to put an end to the hesitation exhibited by that Government, and to hasten the solution of a question attended with danger to Europe as long as it remained unsettled.

No. 182.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 18.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, October* 15, 1851.

M. DE BULOW, the Danish Plenipotentiary, informed me this morning that he had been authorized to let the Duke of Augustenburg understand, through the Prussian Plenipotentiary, that the Danish Government would be willing to settle

on him and his heirs an annual income of from 70,000 to 80,000 Prussian dollars if his Highness would consent to give up his estates to the Government and retire altogether from Denmark and the Duchies.

M. de Bülow states that this income exceeds what the Duke would receive from his estates were he in possession of them.

In consequence of my absence from hence I have not been able to see M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, on the subject; but he has informed M. de Bülow that the Duke expressed no repugnance to treat on the basis of giving up his estates, though he values them at a much greater annual income than that put on them by the Danish Government.

I observed to M. de Bülow that the basis of negotiation (a word, however, which the Danish Plenipotentiary always rejects when applied to a transaction with the Duke of Augustenburg) being settled, the real value of the estates might easily be ascertained by Commissioners, and that it was worth the Danish Government's while to pay a larger sum than might be fairly claimed, if by so doing the settlement of the question of the Succession to the united Danish Monarchy could be facilitated. I said that the sooner the offer of the Danish Government was placed on record the better, which might be done by a communication to M. de Bismark if the Danish Plenipotentiary objected to a direct offer of the Duke; and that M. de Bismark should endeavour to obtain also from the Duke some written acknowledgement of his willingness to treat on the basis of a money compensation for his estates.

Until some approximation of the kind is brought about, no real progress can be made towards an understanding between the Danish Government and the Duke, for there will be nothing binding on either side. A verbal exchange of opinions through a third party is worth nothing until reduced to writing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 183.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Magenis.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 20, 1851.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copies of despatches on the affairs of Denmark which have been received from Her Majesty's Ministers at St. Petersburgh, Copenhagen, Frankfort, and from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 184.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 21.)

My Lord, *Berlin, October* 16, 1851.

BARON MANTEUFFEL informs me that he has received from General Thümen a letter stating that he is making arrangements for carrying out the organization of the Holstein Contingent, and his Excellency no longer apprehends the General's resignation, which would have been an embarrassment at the present moment.

Count Bille-Brahe also tells me that the Prussian Government have likewise expressed themselves ready to consent to the unity of the army for Denmark and the Duchies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

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* Nos. 179, 180, 181, and 182.

No. 185.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 24.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, October* 14, 1851.

WITH reference to the despatch inclosed in your Lordship's despatch to me of the 3rd instant, I am desirous of observing to your Lordship that supposing the Prussian Minister General de Rochow to be fully possessed of the intentions of his Court with regard to the eventual claims which the Prince of Augustenburg is desirous of retaining for his children, the wish is not likely to meet with any support from the King of Prussia.

General de Rochow did not hesitate to express an opinion as to these pretensions being wholly inadmissible, the urgency being, he said, great of bringing the affairs of Denmark to a definitive conclusion, and the expediency equally so of closing the door against any future revival of the Augustenburg claims.

According to General Rochow's belief the indemnity which the King of Prussia considers proper to be made to the Prince of Augustenburg amounts to 80,000 dollars yearly for the purchase of estates, and 20,000 for the Prince's personal expenses. Beyond these points his Highness would appear to be unable to reckon upon further support from Prussia.

The Chancellor, whom I saw this morning, still expresses much anxiety respecting the affairs of Denmark; he much regrets the resignation of M. de Reedtz, which he learned yesterday from Berlin, but is not without hope that the difficulty or impossibility of forming a Cabinet composed of men of ultra-Danish principles may tend eventually to hasten the solution of the various questions still pending.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 186.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 24.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, October* 21, 1851.

M. DE GLINKA, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, has been instructed by his Government to urge an early settlement of the Duke of Augustenburg's claims, so that they may no longer be an impediment in the way of the arrangement proposed for the Succession to the Crown of Denmark. The Russian Government at the same time that it advocates an equitable compensation to the Duke, states its conviction that if the Duke is unreasonable in his demands, the Danish Government will be forced to bring him to trial for high treason, and he will then run the risk of losing his estates without any compensation whatever. M. de Glinka informs me that he has addressed himself to M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, to know what progress had been made in this matter, and that he finds that although that gentleman had been in communication with the Duke and with the Danish Plenipotentiary, little or no real progress had been made towards an eventual settlement.

I have since made it my business to see both M. de Bismark and M. de Bülow, and I am sorry to add that neither one nor the other appeared so sanguine of an early understanding being arrived at as was the case when I last wrote to your Lordship.

This is no doubt to be explained partly by the uncertainty which yet prevails as to what may be the solution of the Ministerial crisis at Copenhagen, but it is owing also to the extreme distrust of each other which prevails between the negotiating parties. The Duke of Augustenburg demands that special full-powers should be sent by the Danish Government to M. de Bülow to act in this affair, and that M. Bülow should make him an official proposition in writing. But the Danish Government will not treat with the Duke as with an equal, and as yet has done no more than hint its intentions to the Prussian Plenipotentiary.

The Duke himself also now, according to M. de Bismark, appears averse to surrendering his estates for an annual income. He says that if he makes a solemn renunciation of his rights to any part of the Danish territory in the face of Europe, such a renunciation ought to suffice the Danish Government, and that he ought to

be left in the quiet enjoyment of his estates; but for the surrender of these rights he demands compensation in money or land.

I see no chance of bringing this question to a practical issue but through a third party. After all that has occurred, one cannot be surprised that the Danish Government should place but little faith in the Duke of Augustenburg's promises, nor can it be deemed unreasonable that in a negotiation of the kind the Duke should demand propositions in writing from the Danish Government.

In my conversations with M. de Bismark and M. de Bülow, I have ventured to suggest, that as the Prussian Government has shown above other Governments an interest in the Duke of Augustenburg, it is at Berlin that an attempt should be made to put an approximate value on his claims, and that if the Prussian Government could be brought to recognize any given sum as that value, there would be more chance of inducing the Duke to listen to propositions to accept it. By treating in this way also, the punctilious reserves which now embarrass the operations of the negotiating parties would be avoided. Unfortunately, the King of Prussia has declared that he will not act as mediator between them, though he will not refuse to use his good offices should they be asked for.

I must, however, add that it appears to be the impression of those with whom the Duke of Augustenburg has conversed on the state of his affairs, that his Highness is not acting with good faith, and that his real object is to retard by all the means in his power any settlement averse to his interests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 187.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1851.

I HAVE to instruct you to represent to the Danish Government that it would be politic as well as honourable for the Government of Denmark to make a handsome proposal to the Duke of Augustenburg, and to offer him somewhat more than the real value of his estate.

It seems to be considered by the King of Denmark and his Ministers desirable for Danish interests that the Duke should not reside in the Duchy of Schleswig, and if this is really an object of any importance to the Danish Government, they would find their account in securing its attainment by some pecuniary sacrifice.

But besides this, there are other and still more important arrangements in regard to the Succession which remain to be made, and to which, directly or indirectly, the Duke will have to be a party; and it seems very desirable that he should enter into any discussion as to those arrangements in which he may be called upon to take a part, not only without a sense of injury inflicted upon him, but with a feeling in his mind that he had been treated generously by the King of Denmark.

No. 188.

*Viscount Palmerston to the Earl of Westmorland.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 25, 1851.

WITH reference to Lord Cowley's despatch of the 15th instant, I transmit to your Lordship a copy of instruction which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen,† on the subject of the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

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* The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to Lord Cowley, Sir G. H. Seymour, and Mr. Howard. † No. 187.

No. 189.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 27.)

My Lord, *Berlin, October* 23, 1851.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, Baron Budberg, communicated to Baron Manteuffel on the 20th instant a despatch from Count Nesselrode, expressing the high satisfaction of the Imperial Government with the declaration of the Prussian Cabinet on the subject of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and of the settlement of the Succession to the Danish Crown, contained in Baron Manteuffel's note of the 30th ultimo to Count Bille-Brahe, a copy of which I had the honour of inclosing to your Lordship in my despatch of the 2nd instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 190.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 30.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, October* 23, 1851.

WITH reference to Lord Cowley's despatch of the 7th instant, on the subject of the indemnity to the Duke of Augustenburg, I have every reason to believe that M. de Bismark must have been misinformed as to M. Bille-Brahe's having put forward in conversation the idea of the Duke's retaining his estates on condition of his not residing on them, and receiving 2,000*l.* per annum as an indemnity for any claim to the Succession. Such a plan differs *in toto* from the intentions always entertained here, which, as I have had the honour to report, have been to overpay the annual income of the estates, but not to pay any distinct sum for claims which they do not recognize; and to the groundlessness of which, as the question is examined, there are every day more converts.

During the Duke's absence the estates have been strictly administered, and the rents, after paying interest, applied to the liquidation of small sums borrowed by the Duke from the tenants. The amount of the net income can easily be ascertained. The only question will be whether it is to be taken at its present value, or as left by the Duke. There was also some difference of opinion among the Ministers of the late Cabinet as to the duration of the increased payment; whether it should be for the Duke's life only, or be carried on to his son's, whose claims were rendered still less valid by his Highness' marriage. Such a limitation would be difficult to establish, and was objected to by M. Reedtz, as bearing the appearance of a bonus for the Duke's treason.

M. de Bismark must have been unacquainted with the terms of the Emperor's Renunciation and reservation of the rights of the two younger branches of the Oldenburg family, to think that the King had the power of including the young Princes in the line of eventual Succession, even if, by so doing, there was not the danger of entailing on the country, at some future period, another war of Succession.

M. de Bülow objects to any direct negotiation with the Duke or his Agent, as not likely to lead to any favourable result. He is of opinion that it must go entirely through M. de Bismark, and requested to be furnisbed with the ultimatum of the Government as to the terms; these will be sent to him this week, as soon as agreed to by the new Cabinet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 191.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 31.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, October* 28, 1851.

IT appears that M. de Bülow, the Danish Plenipotentiary to the Diet, participating in the advice which I had ventured to offer him, as mentioned in my despatch of the 15th instant, that the Danish Government should, before making any

definitive offer to the Duke of Augustenburg, assure itself that that offer was approved, and would be recommended for acceptance by the Prussian Government, wrote in that sense to Copenhagen. Yesterday morning he called upon me and stated that he had received a communication on the subject from the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Bluhme; that M. Bluhme said he was as yet unable to give any official instructions, as he must make himself master of the whole question before he could offer any advice to the King of Denmark for its settlement; that he would endeavour to do so as shortly as possible, but that as far as he could judge, there could be no objection to pursuing the course proposed by M. de Bülow.

M. de Bülow had on a previous occasion expressed to me his hope that the solution of the Danish question would not be retarded by the change of Government which had taken place at Copenhagen. M. Bluhme he stated to be of a conciliatory disposition and moderate opinions, and more likely to prevail with the Danish Parliament and people than his predecessor. M. de Reedtz, he said, had become an object of suspicion to the Danish party since his visit to Germany; and his advice was consequently received with distrust. Such would not be the case with M. Bluhme, who he hoped would in the main follow the policy of his predecessor. But, M. de Bülow added, much would depend on the conduct of the Austrian and Prussian Governments. He had no doubt, he said, but that these Governments had been the chief cause of the break-up of the late Government, by the despatches which they had addressed to their Representatives at Copenhagen. That their object evidently was to excite that Government to reactionary measures which, however possible in Germany, would never be tolerated in Denmark, as the result had shown. He hoped, therefore, that these Governments would confine themselves now entirely to the question of Holstein, as a member of the German Confederation, and not attempt to interfere wtih the internal affairs of Denmark, which appeared to be the object of some of their instructions to their Representatives.

With respect to the Duke of Augustenburg's claims, I have had another conversation with M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, who was kind enough to give me the substance of two instructions received from his Government, the one addressed to himself, the other to the Prussian Minister at Copenhagen. The substance of both is the same. The King of Prussia refuses positively his mediation between the King of Denmark and the Duke. The Prussian despatches say that there can be no difficulty in ascertaining the real value of the Duke's estates in Schleswig; and counsels to the King of Denmark, generosity, and to the Duke, an abstinence of all exaggeration in his claims. They convey the refusal of the King of Prussia either to demand the payment of a sum of money to the Duke from the Holstein treasury, or to support the Duke in his desire to return to his estates, or to put forward his wishes to see the Succession to the Crown of Denmark settled on his heirs should the line of Glücksburg become extinct, all which points, the despatches observe, the Duke must himself bring before the Danish Government. But the Prussian Cabinet remarks with regard to the last, that its concession would no doubt greatly facilitate the settlement of the question, and ought, if brought before it, to be well weighed by the Prussian Government.

The tone of these despatches is anything but favourable to the Duke of Augustenburg's pretensions.

I inquired of M. de Bismark what made his Government so determined in its refusal to mediate between the King of Denmark and the Duke, thus rendering any approximation between them so much more difficult to bring about. He replied that no reason had ever been given him. That when he proposed the mediation it was refused without a remark, and that he was compelled to think that the King augured ill of the result of the negotiation, and was afraid of the blame which he might incur should it fail under his auspices.

No. 192.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 6.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, November* 1, 1851.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 25th ultimo, I have the honour to report that I yesterday complied with the directions contained in it, to advise the Danish Government to be liberal in their offers to induce the Duke of Augustenburg to renounce his pretended rights to an eventual Succession to the sovereignty of Holstein. After

reading it, M. de Bluhme said (what also appears by Lord Cowley's report to your Lordship of the 21st ultimo) that so far from showing any disposition to meet that of the Danish Government to come to terms, the pretensions of his Highness become every day more and more extravagant; that independent of preliminary and other arrangements, all equally inadmissible, as soon as he heard that the Danish Government were ready to give him an income of 80,000 Prussian dollars, he required re-possession of his estates, and half that sum as an indemnity for the renunciation of his rights.

M. Bluhme having remarked a passage in your Lordship's despatch as to the necessity of the Duke's being a party to the new order of Succession, said that they never could admit any such participation, denying, as they did, all rights. I said that in giving the advice which I now conveyed, your Lordship did not enter into the question of right; but whether founded or unfounded, an arrangement for indemnity or compromise, which they in fact consented to when they offered the Duke more than the value of his estates, required also his assent.

With respect to the clear rental, after paying interest and expenses of administration, he told me that the accounts for 1850—supposed to be a good year—which he had that morning received amounted for Alsen to 32,000 Prussian dollars, and for Gravensteen to 14,000; so that 80,000 Prussian dollars must be considered not only a just but a very liberal compensation. He said that he had been assured that the Duke would only be a loser if the estates were valued according to the receipts before he left Augustenburg.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 193.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 8.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, November* 4, 1851.

M. DE BULOW, the Danish Plenipotentiary to the Diet, has not yet received any instructions from his Government respecting the indemnity to be offered to the Duke of Augustenburg.

I am sorry to find by a copy of Sir Henry Wynn's despatch of the 23rd ultimo, which your Lordship has been so good as to send me, that the Prussian Plenipotentiary here is mistaken in supposing that any part of this indemnity is to be offered to the Duke as an inducement to him to renounce any claims he may have to an eventual Succession to the whole or any part of the Danish dominions. Whatever the Danish Government may think of the justice of these claims, there are, I fear, those in Germany who will always maintain their validity, and it must therefore be an object of paramount importance to the consolidation of the Danish Monarchy that the Duke should be induced to abjure them.

In fact, the Danish Agents in Germany feel and understand this necessity, and whatever high language the Danish Government may use, know that an indemnity must be given for it. The difficulty with them is how to arrange the matter without wounding the susceptibility of their Government.

Exasperated as the Danish Government must have been by the Duke's conduct, it is with no impertinent desire of criticising its acts that I venture on these remarks; but I cannot help expressing the opinion that until that Government comes forward fairl and openly with a specific proposition, both in regard to the purchase of the Duke's estates, and to the abandonment by the Duke of whatever rights he may have, or fancy himself to have, to any part of the Danish Succession, there is but little chance of any satisfactory conclusion of this part of the Danish question.

Your Lordship will, no doubt, have heard both from Vienna and Berlin that the idea which the two Cabinets had entertained, on hearing of the change of Government at Copenhagen, of referring the Holstein question again to the Diet, has been for the present abandoned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 194.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 10.)

My Lord, *Berlin, November 6, 1851.*

I COMMUNICATED this day to Baron Manteuffel the substance of your Lordship's despatch of the 25th ultimo to Sir Henry Wynn, renewing your instructions that he should represent to the Government of Denmark the expediency of their making a handsome proposal to the Duke of Augustenburg. I mentioned at the same time that I had received a letter from Sir Henry stating that M. Bluhme, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, had informed him that the clear income from the Duke's estates for the year 1850, after the deduction of interest on debts and expenses of administration, had amounted only to 46,000 dollars current, but that the Danish Government were ready to offer 80,000 dollars.

Baron Manteuffel did not make any objection to this proposed sum, but he said the Duke valued his estates at 75,000 dollars per annum, and now seemed indisposed to sell them, as did also the Prince of Noer, who had written to him on the subject. His Excellency observed that the Augustenburg family probably raised their pretensions because, under present circumstances, they expected to meet with more support from this Court. In answer to an inquiry of mine he stated that it had always been on the basis of a cession by sale of the estates in question, as desired by the Danish Government, that M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, had treated with his Highness.

Baron Manteuffel's personal opinion is adverse to entertaining any stipulations in favour of the Succession of the Duke of Augustenburg's children in the event of the male descendants of Prince Christian of Glücksburg becoming extinct, with regard to which subject it may be observed that the renunciation of the Emperor of Russia only was made in favour of the latter Prince and his male descendants, and that in case of their failure his claims will be revived. The negotiations, however, with the Duke still remain in abeyance, pending the communications of the Cabinet of Copenhagen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 195.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 10, 1851.*

WITH reference to Lord Cowley's despatch of the 21st instant, a copy of which was inclosed for your information in my despatch of the 24th ultimo, I have to instruct you to suggest to the Danish Government, that if they are for reasons of their own averse to making any written proposal to the Duke of Augustenburg, they might nevertheless instruct their Minister at Berlin, or at Frankfort, to make some verbal proposition either to the Prussian Government or the Duke. But that proposition ought to include the whole arrangement to be made with the Duke.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON

No. 196.

*Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Howard.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 11, 1851.*

WITH reference to Lord Cowley's despatch of the 21st ultimo, I transmit to you, for your information, copy of an instruction which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen, on the subject of the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

P.S.—I likewise inclose a copy of a despatch upon the same subject from Her Majesty's Minister at Frankfort.‡

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* The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Cowley, and Sir H. Wynn.
† No. 195. ‡ No. 193.

No. 197.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 12.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, November* 9, 1851.

BARON MANTEUFFEL told me this morning that he has received a letter from M. de Bismarck, at Frankfort, stating that since the late events at Copenhagen the Duke of Augustenburg had become very difficult to treat with and had suddenly set out for Hamburgh.

His Excellency explained to me that in the letter which I alluded to in my despatch of the 6th instant, as having been addressed to him by the Prince of Noer, what the Prince desired was that if the estates of the Augustenburg family were sold to Denmark, that family should receive a capital from them duly secured, so that they might not be dependent upon an annuity to be paid by the Danish Government.

No. 198.

*Viscount Palmerston to the Earl of Westmorland.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 13, 1851.

WITH reference to Lord Cowley's despatch of the 4th instant, on the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, I transmit to you copy of an instruction on that subject which I have addressed to Sir Henry Wynn.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 199.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 14, 1851.

WITH reference to Lord Cowley's despatch of the 4th instant, on the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, I have to instruct you to represent to the Danish Government that the offer of a compensation, which should include both the Duke's estates in Schleswig and the claims which he conceives himself to have on Holstein, need not necessarily imply any acknowledgment by Denmark of the validity of those claims. The Danish Government may deny, as it does, the validity of those claims; and it may even be right in its denial, although upon that point Her Majesty's Government abstain from expressing any opinion; but nevertheless the Danish Government cannot deny that the Duke puts forward such eventual claims: and the Danish Government must know that there are persons and parties in Germany, and probably in Holstein also, who think these claims good. It is obvious, therefore, that unless the Duke's alleged claims are quashed, by his own consent to a compensating arrangement, very serious embarrassments may possibly arise at the time (which Her Majesty's Government hope may be long deferred) at which those claims, valid or invalid, would be brought to bear practically upon events.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 200.

Colonel Hodges to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 17.)

(Extract.) *Hamburgh, November* 14, 1851.

THE Duke of Augustenburg arrived in this neighbourhood a few days ago. The ostensible object of his visit is to purchase the house at Nieustadten in which he has resided for the last three years, but he is surrounded by many of his old followers and advisers.

I know it to be the opinion of those who are well acquainted with the Duke, and who I believe possess his confidence, that his object is to gain time and keep the questions as to his estates and the succession open, but that he has not the most remote intention of finally disposing of his possessions in Schleswig, or of relinquishing the claims of himself and of his family to the Succession.

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* The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to Lord Cowley and Mr. Howard. † No. 195.

No. 201.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 18.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, November* 15, 1851.

M. DE BISMARK, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, informed me this morning that he had received some days back a letter from the King of Prussia desiring him to see the Duke of Augustenburg again on the subject of His Highness' claims on the Danish Government. In this letter His Majesty exhorts the Duke to seize the present moment as one most advantageous for the settlement of these claims. His Majesty says that the Emperor of Russia, alarmed at the change of Government in Denmark, will be more favourably inclined towards the Duke than he had previously been. The logic of this argument it is difficult to understand, and it appears by M. de Bismark's account to have had but little effect upon the Duke. M. de Bismark saw his Highness as he was upon the point of setting out upon a short visit to Hamburgh, and he could obtain nothing more from him than an intimation that he must first take cognizance of a certain correspondence to which the King had alluded in his letter, as having passed between His Majesty and the Duke's brother, but which was not transmitted to M. de Bismark, and that he (the Duke) might perhaps take Berlin in his return from Hamburgh, and talk the matter over with the King.

No. 202.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 19.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, November* 16, 1851.

I READ to Baron Manteuffel to-day your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant to Sir Henry Wynn, directing him to suggest to the Danish Government, if they were averse to make any written proposal to the Duke of Augustenburg, to instruct their Minister at Berlin or at Frankfort to make some verbal proposition, either to the Prussian Government or to the Duke; and stating your opinion that such a proposition ought to include the whole arrangement to be made with the Duke.

Baron Manteuffel observed that it would be very desirable that the Danish Government should enable the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort to make a distinct offer to the Duke, which they had not hitherto done, probably on account of the pending Ministerial crisis at Copenhagen.

With regard to the question of inducing the Danish Government to give a specific indemnity for the renunciation of the Duke of Augustenburg's claims, his Excellency said, that although the Danish Government were ready to give the Duke a larger sum than the value of his estates, and which might serve as a further indemnity, he did not think it would be possible to prevail upon them to make any avowed compensation for claims on the part of the Duke which they did not acknowledge; and his opinion, therefore, was that it would be useless to press that point on the Danish Ministry. But the Prussian Government, as he had formerly mentioned to me, and as I had the honour of reporting to your Lordship some time ago, would endeavour, were it only for their own justification, to obtain such a renunciation from his Highness.

No. 203.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Brunnow.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Baron Brunnow, November 24.)

(Extrait.) *St. Pétersbourg, le* $\frac{30 \text{ Septembre}}{1^{\text{er}} \text{ Octobre}}$, 1851.

PAR le Protocole de Londres du 2 Août, 1850, les Puissances signataires avaient exprimé le désir que l'état des possessions actuellement réunies sous la domination du Roi de Danemark fût maintenu dons son intégrité. Elles avaient reconnu en même temps la sagesse des vues qui déterminaient Sa Majesté Danoise à régler éventuellement l'ordre de Succession dans sa Royale Maison.

Fort de cet appui le Roi de Danemark a voué, dès le rétablissement de la paix, la

plus sérieuse attention à la régularisation définitive d'une question dont dépendait tout l'avenir de sa Monarchie.

Votre Excellence sait que la lignée actuellement régnante en Danemark doit, selon toute probabilité, s'éteindre dans sa descendance mâle avec la mort du Roi Frédéric VII, et de son oncle le Prince Frédéric Ferdinand.

Il importait de trouver une combinaison qui pût, dans cette éventualitè, appeler à la Succession au Trône, dans la totalité de la Monarchie, un Prince dont le choix fût agréé par la nation et les augustes alliés de Sa Majesté Danoise.

Toutefois un pareil arrangement ne pouvait se faire sans le consentement de ceux des membres de la Famille qui, en vertu de leur naissance, avaient des droits éventuels de Succession à faire valoir, soit dans l'une soit dans l'autre partie de la Monarchie Danoise.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur, comme chef de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp, était en premier lieu appelé à se prononcer sur le mérite d'un arrangement qui le priverait des droits éventuels à la Succession dans une partie du Duché de Holstein.

Aussi le Roi de Danemark a-t-il eu constamment à cœur de tenir le Cabinet Impérial au courant de ses combinaisons, à le consulter sur le choix d'un candidat, et à s'assurer de son approbation dès que ce choix eût été arrêté.

De son côté Sa Majesté l'Empereur a mis un généreux empressement à venir au-devant des désirs de son auguste allié, à seconder ses vues, et à faire spontanément, pour sa part, toutes les sacrifices nécessaires pour assurer le succès d'une combinaison qui, dans les circonstances actuelles, répondait le mieux aux intentions qui avaient présidé à la conclusion des arrangements de la famille de 1767 et 1773.

Ainsi dès que le choix du Roi de Danemark se fût arrêté sur le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg, notre auguste Maître s'est empressé d'approuver ce choix, et de renoncer en faveur de ce Prince à ses droits de Succession dans le Holstein, pour le cas où Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark réussirait à le faire reconnaître pour successeur dans le reste de la Monarchie, à l'extinction de la lignée mâle actuellement régnante.

A cet effet je fus autorisé par Sa Majesté l'Empereur à signer avec le Plénipotentiaire Danois, M. de Reedtz, un Protocole à Varsovie le $\frac{24 \text{ Mai}}{5 \text{ Juin}}$, dont je vous envoie ci-joint copie, constatant le parfait accord entre les vues des deux branches de la Maison d'Oldenbourg, et stipulant les conditions d'un arrangement de famille, qu'elles ont conclu sur la base des transactions de 1767 et 1773, dans le but, comme alors, d'établir la paix dans le Nord de l'Europe sur un pied durable, et écarter tout malentendu ou différend dans l'auguste Maison d'Oldenbourg.

Fort de l'assentiment de notre auguste Maître, le Roi de Danemark s'est empressé dès lors à obtenir des Actes de Renonciation de la part de ceux des Agnats et Cognats de sa Maison Royale qui avaient des droits éventuels de Succession à faire valoir dans le Royaume de Danemark, et cela en faveur du candidat qui possédait déjà un Acte de Renonciation de la part de notre auguste Maître.

Ces différentes renonciations le Gouvernement Danois vient de les obtenir. Elles ont été accordées toutes avec un empressement et un généreux désintéressement qui milite autant en faveur des Princes et Princesses qui ont signé les Actes qu'en faveur de celui pour qui elles ont été faites.

Arrivé ainsi heureusement à bout d'une négociation dont le résultat est à même de satisfaire au désir exprimé par les Hautes Parties Contractantes signataires du Protocole de Londres, le Cabinet Danois se croit en mesure de pouvoir soumettre à l'approbation de les augustes alliés cette combinaison au moyen de laquelle il espère pouvoir maintenir à l'avenir l'intégrité de la Monarchie, en établissant un ordre de Succession uniforme dans es diverses parties qui la composent.

Inclosure in No. 203.

Protocol of Arrangement for the Danish Succession, signed at Warsaw, June 5, 1851.

[See Inclosure in No. 180.]

No. 204.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 25.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, November* 20, 1851.

I HAVE delayed acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant with reference to an arrangement with the Duke of Augustenburg, as when I spoke

to M. Bluhme on the subject, he promised to send me a copy of a despatch which he had two days before addressed to the Danish Minister at St. Petersburgh, in which the course the King's Government intended to pursue on the question was clearly laid down, and which he was sure would meet with your Lordship's approbation.

I have now the honour to inclose a copy of the despatch in question, by which your Lordship will observe that if His Danish Majesty does not immediately act in accordance with the advice from various quarters, in allowing his Minister at Frankfort to enter into direct communication with the Duke of Augustenburg, it is, that previously to making any offer, they wish to establish irrefragably the value of the Duke's estates, and that for this purpose a Commission has been named, which will include two of the Duke's former Receivers and Managers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure in No. 204.

M. de Bluhme to Baron Plessen.

M. le Baron, *Copenhague, ce* 13 *Novembre,* 1851.

M. LE BARON D'UNGERN-STERNBERG m'a communiqué, il y a peu de jours, une dépêche de sa Cour concernant les négociations entamées à Francfort avec le Duc d'Augustenburg, en vue de la fixation d'une indemnité à payer éventuellement à ce Prince par le Gouvernement Danois.

Les données renfermées dans ma dépêche du 25 du passé vous auront fait pressentir, M. le Baron, que le Gouvernement du Roi s'occupait de cette question. Il m'est très agréable de pouvoir vous mander aujourd'hui que la voie dans laquelle on est entré ici à son égard répond, dans ses traits principaux, aux vues du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg.

Le Gouvernement du Roi, comme il vous est connu, M. le Baron, a l'intention d'accorder une indemnité au Duc d'Augustenbourg. Pour fixer le montant de cette somme, il prendra pour base le chiffre moyen du produit net et annuel des propriétés Ducales dans le Slesvig. Ce chiffre une fois trouvé, le Gouvernement du Roi pourra procéder à faire poser au Duc son ultimatum dans cette circonstance.

L'évaluation des propriétés Ducales dans le Slesvig et sur l'Ile d'Als se présente donc en premier lieu comme une entreprise préparatoire indispensable. Je regrette infiniment que cette partie du travail n'ait eu lieu avant mon entrée au Ministère, dans des proportions satisfaisantes pour le but qu'on se propose maintenant; mais les bordereaux de compte que j'ai sous la main m'ont paru, ainsi qu'à mes collègues, insuffisants pour établir avec toute l'exactitude et l'équité voulues les chiffres jugés nécessaires dans le présent cas.

Si d'une part cette circonstance entraine des retards qui auraient pu être évités, d'autre part elle permet au Gouvernement du Roi d'apporter à cette entreprise un soin particulier, en donnant un nouveau témoignage de la haute impartialité qui guide ses résolutions à l'égard des intérêts pecuniaires du Duc d'Augustenbourg; résolutions qui répondent autant à la volonté et aux vues généreuses du Roi qu'elles seront réellement de nature, je l'espère, à accélérer la régularisation définitive de la question des indemnités.

C'est ainsi que la vérification du montant du produit net des propriétés Ducales a été confiée à deux fonctionnaires supérieures du Roi, possédant en raison de leur position une connaissance approfondie des différentes questions qui se rattachent à cette matière.

Ensuite, afin de donner un gage additionnel d'impartialité au résultat des recherches et des travaux des Commissaires du Roi, deux personnes qui ont été antérieurement au service du Duc d'Augustenbourg comme employés dans son bureau de comptabilité, et qui se trouvent actuellement sur les lieux, seront admises à veiller aux intérêts du Duc à l'occasion de cette évaluation.

De cette manière le Gouvernement du Roi pense obtenir un chiffre qui pourra servir justement et équitablement de base pour la somme d'indemnité à fixer définitivement.

Les conditions que le Gouvernement du Roi se propose de rattacher au payement de l'indemnité seront d'un nombre très-limité!

Elles se borneront principalement aux stipulations suivantes:—

"Qu'en retour du payement de l'indemnité les possessions du Duc d'Augustenbourg sur le continent de Slesvig et sur l'Ile d'Als deviendront propriété de l'Etat.

"Que le Duc d'Augustenbourg et sa famille prendront dorénavant leur domicile ors des Etats du Roi.

"Que le Duc d'Augustenbourg promet en son nom et en celui des membres de sa famille de ne rien entreprendre qui pût troubler le repos des Etats du Roi, ou entraver les dispositions du Roi relativement à la Succession ou à l'organisation de la Monarchie.

"Que le payement de l'indemnité devra dépendre de l'accomplissement de cette promesse."

Le Gouvernement du Roi, désireux de prouver sa condescendance pour les conseils pleines de sagesse du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg, et voulant manifester également au Cabinet de Berlin sa sincère appréciation des bons offices qu'avec un loyal empressement il a bien voulu lui rendre à cette occasion, est disposé à accorder au Duc d'Augustenbourg un surplus convenable à ajouter à la somme formant l'indemnité annuelle. Il se prêterait également à un arrangement suivant lequel il serait donné à la transaction éventuelle avec le Duc, le caractère d'un achat fait par le Gouvernement Danois de ses bien-fonds situées en Slesvig, guidé par la supposition que cette manière de procéder pourrait offrir un expédient de nature à faciliter la tâche des négociateurs.

S'il m'est permis de compter sur la généreuse approbation du Roi notre auguste Maître pour un arrangement dans l'esprit indiqué, je ne saurais toutefois me dissimuler les difficultés que la négociation offre sous d'autres rapports, et qui reposent non seulement sur les égards bien légitimes que le Ministre doit dans toute cette affaire avoir pour l'opinion publique et le sentiment général de moralité, mais qui tiennent leur origine des procédés regrettables du Duc d'Augustenbourg lui-même.

Dans de pareilles circonstances le Gouvernement du Roi a pensé que ce serait une mesure intempestive et peut-être compromettante d'établir en ce moment des rapports plus directs entre le Ministre du Roi à Francfort et le Duc d'Augustenbourg.

Quand l'affaire sera plus avancée et lorsque nous serons en mesure de communiquer à M. de Bülow le chiffre à fixer définitivement pour la somme d'indemnité, le Gouvernement du Roi saisira avec empressement cette occasion pour offrir au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Prussienne une preuve de sa confiance, en laissant au Ministre du Roi à Francfort la faculté de régler entièrement sa conduite dans cette affaire d'après une entente préalable avec M. le Comte de Bismark, dont nous avons déjà appris à apprécier le zèle éclairé et les procédés loyaux.

En donnant connaissance à son Excellence M. le Comte de Nesselrode du contenu de ma présente dépêche, je vous engage, M. le Baron, à ajouter que le Gouvernement du Roi s'estimerait heureux de pouvoir compter aussi dans cette circonstance sur l'appui et le concours bienveillant du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BLUHME.

No. 205.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, November* 25, 1851.

THE Danish Plenipotentiary has been kind enough to communicate to me the substance of a despatch addressed by his Government, on the 19th instant, to the Danish Minister at St. Petersburgh, on the subject of the compensation to be given to the Duke of Augustenburg by the King of Denmark.

I have no doubt that this despatch has been brought to your Lordship's knowledge, but in case it should not have been I will state the substance of it.

The Danish Minister, M. de Bluhme, assures the Russian Government that the King of Denmark is ready to give a fair compensation for the estates in Schleswig now belonging to the Duke. That at the present moment the Danish Government does not accurately know the value of these estates, and proposes to send a Commission composed of four persons, two to be named by the King and two to be chosen from persons employed by the Duke in the management of his estates, who shall report as to the average value of the rents. The King is, however, willing to give more than this average value, and to let the whole transaction bear the character of a sale, provided the Duke will bind himself to quit the Danish dominions, and enter into a solemn engagement not to join in any schemes having for their object to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom.

Whenever the necessary preliminary inquiries have been made, the King will send

his ultimatum to his Minister at Frankfort, and direct him to put himself in communication with the Prussian Plenipotentiary upon the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 206.

Sir H. Wynn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 1.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, November 27, 1851.*

WHEN I last saw M. Bluhme he informed me that he had not yet received the Official Report of the Commissioners to inquire into the real value of the Duke of Augustenburg's estates; but from the preliminary information transmitted to him he had no doubt that it would be found much higher than was anticipated, and that the rental, instead of being 46,000 Holstein conventional dollars, would be found to amount to 66,000.

I told M. Bluhme that I could not regret the event of this new valuation, as, while the Government would have the value of an increased payment, it would facilitate an arrangement with the Duke, and would show those who supported his cause that the Government wished to act in a fair and liberal manner.

M. Bluhme was not prepared to tell me what excess above the real value will be offered, but I shall not fail to press him for a decision on this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 207.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 1.)

My Lord, *Berlin, November 27, 1851.*

THE Prussian Government have received intelligence from Copenhagen of the adoption by the King of Denmark, and the majority of the Danish Cabinet, of M. Bluhme's new programme; but as they are unacquainted with its details, they are as yet unable to pronounce an opinion upon it.

Count Bille-Brahe, the Danish Minister, has received a letter of the 24th instant, stating that the programme would be sent to him in three or four days from that period. In the meantime I have acquainted the Under-Secretary of State, for Baron Manteuffel's information, with the statement contained in a letter from Sir Henry Wynn to myself that the withdrawal of every foreigner from the Duchy of Holstein, including the Federal garrison of Rendsburg, as well as the other Federal troops, will be a condition, *sine quâ non,* on the part of the Danish Government, of any arrangement.

I understand that the King of Prussia has again called upon the Duke of Augustenburg to state how far he is ready to accept the basis of the proposals of the Danish Government, communicated to him through the Prussian Plenipotentiary, M. de Bismark, upon which he has hitherto evaded giving a clear answer; and I have reason to believe that the Prussian Government will concur in the conditions under which the Danish Cabinet propose to make their offer, and which are stated in a despatch of M. Bluhme of the 15th instant to Baron Plessen, the Danish Minister at St. Petersburgh, of which your Lordship has no doubt learnt the contents from Sir Henry Wynn.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 208.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 9.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, December 6, 1851.*

M. DE BISMARCK, the Prussian Plenipotentiary at the Diet, who has been here for a few days for the purpose of taking his seat in the Second Chamber, returns to-night or to-morrow to Frankfort.

He tells me that, until he is enabled to communicate a positive offer to the

Duke of Augustenburg on the part of the Danish Government, it will not be in his power to advance the negotiations with which he has been charged.

He says that the Duke still holds to the idea of a family compact, according to which the reversionary rights of his sons, in case of the extinction of the male line of the descendants of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, shall be admitted, but the Russian Chargé d'Affaires informs me that he has authorized M. de Bismark to tell his Highness that the Emperor will never consent to such a Convention.

That the command of the Holstein Contingent was given up on the 1st instant to the Danish General Bardenfleth, your Lordship will already have learnt from other quarters.

No. 209.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 16.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, December* 11, 1851.

M. DE BILLE took this opportunity of stating to M. de Bismark that it would be quite impossible for the Danish Government to admit of any reversionary claims to the Succession, in case of the extinction of the line of Prince Christian of Glücksburg in favour of the Duke of Augustenburg's sons.

M. de Bülow, the Danish Plenipotentiary for Holstein in the Diet, has arrived here to confer with M. de Bille.

No. 210.

Mr. Howard to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 29.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, December* 25, 1851.

IN a Memorandum Baron Manteuffel stated the points upon which the Prussian Government are agreed with M. Bluhme's new programme, and these include the unity of the Monarchy, the settlement of the Succession upon Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his descendants, the convocation of the Provincial States in both Duchies, for the purpose of submitting to them the plan of the future organization of the Monarchy, and the arrangement relative to the Holstein contingent.

No. 211.

Mr. Howard to Earl Granville.—(Received January 8.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, January* 5, 1852.

I HAVE the honour of inclosing to your Lordship a translation of the despatch, together with its inclosure, addressed by Baron Manteuffel to Baron Werther, the Prussian Minister at Copenhagen, in reply to the recent proposals of M. Bluhme, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the organisation of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig.

The despatch contains, in the mild form finally adopted, the wishes of the Prussian Government upon some points with regard to which they state that a formal understanding has not yet been arrived at with the Danish Government. The requests a compliance with which would, according to the assurances given by Baron Manteuffel to M. de Bille, principally ensure the consent of the Prussian Government to the evacuation of Holstein, are those which relate to the appointment of Ministers for Holstein and Schleswig calculated to inspire confidence, and to the fortress of Rendsburg.

The Memorandum relates, on the other hand, to the points upon which the Prussian Government consider that an agreement exists with the Danish Government.

Inclosure 1 in No. 211.

Baron Manteuffel to Baron Werther.

(Translation.) *Berlin, December* 30, 1851.

THE communications of the Danish Ministry which you had announced to us have now reached us in the form of a despatch of the 6th of this month, with two annexes, addressed by the Minister Bluhme to Count Bille-Brahe. I inclose complete copies of these papers. They have, as I need hardly assure you, been submitted to a full consideration and examination, conducted with the most sincere wish to arrive at an understanding.

They have given occasion to show and record the points upon which a general understanding may be considered as already existing. You will likewise find this Memorandum inclosed. The points related in it naturally form, together with the contents of this instruction, a connected whole, the several parts of which make up conditions. Whilst I request you to bring this inclosure to the knowledge of the Minister Bluhme, it only remains for me to make mention in a few words of those points with regard to which an agreement has not hitherto formally taken place, which, however, are partly less important, partly more of a transitory nature, and which relate not so much to organic institutions as to the manner and period of their being carried into effect.

To this, in the first place, belongs the intentions of the Royal Danish Government not to re-establish the community introduced by the predecessors of His Majesty, the King of Denmark, of the Administrative authority, and of the Supreme Court of Appeal for the Duchies of Holstein and of Schleswig. It cannot be doubted but that the more deeply the subjects of His Danish Majesty in Schleswig and Holstein had felt the advantages of these common institutions granted to them by their Sovereign, the more painfully will they be affected by their withdrawal.

We therefore hope that the abolition of these common superior authorities having taken place, the Royal Danish Government will, with a benevolent regard for the tranquillization of the public mind, grant a judicial and administrative organization corresponding as much as possible to the general wish.

With full confidence we think we may assume that it is the intention of the Royal Danish Government to put an end to the exceptional state of things still continuing in Schleswig, before the elections for the Provincial States take place there. If these elections take place under the Management of a Minister who enjoys the confidence of the country, the latter will freely and confidently take part in them, and will hail its chosen Representatives as the really authorized organs of the interests of the country. It is of great value, and it is a very satisfactory omen, that distinguished persons are not wanting who would in every respect furnish the desired guarantees, and who, according to information to be relied upon, are besides ready to obey the call of His Majesty the King of Denmark to fill this difficult post, which, however, promises a most beneficent sphere of action. If the management of the affairs of Schleswig is entrusted to such hands, and if a statesman of equally distinguished qualities is at the head of the Administration of Holstein, there will be in the position of these Ministers, as members of the Ministry for the whole State which, according to the announced intentions of His Danish Majesty, is to be established, a high guarantee for the speedy execution of the paternal intentions towards his country of His Majesty the King-Duke, the importance of which must also be fully appreciated by the German Powers.

The issuing of the writs for the elections for the Provincial States and their assembly at as early a period as possible, would then cause the Governments who represent the German Confederation to submit to the Diet, for its sanction, those measures which must be considered as requisite for the re-establishment of the full authority of the Sovereign in the Duchy of Holstein.

We regret sincerely that the labours of the Commission of Boundary Demarcation, which had met at Rendsburg, have not produced a result which seemed calculated to bring about a speedy settlement of the territorial frontier between the two Duchies.

Under the circumstances of the divergent statements put forth by the respective Commissioners, and of the generally-felt necessity of concluding this affair, the expedient of an arbitration by a third impartial Government seems to present itself. Supposing the German Confederation as well as Denmark to accept it, there would indeed only be a prospect of a decision after the lapse of a period which could not previously be specified. In order, however, not to defer so long the evacuation of Holstein by the Federal troops, the latter could likewise take place if, as the German Powers may assume positively and as a matter self-understood, in the place of the Federal troops which are now in Rends-

burg, only component parts of the Holstein Federal contingent shall be employed there, and if, as the Danish Government will acknowledge to be not less suited to the circumstances, no changes shall be made in the present state of the fortifications of Rendsburg until the definitive settlement of the question of the frontier.

You will express yourself in the sense of the above remarks to the Minister Bluhme, and give him, if he should wish it, a copy of this despatch.

(Signed) MANTEUFFEL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 211.

Memorandum.

(Translation.)

WHEN it is said in the instruction of the Royal Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 6th of this month to Count Bille-Brahe, that the Danish Government feels the strongest inducement to endeavour to obtain the confidence of the Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna, and if, accordingly, in the Annex 2, those Government measures are specified which are contemplated by His Majesty the King of Denmark, and by which the Danish Declaration, already given on the 26th August, that the Duchy of Holstein should be governed according to the existing laws, and no changes made in them excepting in a constitutional manner, is further explained, this more detailed communication can only be welcomed with pleasure on the part of Prussia as a further step towards an early definitive understanding.

When one reviews the sphere of the several questions the general solution of which forms the object of the negotiations between the German Powers and Denmark, one cannot shut out the persuasion that with regard to the most, and by far the most important points an understanding may be considered as having been already attained.

1. Foremost appears the general acknowledgment of the principle that in the interests of Europe the whole Danish Monarchy, as at present constituted, should remain together as a whole under one sceptre.

2. In virtue of this acknowledged principle, consent has been expressed generally, and namely by Prussia, to the arrangements which have been made respecting the succession to the Throne in the whole Danish Monarchy, in favour of Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his male descendants from his marriage with his wife, born a Princess of Hesse.

Also respecting the manner and way in which these arrangements may be more formally grounded, inasmuch as they relate to Holstein, by the removal of a claim (of the Duke of Augustenburg), doubtful, it is true, in itself, but not, under existing circumstances, to be passed over, a general understanding exists.

The Prussian Cabinet can abandon itself to the hope that precisely in this respect its efforts are appreciated and acknowledged on the part of Denmark.

3. In respect to Holstein, it is decided that the Provincial States of the Duchy shall be assembled as the legally existing organ of the country, and that to these States belongs the representation of the peculiar rights of the country.

4. The armed force of the Duchy of Holstein, as a German Federal country, has been organized by agreement between the Powers representing the Confederation and the Crown of Denmark, and whilst its destination as a Federal contingent has been reserved, the command-in-chief of it has been left to the King of Denmark as the Military Sovereign of the whole Monarchy.

5. The circumstances of the Duchy of Schleswig as a non-German country do not of themselves form the object of deliberation and negotiation on the part of the German Confederation. Only inasmuch as the German Duchy of Holstein, in consequence of the common legal relations of both Duchies, has claims to the maintenance of such relations, do the latter form the subject of an understanding between the Powers representing the German Confederation and the Crown of Denmark.

Whilst it is acknowledged, on the part of Prussia and Austria, that an extended claim of the Duchy of Holstein to community and unity of relations in both Duchies does not take place, the Royal Danish Government acknowledges, on its part, that the Holstein States remain, in the attributions belonging to them according to the Ordinances of 1831 and 1834, as an authorized organ of the Duchy of Holstein in respect to the community of relations of both Duchies based upon particular legal titles.

In particular, it is generally acknowledged that the *nexus socialis* between the nobility ("Ritterschaft") of Schleswig and Holstein is to be maintained to the same extent and with the same legal consequences for the future as it has existed since the year 1731.

6. The Royal Danish Government is agreed with the German Powers that the Duchy of Schleswig shall subsist as a separate part of the whole Danish Monarchy, not to be incorporated, either with regard to its constitution or administration, with Denmark.

It is in like manner acknowledged on the part of Denmark, that the Schleswig nobility ("Ritterschaft") is maintained for the future as a corporation, under the attributions devolving from the *nexus socialis* with the Holstein nobility. His Majesty the King of Denmark has equally declared his intention of convoking the Schleswig Provincial States by new elections, as they were established by the Ordinances of 1831 and 1834. Prussia expresses her expectation founded upon the above points, that a representation of States will take place in Schleswig corresponding to the wants and to the Constitution of the country which existed before 1848. The form and the composition of this Representation will have to be discussed with the Provincial States, which are now again to be assembled.

7. The German Powers acknowledge that in consequence of the recognized principle of the integrity of the whole Danish Monarchy, a representation of all parts of this Monarchy in a Legislative Assembly for the discussion and decision respecting the common interests of all, is not incompatible with the separate rights of the German Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg. On the other hand, the Royal Danish Government intends not to introduce in the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg belonging to the German Confederation, or in the Duchy of Schleswig, the Constitution at present existing in the Kingdom of Denmark, nor the Electoral Law in force there; but, on the contrary, to have regard in the Constitution to be framed for the whole Monarchy, for the relations of the States in the German Duchies, and for the particular relations of the Duchy of Schleswig. Namely, the Electoral Law in force in Denmark will not be introduced into Schleswig and the German Duchies.

8. The community hitherto existing of the University of Kiel for Holstein and for Schleswig, as well as the community of the other institutions settled for both Duchies, continues to subsist to the same extent as was the case until the end of the year 1847.

No. 212.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 9, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, a copy of a note which Count Reventlow addressed to Viscount Palmerston on the 8th September last,* at the same time that he forwarded through his Lordship the letter addressed by the King of Denmark to the Queen, informing Her Majesty of the selection of Prince Christian of Glucksburg as His Majesty's eventual successor to the Danish Crown.

In this note Count Reventlow states the reasons which had induced His Danish Majesty to make this selection, records the renunciation by certain Agnates of the Danish Crown of their eventual rights, recapitulates the reasons which have induced His Majesty to consider that others of the Agnates have, from various causes, forfeited their rights, and calls upon Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the engagement recorded in the Protocol of the 2nd of August, 1850, by considering, in concert with the Powers who signed that Protocol, and with Prussia, the expediency of giving the sanction of a European acknowledgment to the selection now made by the King of Denmark.

In replying to this communication, I have, in the first place, to instruct you to explain to the Danish Minister that the delay which has occurred in forwarding Her Majesty's reply to the King of Denmark, as well as in furnishing you with the present instruction, is in no manner to be attributed to any diminished interest on the part of Her Majesty's Government in the final arrangement of this question, or in the well-being of His Danish Majesty's dominions. It is solely to be attributed to accidental circumstances, for the occurrence of which Her Majesty's Government can only express their regret.

As regards the contents of Count Reventlow's note, I have to instruct you to express to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt that so many of the obstacles to the final settlement of the question of the succession have been overcome; but you will at the same time point out to his Excellency the reasons which induce Her Majesty's Government to consider that the time is not yet come at which Her Majesty's Government would be justified in taking the further step requested by the Danish Government.

The Danish Minister will recollect that Her Majesty's Government have uniformly

* No. 140.

declined to take any part in the settlement of the arrangement to which Count Reventlow's note refers, and that they have limited their obligation to the engagement to recognize such arrangement whenever it shall have been completed to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. Her Majesty's Government can, consequently, not be properly called upon to express an opinion as to the validity of the reasons set forth in Count Reventlow's note and its inclosure, for the decision at which His Majesty the King of Denmark has arrived. But Her Majesty's Government cannot but consider that in an arrangement affecting the succession to German as well as to Danish States, the acquiescence of the Germanic Confederation would be necessary before third parties could consider that arrangement as settled.

You will urge these considerations upon the serious attention of the Danish Minister, and you will use your best endeavours to persuade the Danish Government, with a view to facilitate the understanding above adverted to, to make, through the Prussian Government, their offers to the Duke of Augustenburg for the renunciation of his real or supposed rights, in that spirit of liberality which you have been repeatedly instructed to recommend, and which in your despatch of the 29th of September last you report the Danish Government to entertain.

You will at the same time assure the Danish Minister that, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, no efforts shall be wanting to induce the Governments of Austria and Prussia to persuade the Duke of Augustenburg to listen to reasonable proposals, and thus to put an end to any objection which may still be entertained by the Confederation to acquiesce in the selection of Prince Christian of Glucksburg as eventual successor to all the component parts of the Danish Monarchy.

As soon as this object shall have been accomplished, Her Majesty's Government will have great satisfaction in affording, in unison with the other Powers, the sanction of a European acknowledgment to the selection now made by the King of Denmark.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 213.

*Earl Granville to Mr. Howard.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 13, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, a copy of a note addressed by Count Reventlow to Viscount Palmerston on the 8th of September last,† on the occasion of forwarding, through his Lordship, the letter from the King of Denmark to the Queen announcing the selection of Prince Christian of Glucksburg as His Majesty's eventual successor to the Danish Crown. I likewise inclose a copy of an instruction which I have addressed to Sir Henry Wynn in reply;‡ and I have to desire that, in conformity with the assurance which Sir Henry Wynn has been directed to give to the Danish Government, you will urge the Prussian Government to use their best endeavours to induce the Duke of Augustenburg to take a just view of his position, and to consent to a renunciation of his real or supposed rights, in consideration of such reasonable compensation as may be offered to him through the medium of the Prussian Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 214.

Sir H. Wynn to Earl Granville.—(Received January 24.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, January* 17, 1852.

AFTER I had closed my despatch of yesterday, M. de Bluhme called upon me on his way to Fredericksburg, where he had been called, as the King declined coming to Copenhagen till some Ministerial arrangement was practicable, not wishing, probably, again to encounter the diversity of opinions which were lately submitted to His Majesty. After giving the Danish Minister a copy of the Queen's letter, I read to him your Lordship's despatch, with reference to Count Reventlow's note to Viscount Palmerston of the 8th September.

I am sorry that it is my duty not to conceal from your Lordship the unfavourable effect

* A similar despatch was addressed to Earl of Westmorland. † No. 140. ‡ No. 212.

it produced. He said that his situation would be rendered still more difficult if Her Majesty's Government acted up to the declaration now made; that it would entail the necessity of re-treading all the ground gained since the date of Count Reventlow's note, and completely change the position of the Duke of Augustenburg, as, relying on the support of Her Majesty's Government, he would pretend to the right of appearing on equal terms with his Sovereign before the German Confederation, a tribunal the competence of which the King never had admitted and never could admit, to decide between himself and a subject, who, after his conduct, had only to choose between the liberal terms which would be offered to him and a trial for high treason; that this was the view taken of it by the Emperor of Russia, who, as a Prince of the House of Oldenburg, was most interested in the succession in Holstein, who had decidedly refused his consent even to the succession of the Princes of Augustenburg in the event of the failure of the Prince of Glucksburg's male descendants; that your Lordship was aware that all mention of any pretended rights of the Duke of Augustenburg had been omitted in the last Austrian and Prussian communications; and that the two Courts, in case of obtaining the Danish consent to the three reserved points, now consented to go with them to Frankfort as a *fait accompli*, and not as one submitted for discussion and the approbation of the Diet.

The Danish Minister came to me evidently harassed by a long previous discussion with his colleagues, and I had therefore more difficulty to pacify him by expressing my decided opinion that he had given a false interpretation to your Lordship's despatch, and that Her Majesty's Government, giving due weight to the mandate on which the two Courts acted, would consider their consent as that of the Diet, and not require any further reference before they joined in an European acknowledgment of the different arrangements for the future integrity of the Danish dominions.

No. 215.

Mr. Howard to Earl Granville.—(Received January 24.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January* 19, 1852.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch to me of the 13th instant, and to your despatch of the 9th instant to Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen, on the subject of the Danish succession, I confined myself to stating to Baron Manteuffel, on the 17th instant, that your Lordship, with a view to bring about a general understanding on that question, had instructed Sir Henry Wynn to endeavour to persuade the Danish Government to make, through the Prussian Government, their offers to the Duke of Augustenburg in that spirit of liberality which he had been repeatedly directed to recommend, and that you had likewise charged me to urge the Prussian Government to use their best endeavours to induce the Duke of Augustenburg to take a just view of his position, and to consent to a renunciation of his real or supposed rights, in consideration of such reasonable compensation as may be offered to him through the medium of the Prussian Government.

Baron Manteuffel replied that I was aware the Prussian Government, for a considerable time past, had been engaged in doing that which your Lordship wished, but that he was glad of the communication I had made to him, as he should be able to make use of it in the negotiations which M. de Bismark-Schönhausen, the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, would, on his return to his post in a few days, resume with the Duke of Augustenburg. He added that Baron Canitz, the Prussian Minister Resident at Darmstadt and Frankfort, had been charged, in M. de Bismark's absence, with the negotiation, but that the Duke was not there at present.

Baron Manteuffel also stated that the negotiation had not latterly made much progress, and that more explicit declarations, both on the part of the Duke of Augustenburg and of the Danish Government, were requisite in order to advance the matter.

Sir Henry Wynn has informed Her Majesty's Government of the delay which has been occasioned, as far as the Danish Government is concerned, by the necessary valuations of the Duke's property in Schleswig.

In answer to an inquiry of mine, Baron Manteuffel told me that the Prussian Government did not consider a communication to the German Diet on the question of the settlement of the Danish succession, or of the Duke of Augustenburg's claims, to be requisite, and that they had no intention of bringing it before that Assembly; but that the arrangement which they might be able to negotiate with the Duke of Augustenburg would, of course, be submitted to the Danish Government for their sanction, but not to the Diet.

With regard to this subject, I have to observe that Baron Manteuffel stated to me, as long ago as the 29th of September last, as reported in my despatch of that date to Viscount Palmerston, that the Prussian Government would not bring the question of the Danish succession before the Diet, although they might not be able to prevent the Duke of Augustenburg from doing so, and I beg to refer your Lordship to that despatch as well as to my despatches of the same date and of the 2nd of October last, and to their inclosures, as explanatory of the nature and motives of the course pursued by the King of Prussia and his Government in respect to these transactions, both as relating to the main question of the succession and to that of the Duke of Augustenburg's claims.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 216.

Mr. Howard to Earl Granville.—(Received January 24.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, January* 19, 1852.

THINKING it useful that Count Bille-Brahe, the Danish Minister at this Court, should be made acquainted with the nature of your Lordship's recent instructions to Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen on the question of the succession to the Danish Throne, I confidentially read to him your Lordship's despatch of the 9th instant to that Minister in which they are contained, and a copy of which was inclosed to me in your despatch of the 13th instant.

Three passages in your Lordship's despatch more particularly attracted Count Bille-Brahe's attention, viz., first, the one in which you state that Her Majesty's Government cannot but consider that, in an arrangement affecting the succession to German as well as to Danish States, the acquiescence of the German Confederation would be necessary before third parties could consider the arrangement of the succession as settled; secondly, the one in which you speak of an end being put to any objections which may still be entertained by the Confederation to acquiesce in the selection of Prince Christian of Glucksburg as eventual successor; and thirdly, the concluding sentence in which you state that, as soon as this object shall have been accomplished, Her Majesty's Government will have great satisfaction in affording, in union with the other Powers, the sanction of a European acknowledgment to the selection now made by the King of Denmark.

Count Bille-Brahe remarked with regard to these passages that, to his knowledge, it was the first time Her Majesty's Government had put forward the necessity of the acquiescence of the Diet in the settlement of the Danish succession, which had been treated in the Protocol of London of the 2nd of August, 1850, as a European question, and that he could not but hope that, if the Austrian and Prussian Governments, which, besides acting in their capacity of European Powers, might be received as the guardians of German interests on this question, should not call in the intervention of the German Confederation, Her Majesty's Government would not, on their part, urge it; moreover, he observed that hitherto no objections to the proposed arrangement had been manifested by the Diet.

Count Bille-Brahe further remarked that, whilst the answer conveyed to the Danish Government in your Lordship's above-mentioned despatch to Sir Henry Wynn appeared to render the consent of Her Majesty's Government to the proposed arrangement dependent upon the acquiescence of the Diet in it, the reply of the 30th of September, 1851, which had been returned by Baron Manteuffel, on the part of the Prussian Government, to his application of the 26th of that month on the same subject, had already signified besides, the recognition of the principle of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, the formal assent of the King of Prussia to the selection of Prince and Princess Christian of Glucksburg and their male descendants as eventual successors to the Throne of Denmark, and had not made any reservation of the sanction by the Diet of the arrangement, nor had the King of Prussia done so either in the letter which he had addressed on the 24th of September last to the King of Denmark, and in which he had alluded in general terms to the Duke of Augustenburg's claims, without however naming them.

Your Lordship will find a copy of Baron Manteuffel's note of the 30th of September in my despatch of the 2nd of October last.

Count Bille-Brahe informs me that his Government is perfectly satisfied with Baron Manteuffel's answer of the 30th of September last on the part of the Prussian Government, as fulfilling the objects of the Protocol of London of the 2nd of August, 1850.

The original note which Count Bille-Brahe was charged to present to the Prussian Government on the question of the succession was precisely similar in its terms and demands to that which was addressed by Count Reventlow to Lord Palmerston on the 8th of September last; but Baron Manteuffel having objected to the participation of the Prussian Minister in the proposed conferences in London, on account of their connection with the Protocols of London of the 2nd and 23rd of August, 1850, to which Prussia was not a party, Count Bille-Brahe, with the authorisation of his Government, altered the Danish demand to a request for a declaration on the part of the King of Prussia, with a view to give, as far as Prussia was concerned, the character of a European transaction to the establishment of the principle of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and to contribute by such a declaration to an act of European acknowledgment, calculated to afford additional stability to the arrangements for the recognition of Prince and Princess Christian of Glucksburg and their male descendants as eventual successors to the Throne of Denmark. Count Bille-Brahe having been so good as to place the draft of his above-mentioned note into my hands, I have the honour of inclosing herewith an extract from it to your Lordship, containing the concluding request as altered in the manner I have described.

In my despatch of the 29th of September last to Viscount Palmerston, I stated that Baron Manteuffel had informed me that the Prussian Government would not bring the question of the arrangement of the Danish succession before the Diet; and in my previous despatch of this day's date, I have reported that he had repeated to me that the Prussian Government had no intention of so doing, or of applying for the sanction of the Diet to that arrangement.

I trust your Lordship will excuse the liberty which I take in expressing on this occasion my fears lest a reference to the Diet on the question of the Danish succession may greatly tend to delay its settlement, and lest it might be an inducement to the Duke of Augustenburg to raise his pretensions, and to demur entering into the terms of arrangement proposed by Denmark, hoping perhaps to enlist some of the smaller German States in his cause.

I also feel persuaded that the Emperor of Russia would object to a question in which his own claims are involved being submitted for the decision of the Diet, and thus, should this view be correct, and should Her Majesty's Government persist in the wish which your Lordship has conveyed to the Danish Government, a cessation of that concert between Her Majesty's Government and the Russian Government, by means of which matters have been advanced to their point, might ensue.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

Inclosure in No. 216.

Count Bille-Brahe to Baron Manteuffel.

(Extrait.) *Berlin, le* 26 *Septembre,* 1851.

C'EST pour ces résultats simples et pratiques, au moyen desquels, si telle est la volonté du Tout Puissant, la question de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise pourra être heureusement résolu pour l'avenir, que le Roi mon auguste Maître désire obtenir l'assentiment et la garantie de ses alliés,* et s'adresse dans ce but à Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse en demandant—

Que Sa Majesté consente à faire une déclaration à l'effet de donner, pour autant que cela concerne la Prusse, le caractère d'une transaction Européenne à l'établissement du principe que l'état des possessions actuellement réunies sous la domination de Sa Majesté Danoise soit maintenu dans son intégrité, et que Sa Majesté veuille contribuer par une pareille déclaration à un acte de reconnaissance Européenne qui offrirait un gage additionnel de stabilité aux arrangements en vertu desquels le Prince Chrétien de Glücksburg conjointement avec son épouse Madame la Princesse Louise et leur descendance mâle seront reconnus comme successeurs présomptifs au Trône de Danemarc.

J'ai l'honneur d'ajouter que le Roi mon Maître a cru devoir exprimer ce désir directement à Sa Majesté Prussienne, en adressant, dans une affaire qui concerne les premiers et les plus précieux intérêts de la Couronne, un pressant appel à l'amitié de son

* Commencement of the alteration as compared with the Danish note to Her Majesty's and other Governments.

allié. Sa Majesté vient à cet effet de lui écrire une lettre particulière que j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de remettre à sa haute destination.

En osant prier votre Excellence de vouloir bien me faire connaître les hautes résolutions de Sa Majesté Prussienne au sujet des demandes que j'ai l'honneur de soumettre par la présente note, je saisis, &c.

No. 217.

The Earl of Westmorland to Earl Granville.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord, *Vienna, January* 20, 1852.

I HAVE stated to Prince Schwarzenberg the desire of Her Majesty's Government that the Austrian Government would use their best endeavours to induce the Duke of Augustenburg to consent to a renunciation of his real or supposed rights in consideration of such reasonable compensation as may be offered by the King of Denmark, through the medium of the Prussian Government.

Prince Schwarzenberg assured me that he should be most anxious to see this arrangement carried into effect; but as he had as yet abstained from any direct interference with the Duke of Augustenburg, he hoped he might still be able to leave the affairs in which he was concerned in other hands.

While speaking to Prince Schwarzenberg upon this subject, I brought under his consideration the substance of the inclosure in your Lordship's despatch, in which you instruct Sir H. Wynn to recommend to the Danish Government to consent to the wish expressed with respect to the Fortress of Rendsburg by the Governments of Austria and Prussia; but with a distinct understanding that it is without prejudice to the question of right. Prince Schwarzenberg desired me to express to your Lordship his satisfaction at the assistance thus afforded towards arriving at a settlement of the almost interminable affairs of Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

No. 218.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 28, 1852.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 17th instant, reporting what passed between yourself and M. de Bluhme on the subject of my despatch of the 9th instant, replying to Count Reventlow's note of the 8th of September last; and I have to inform you, in reply, that you were quite right in expressing the opinion that M. de Bluhme had given a false interpretation to that despatch. Her Majesty's Government do not require, or expect, that either the Diet or the Duke of Augustenburg should be made parties to the proposed arrangement as to the succession to the Crown of Denmark. But bearing in mind that Her Majesty's Government have uniformly abstained from constituting themselves judges in the matter, they have a right to expect that every precaution should be taken to prevent the revival of the question by parties who may consider themselves entitled to express an opinion.

Her Majesty's Government would consider these just expectations as being satisfied if Denmark should be in a position to announce to them that not only those parties whose acquiescence has already been obtained, but Austria and Prussia, as holding the mandate of the Diet, considered the arrangement to be definitively concluded, and Her Majesty's Government would, in such case, be prepared to join Her Majesty's allies in giving to that arrangement the sanction of a European acknowledgment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 219.

Earl Granville to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 28, 1852.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 19th instant, reporting what passed between yourself and Count Bille-Brahe on the subject of my instruction to Sir Henry

Wynn of the 9th instant, and I have to instruct you to point out to that Minister that he has misapprehended the purport of my despatch. Her Majesty's Government do not desire that either the Diet or the Duke of Augustenburg should be made parties to the proposed arrangement as to the succession to the Crown of Denmark. But although Her Majesty's Government have uniformly abstained, and still abstain, from constituting themselves judges in this matter, they nevertheless think it right to express an opinion that every precaution should be taken to prevent any future revival of the question by parties who may conceive themselves entitled to have a voice in the matter.

If Austria and Prussia, therefore, as holding the mandate of the Diet, announced to Her Majesty's Government that they considered the question as definitively set at rest, Her Majesty's Government would in such case join Her Majesty's allies in giving to the arrangement the sanction of an European acknowledgment.

There would appear the less difficulty in adopting such a course as regards Prussia, because it is clear, from the repeated declarations of M. de Manteuffel to yourself, that it is not thought necessary by the Prussian Government to bring the question before the Diet, and that Prussia has sufficiently satisfied herself that the arrangement is one against which no reasonable objection could be entertained by any party entitled to have an opinion on the matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 220.

Earl Granville to Mr. Howard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 28, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch from Sir Henry Wynn,* reporting the reception by M. de Bluhme of my despatch of the 13th instant, on the question of the Danish succession. I likewise inclose a copy of my reply.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 221.

Sir H. Wynn to Earl Granville.—(Received January 29.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, January* 23, 1852.

I HAVE refrained from addressing your Lordship till I was able to announce that all the difficulties and objections to M. de Bluhme's plan for the new Administration had been overcome, which I am happy to say is now the case, and that His Danish Majesty has accepted it (with some few exceptions) as reported in my last despatch.

In consequence of the King's objection that Prince Christian should be admitted till his right of succession was recognized, Prince Ferdinand will be the only Prince in the Council. M. de Bluhme regrets this (though he gave way), thinking it an additional guarantee to the Duchies, and also for his eventual succession. As Admiral Zartman declined, the Ministry of the Marine has been accepted by Captain Steen Bille, whose father was long at the head of that Department, and who is himself a distinguished officer in the navy.

Although they are not to be formally received by the King till to-morrow, they have already had a meeting, in which a manifesto to be issued in the King's name respecting Schleswig, drawn up by Count Charles Moltke, was unanimously adopted for His Majesty's approval.

The King having thus acceded to the wishes of the two Powers, I trust that there will now no longer be any obstacle to the re-establishment of the King's authority in Holstein, and to the final settlement of the question.

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* No. 214. † No. 218.

No. 222.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Earl Granville.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, January 20, 1852.*

WITH regard to Danish affairs I have to state to your Lordship that on the 19th instant the Chancellor expressed himself hopefully as to their approaching solution.

His Excellency observed, however, that he had learned with much regret that the Prussian Cabinet entertained the wish of submitting the definitive arrangement with Denmark to the sanction of the Diet.

This plan Count Nesselrode thought very objectionable, as exposing a question which had been long pending to fresh and possibly very protracted delays.

This opinion Count Nesselrode had made known to the Prussian Cabinet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 223.

Sir H. Wynn to Earl Granville.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, January 29, 1852.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch.

I was glad to be able to communicate this despatch to M. de Bluhme, as the recommendation to accept the Austrian and Prussian proposals seemed to me a confirmation of the opinion I had expressed that your Lordship's former despatch had been falsely interpreted, and that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of referring the matter to the Diet at Frankfort.

I found M. Bluhme, this morning, much satisfied with the manner in which the communications had been received by the two Chambers; this, however, in fact, only amounted to silence, and adjournment to consider the King's Manifesto. Severe interpellations will, of course, ensue; but as the supplies have been voted, the Chambers will be immediately prorogued, as soon as some current business has been got through.

M. de Bluhme assured me that the indemnity to be offered to the Duke of Augustenburg would be the first question submitted to the Council of State. The different valuations and other papers are already in the possession of Count Charles Moltke, to whose Department, as Minister for Schleswig, the affair now belongs. As soon as they have his approbation, the official report will be made to the King. In answer to my request to be informed as to the exact sum to be offered, he said that he did not foresee any difficulty on the part of Count Moltke; but that, as some alteration might take place, he could not pledge himself. He did not, however, deny that his opinion was for 20,000 Prussian dollars annually, in addition to the 80,000 at which the estates had been valued.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure in No. 223.

Proclamation.

(Traduction.)

NOUS Frédéric VII, par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de Danemark, &c., à tous nos chers et fidèles sujets, faisons savoir :—

Il a été porté à notre connaissance que les discussions des notables convoquées à Flensbourg l'an dernier, en vertu de notre Manifeste Royal du 14 Juillet, 1850, n'ont pas amené le résultat que nous avions en vue, à savoir, une entente sur les questions les plus importantes de notre Monarchie, et notamment en ce qui concerne la position que notre Duché de Slesvig doit occuper.

En conséquence, ayant renoncé à un système d'arrangement basé sur le résultat de ces discussions, nous avons résolu en ce qui concerne l'arrangement des affaires de notre Monarchie, tout en maintenant et développant les institutions qui comprennent toutes les parties de la Monarchie, ou qui ont été établies pour certaines parties distinctes, de procéder en vue du maintien et de l'amélioration des rapports existants de droit.

Ainsi, de même que le maintien complet de notre Monarchie dans toute son étendue territoriale sera assuré à l'avenir avec l'aide des grandes Puissances Européennes, de même l'union qui relie les diverses parties de la Monarchie sera maintenue et affermie pour former un tout bien organisé, d'abord par l'administration des affaires communes au moyen d'autorités collectives, puis par une Constitution commune pour la discussion des affaires collectives à l'établissement de laquelle nous procéderons aussi promptement que possible.

Par conséquent, les affaires de toutes les parties de la Monarchie qui antérieurement étaient décidées, ou qui nous étaient soumises, par le Département des Affaires Etrangères, par le Quartiermaître-Général, par les Adjutants-Généraux de l'Armée de Terre et de la Marine, par le Collège Général du Commissariat, par le Collège de l'Amirauté et du Commissariat, par la Députation des Finances, par la Direction de la Dette Publique et du Fonds d'Amortissement, ainsi que par la Direction Générale des Postes ; de plus les affaires ressortissant auparavant à la première et seconde section de la Chambre des Rentes, en tant qu'elles concernent les contributions et impôts, les perceptions et la comptabilité de même que les affaires douanières et coloniales qui autrefois étaient du ressort de la Chambre Générale des Douanes et Collège du Commerce (affaires qui toutes en tant qu'elles concernent le Royaume de Danemark ont déjà été remises aux Ministères compétents), seront traitées par des Ministères des Affaires Etrangères, de la Guerre, de la Marine, et des Finances, d'après les prescriptions existantes et de telle sorte que la sphère d'activité de ces Ministères, comme autrefois celles des autorités précitées qui relevaient directement de nous, s'étende à toutes les parties de notre Monarchie.

Aucune modification n'est apportée aux attributions des Ministères pour le Royaume proprement dit, savoir, les Ministères de la Justice, de l'Intérieur, du Culte, et de l'Instruction Publique.

Les affaires ressortissant précédemment à la Chancellerie de Slesvig-Holstein-Lauenbourg, les affaires du Slesvig, du Holstein, et du Lauenbourg, qui auparavant étaient du ressort de la Chambre des Rentes, ou de la troisième section de la Chambre Général des Douanes et Conseil du Commerce—à l'exception des affaires relatives aux phares, qui ont été remises au Ministère de la Marine, et des affaires Consulaires, qui ont été remises au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères ; ainsi que les affaires appartenant autrefois au Gouvernement Slesvig-Holsteinois, seront désormais dirigées conformément aux prescriptions existantes par le Ministère du Duché de Slesvig en tant qu'elles concernent ce Duché, et par le Ministère de Holstein et de Lauenbourg en tant qu'elles concernent ces deux Duchés ; de plus, les affaires qui regardent les institutions et les établissements non-politiques communs aux Duchés de Slesvig et de Holstein, nommément l'Université de Kiel, le Corps Equestre, le Canal Slesvig-Holsteinois, la Casse d'Assurance contre l'Incendie, les Pénitentiers, l'Institution des Sourds-Muets, et l'Hospice des Aliénés, seront administrées collectivement ("collegialt") par le Ministre du Duché de Slesvig et le Ministre du Duché de Holstein et Lauenbourg.

Tous nos Ministres auront leur résidence permanente et exclusive dans notre capitale et résidence Royale de Copenhague.

Notre Conseil intime d'Etat se composera de tous nos Ministres ; nous le présiderons également à l'avenir et notre bien-aimé oncle Son Altesse Royale le Prince Héréditaire prendra part aux séances comme par le passé. A l'égard de l'étendue et du Réglement de notre Conseil intime d'Etat, on se conformera, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, aux règles antérieures. Le procès-verbal des séances sera dressé par le Secrétaire d'Etat.

Le Ministre du Duché de Slesvig, et le Ministre des Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg, sont responsables vis-à-vis de nous seules de l'exercice de leur fonctions. La responsabilité des autres Ministres vis-à-vis de la Diète Danoise est restreinte à cette partie de leurs fonctions qui concerne le Danemarc en conformité de la Loi Fondamentale, Article 18.

Aux termes de l'Article 21 de la Loi Fondamentale, nous avons nommé provisoirement notre Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Président du Conseil pour le Royaume de Danemarc.

De même notre ferme volonté de maintenir inviolablement les dispositions de la Loi Fondamentale Danoise ne peut être revoqué en doute, de même nous avons résolu de donner, par la voie constitutionnelle, aux Etats Provinciaux de notre Duché de Slesvig ainsi qu'aux Etats Provinciaux de notre Duché de Holstein, un développement tel que chacun de ces Duchés obtiendra pour ce qui regarde les affaires qui jusqu'à ce jour ont été dans les attributions des Etats Provinciaux Consultatifs, une représentation d'Etats Provinciaux revêtu du pouvoir Législatif.

A l'effet d'atteindre ce but nous avons résolu de faire élaborer des projets de Loi

séparément pour chacun des deux Duchés, et de les soumettre à la délibération de leurs Etats Provinciaux, conformément à l'Article 8 de la Loi générale du 28 Mai, 1831, et aux dispositions finales de l'Ordonnance du 15 Mai, 1834.

Le projet de Loi qui à cet effet sera élaboré pour le Duché de Slesvig contiendra, en particulier, les dispositions nécessaires pour donner et assurer aux nationalités Danoise et Allemande dans ce Duché la jouissance complète des mêmes droits et une protection énergique.

La suspension de l'action du Tribunal d'Appel Supérieur du Slesvig-Holstein-Lauenbourg par rapport au Duché de Slesvig est maintenue. A l'effet de restreindre définitivement la compétence de cette Cour Suprême aux Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg, des projets de Loi seront soumis à la délibération des premières Assemblées d'Etats Provinciaux.

Les Etats Provinciaux du Duché de Slesvig et les Etats Provinciaux du Duché de Holstein seront convoqués dans le plus bref délai possible à la fin de la période électorale actuelle qui expire cette année-ci, et après que les nouvelles élections auront été faites. Dans les districts du Duché de Slesvig qui se trouvent en état de siège, ces élections n'auront lieu qu'après la levée de l'état de siège. La voix virile héréditaire dans l'Assemblée des Etats Provinciaux du Slesvig accordée à Son Altesse Sérénissime le Duc de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Augustenbourg sera supprimée. L'usage libre et non-conditionnel des langues Danoise et Allemande dans l'Assemblée des Etats Provinciaux du Slesvig sera permis, dès la première Assemblée qui sera convoquée, et nous prendrons les mesures nécessaires à ce sujet.

Aussitôt que notre autorité souveraine aura été complètement rétablie dans la Holstein, ce Duché sera administré d'après les lois existantes de droit, lesquelles ne devront être modifiées que par la voie constitutionnelle. A l'effet d'établir un système douanier uniforme pour la Monarchie entière, on procédera incessamment à la suppression de la ligne douanière de l'Eider; l'état de siège existant dans quelques districts du Duché de Slesvig sera alors levé, et la Patente pour ce Duché touchant l'amnistie, publiée le 10 Mai, 1851, sera soumise à une révision étendue. Ceux qui, après cette révision, continueront d'être exclus de l'amnistie n'auront pas non plus la permission de séjourner dans les autres parties de notre Monarchie, tandis que ceux qui ne seront pas exclus de l'amnistie pourront retourner librement et sans obstacles dans le Duché de Slesvig.

En ce qui concerne la Constitution de notre Duché de Lauenbourg, nous publierons nos résolutions royales après des délibérations préalables, et dans les formes Constitutionnelles, d'accord avec nos chers et fidèles Etats de l'Ordre Equestre et des Campagnes de ce Duché ("Ritter- und Land-schaft").

Nos rapports comme membre de la Confédération Germanique pour les Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg ne subiront aucun changement.

C'est avec confiance que nous attendons de nos chers et fidèles sujets dans toutes les parties de notre Monarchie qu'ils reconnaîtront dans ce qui précède une nouvelle preuve de notre sollicitude paternelle qui s'étend sur tous avec la même affection, et nous espérons qu'avec le secours du Tout Puissant nous parviendrons à assurer un avenir heureux aux pays réunis sous notre sceptre.

Fait en notre château de Christiansborg, le 28 Janvier, 1852.

Sous notre sceau et seign Royal,
(Signé) FREDERICK ROI.
(L.S.)

(Signé) REVENTLOW-CRIMINIL.
C. F. HANSEN.
W. C. E. SPONNECK.
P. G. BANG.
C. MOLTKE.
C. A. BLUHME.
STEEN BILLE.
A. W. SCHEEL.

No. 224.

Mr. Howard to Earl Granville.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 2, 1852.

IN execution of your Lordship's instructions, I read to Count Bille-Brahe your Lordship's despatch to me of the 28th ultimo, explaining in what manner he had mis-

apprehended the purport of your Lordship's instruction of the 9th of January to Sir Henry Wynn, on the subject of the succession to the Danish Throne.

The Count, on his part, has requested me to convey to your Lordship his respectful thanks for your obliging communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 225.

Sir H. Wynn to Earl Granville.—(Received February 13.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February 5,* 1852.

M. DE BLUHME called on me this morning, and I had the pleasure to hear from him that the report on the Duke of Augustenburg's indemnity had yesterday been made to the King, in Council, by himself and the Ministers for Schleswig and Finance, and that His Majesty had not only adopted it, but had considerably augmented it.

M. de Bluhme said he would very shortly, as soon as it could be drawn up, send me an official statement of the proposals, and consequent conditions imposed on the Duke of Augustenburg; but in the meantime, he gave me to understand that the King, after taking on himself the debt on the different estates, amounting, in English money, to near 100,000*l.*, consented to make over to the Duke a capital of 3,000,000 rix-dollars (333,000*l.*) secured at an interest of 4 per cent., not only on the estates, but on all the revenue of Schleswig. In addition to this, the King would renounce the eventual return to the Crown of all the estates in case of the failure of the male line of the family of Augustenburg; and by taking off the *fidéicommis*, or entail, enable the Duke to make what distribution he liked among his children.

The conditions imposed on the Duke would be an abandonment of all pretended right to the succession, and that no purchase should be made in the Danish dominions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 226.

M. de Bille to Earl Granville.—(Received February 16.)

Londres, ce 14 *Février,* 1852.

M. DE BILLE s'empresse de transmettre ci-joint à M. le Comte de Granville les copies des dépêches dont il a eu l'honneur d'entretenir son Excellence ce matin.

Inclosure 1 in No. 226.

M. de Bluhme to M. de Bille.

Monsieur, *Copenhague, ce* 8 *Février,* 1852.

VOUS vous rappelerez quelle était à votre départ d'ici la situation de l'affaire concernant l'indemnité à accorder éventuellement au Duc d'Augustenbourg. Vous savez que le Gouvernement du Roi était à la veille de soumettre cette affaire à la haute décision dn Roi notre auguste Maître. Elle l'a effectivement été le 4 de ce mois sur la très humble représentation du nouveau Ministre pour le Duché de Slesvig.

Je m'empresse d'avoir l'honneur de vous transmettre sous ce pli un extrait des instructions qui vont partir aujourd'hui pour la Légation du Roi à Berlin, identiques dans leurs traits principaux avec celles dont sera muni M. de Bülow à Francfort.

La lecture de cette pièce vous mettra en mesure, Monsieur, de vous exprimer, dans vos entretiens avec Lord Granville, avec un entière connaissance de cause et de fournir au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique toutes les données et informations que pourraient lui paraître désirables en cette circonstance.

J'aime à espérer que le Cabinet de St. James rendra justice à la fidélité avec laquelle le Gouvernement du Roi a non seulement accompli mais même dépassé ses promesses, en voulant manifester avant tout une preuve évidente de son désir sincère de répondre par des actes et par des procédés pleins de conciliation et d'impartialité aux vues et aux attentes des Puissances amies et de seconder leurs efforts généreux, auxquels (et nous le disons avec une bien sincère satisfaction) nous avons été heureux de voir s'associer franchement le Cabinet de Berlin, en faisant entrer dans cette circonstance une très essentielle et très précieuse co-opération.

Suivant un désir dont le Cabinet de Berlin s'était rendu l'interprète, et auquel le Gouvernement du Roi a condescendu très-volontiers, les années durant lesquelles les biens du Duc d'Augustenbourg situés sur l'Ile d'Als ont été administrés par des autorités Danoises n'ont pas été prises en considération par les experts chargés de faire l'évaluation des propriétés Ducales. La somme représentant le chiffre de la valeur totale des biens du Duc d'Augustenbourg, et en raison du payement de laquelle ces biens deviendraient à l'avenir propriété de la Couronne, avait été fixée par le Conseil d'Etat, d'après un minutieux examen, à 1,300,000 espèces. Par un mouvement de généreuse spontanéité le Roi a augmenté ce chiffre d'un surplus de 200,000 espèces, de sorte que la somme à offrir en définitive au Duc par le Gouvernement Danois, à titre d'achat de ses biens, formera le montant de 1,500,000 espèces, ou 3,000,000 écus Danois.

Lorsqu'on ajoute à ce chiffre le montant des dettes qui pèsent sur les propriétés Ducales et qui tomberaient à la charge du Gouvernement Danois, la somme moyennant laquelle le Roi deviendrait acquéreur de ces biens s'éleverait à 1,836,000 espèces.

Comme le payement du capital entier deviendrait en ce moment trop onéreux pour le trésor de l'Etat, une obligation sera éventuellement remise au Duc d'Augustenbourg offrant des garanties suffisantes pour le payement du capital dans de certaines annuités, y compris les intérêts du capital dont la jouissance serait également assurée au Duc.

Les propositions auxquelles Sa Majesté s'est arrêtée en dernier lieu seront notifiées directement en forme d'ultimatum au Duc d'Augustenbourg. M. de Bülow et M. le Comte de Bismarck se concerteront plus particulièrement sur la manière dont sera faite cette ouverture.

Pourvu que le Duc accepte les propositions du Cabinet de Copenhague, M. de Bülow est autorisé à entrer en négociation directe avec Son Altesse Sérénissime sur la modalité et les détails de l'arrangemeut définitif. En chargeant son Ministre à Francfort de cette tâche éventuelle, le Roi a encore été guidé par la conviction que les qualités personnelles de M. de Bülow offrent la meilleure garantie que rien ne sera omis de ce que peuvent la forme, les égards, et les ménagements, pour écarter soigneusement tout ce qui pourrait blesser ou compromettre la réussite de cette commission délicate.

Voilà, Monsieur, en peu de mots les traits principaux de l'importante décision par le Roi; il est impossible, je le répète, de se montrer plus conciliant que nous ne l'ayons fait, et nous sommes fondés, ce me semble, à espérer de nous être conciliés, avec les suffrages des Puissances, leur co-opération énergique pour en finir promptement avec la régularisation définitive de cette question.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BLUHME.

Inclosure 2 in No. 226.

M. de Bluhme to M. de Bille.

(Translation.)
(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 8, 1852.

IN order to ascertain the average value of the whole Augustenburg property, and to obtain all the necessary data in the most impartial way possible, the computations were prepared and completed by two professional persons, in communication with two Treasury clerks named for the purpose by the Duke himself, and so arranged that for the estates situated on the Als the years 1848 to 1851 should not be brought in fractionally.

According to these computations, after deducting the whole costs of working and management, the yearly net value of the estate on the Island of Als, on the average of the five years from 1843 to 1847, is set down at 43,798 rixthalers current 47 groschen, and the average value of the Ducal property on the mainland of Schleswig for eight years

from 1843 to 1850, at 22,953 rixthalers current 40 groschen, making a total of 66,752 rixthalers current 39 groschen.

The capital of the whole property, reckoning 4 per cent. interest, may then be rated at 1,668,820 rixthalers current 15 groschen, which must, however, in consequence of the debts with which it is burthened to the amount of 419,869 rixthalers current 28½ groschen being taken, be reduced to 1,248,950 rixthalers current 34½ groschen.

And although the Ducal palaces in reality might be considered as rather diminishing than increasing the sale value ot the property, yet, in order to facilitate as much as possible the settlement of the business, not only has the sum of 151,049 rixthalers current 13½ groschen been added to the account as the full value of the palaces (by which the maximum of actual value—the Treasury at the same time taking upon itself all the debts upon the estates—is fixed in round numbers at 1,400,000 rixthalers current or 1,120,000 specie thalers), but a further sum of 180,000 rixthalers current has been added at the recommendation of the Commissioners.

His Majesty having signified his assent to the above arrangements, and having also, of his own motion, graciously made an addition of 200,000 rix-thalers current to the same, I am now empowered by His Majesty to name, in the presence of the Prussian Government, as the last offer of His Majesty, the concession of the sum of 1,500,000 specie thalers, or 2,250,000 thalers of Prussian currency; His Majesty taking upon himself, at the same time, the whole of the above-mentioned debts on the estate (504,000 Prussian thalers).

That the expectations of the great Powers will be most fully responded to by the above, can, on the one side, be as little doubted by His Majesty, as, on the other side, from the expressions and assurances received, a universal understanding thereupon will be seen, that in the present state of things it is for the Duke simply a question of accepting or refusing, and this must equally appear from the amounts offered, and from the suppositions and conditions which are joined to the magnanimous proposition of His Majesty, which are limited to the following :—

1. That the Duke shall cede his whole property on the mainland of Schleswig and on the Island of Als, together with all appertaining to the same.

2. That His Serene Highness and his family shall not reside within the territories subject to His Majesty the King, it being also understood that he shall not purchase any landed property therein.

3. That His Highness shall, in his own name and that of his family, most solemnly promise not to undertake anything whereby peace may be disturbed or endangered within the Royal States, and that he will in no wise counteract the Royal determinations in reference to the order of Succession, or to the eventual organization of the Monarchy.

And with respect to the mode of paying the amount, present circumstances will not admit of an immediate payment in coin, and therefore His Majesty would eventually be ready to deliver over to the Duke a mortgage security for 1,500,000 specie thalers, signed by himself and countersigned by all the members of the Privy Council; and would at the same time be ready to assent to an arrangement whereby the whole debt, by means of half-yearly payments of interest and capital, might be wholly paid off within a suitable period.

No. 227.

Memorandum by the Duke of Augustenburg.

AFTER the estates of the Duke of Angustenburg had been occupied by the Danish Government since March 1848, and their revenues withheld, the said Government, in virtue of a Convention, caused, through the medium of the Prussian Government, the following proposals to be made to the Duke :—

"The Danish Government offers to pay to the Duke, for his estates, together with their appurtenances, the sum of 2,250,000 Prussian rix-dollars, for which the Duke is to make over, in due form, the estates to the King of Denmark, and to promise altogether that he and his family will reside out of the Danish Monarchy, and henceforth not purchase any estates within the Danish Monarchy; also not oppose any provision for the regulation of the Succession of the Danish Monarchy.

"After the parties have come to a mutual agreement, a further arrangement shall then be entered into, for paying the purchase-money by stipulated instalments, as also for the ultimate conveyance of the estates to the King of Denmark."

These proposals were made to the Duke, through M. von Bismarck, the Prussian Plenipotentiary at the Diet of the Confederation, in his letter of the 31st of March, adding that they were meant to be the ultimatum of the Danish Government, and if the Duke did not agree to them by the 30th of April, the Danish Government would no longer consider itself bound by the same.

The said Prussian Plenipotentiary told the Duke, in a separate letter, that the Danish Minister at Berlin, the Count of Bille-Brahe, had declared that so soon as those proposals were accepted by the Duke, the revenues of his estates, which had been kept back for a period of four years, would forthwith be paid to him.

However disadvantageous those proposals were in every respect, more especially as the value of the Duke's estates, according to the annexed statement, amounts to 4,130,000 rix-dollars of Prussian currency, the Duke had no option but to accept them, if he did not want to run the risk of having the whole property of his family seized and confiscated by the Danish Government. The Duke has got the proofs in his possession that such was the intention of the Danish Government in case of his non-acceptance of those proposals.

The Duke, by his note of the 22nd of April, communicated to the Prussian Plenipotentiary at the Diet of the Confederation his assent to those proposals, expressing at the same time his expectation of receiving forthwith the revenues withheld.

Some time, however, elapsed before the Duke heard anything about the matter. At the end of the month of May, M. von Bismarck informed the Duke that the Danish Government objected to paying the revenues withheld, until the whole transaction was completed. Why the Danish Government did not keep its promise the Duke could not learn; he took, however, occasion to declare to M. von Bismarck that he considered himself entitled to ask for the fulfilment of that promise, and to expect this point to be definitively arranged before entering on any further negotiations towards the settlement of the whole. At the same time the Duke begged M. von Bismarck to request his Government to take the necessary steps in this respect. M. von Bismarck expressed himself as being of the Duke's opinion, and he has also, subsequently, assured him that he had exerted himself at Berlin in accordance therewith.

Soon afterwards M. von Bismarck was recalled to Berlin and despatched to Vienna. Meantime the Duke remained without any information, and therefore he availed himself of M. von Bismarck's absence to pay a short visit to England, on the supposition that, during the absence and interrupted agency of the Prussian Plenipotentiary at the Diet of the Confederation, no further negotiations between himself and the Danish Government could or would take place, as till now all negotiations had been carried on through the mediation of M. von Bismarck.

Suddenly, on the 29th of June, the Duke received from Frankfort the unexpected news that the Danish Conference-Counsellor Garlieb had arrived there from Copenhagen, with a view of concluding the transaction with him. M. Garlieb at the same time caused it to be communicated to the Duke that he could remain there but very few days, because some business required his being back at Copenhagen at the beginning of July, and if the Duke could not be in Frankfort by the 2nd or 3rd of July, he would be obliged to depart from thence.

It is very strange that the Danish Government, after having left the Duke for two months without the least information on the whole matter, should send a Plenipotentiary to Frankfort just at the moment of the Duke's sojourn in England, and of the Prussian Plenipotentiary's absence, which last, at least, could not be unknown to the Danish Government. The Duke could in any case expect to have received some previous intimation of that Plenipotentiary's arrival. Stranger still is it that the Danish Government should despatch for that purpose an individual who declares that, on account of business at Copenhagen, he could remain but a few days at Frankfort, and that he would be obliged to leave it again if the Duke did not meet him there at a fixed time. It is not likely that the discussions and negotiations, preliminary to the final conclusion, could be terminated within a very short space of time, being a matter which involves the welfare of the Duke's whole family and the security of their property.

By the sudden and unexpected arrival of the Conference-Counsellor Garlieb at Frankfort, and by his declaring that he could make but a very short stay, the Duke has been placed in great embarrassment, since he cannot reach Frankfort within the fixed period; and even if he were to set out in a few days, he would be exposed to the risk, according to M. Garlieb's declaration, of not meeting him there. But even in the event of the Duke still finding him at Frankfort, not any negotiations could take place between the Duke and the Danish Plenipotentiary prior to the arrival of the Prussian Plenipotentiary at the Diet of the Confederation. The Prussian Government having undertaken

the mediation between the Duke and the Danish Government, and conducted hitherto the negotiations connected therewith, it is a matter of course that these negotiations can only be continued and brought to a conclusion in conjunction with and by the mediation of the Prussian Plenipotentiary.

Under these circumstances the Duke, on receiving the above-mentioned communication from Frankfort, immediately wrote in answer, that he could not arrive there under eight or ten days and that, before setting out, he wanted to be informed whether M. Garlieb would then still be there and wait for the Duke's arrival. At all events, before the negotiations with M. Garlieb could begin, the return of the Prussian Plenipotentiary must first take place. In case M. Garlieb should be much pressed for time, he suggested to him to take his return to Copenhagen by way of London, since he could hence reach the former place, by way of Hamburgh, almost as quickly as from Frankfort. In that case the Duke would await him in London, where the business, under the mediation of the Prussian Plenipotentiary, could be settled as well as at Frankfort. To this proposal, the Duke expects to receive an answer in a few days.

Now, in case that the Conference-Counsellor Garlieb should not accept the Duke's invitation to come to London, but that he should return to Copenhagen without having done anything in the business, the most proper way for bringing the matter to a conclusion would seem to be, that the Danish Government do authorize thereto its Minister in London, M. von Bille, and it would be the more agreeable to the Duke to arrange the business with the same, having known him for many years.

The Duke therefore ventures to express the wish that, in case the mission of M. Garlieb does not lead to any result, the Government of Her Majesty the Queen, in conjunction with the Prussian Government, may feel disposed to bring it about that the Danish Minister here, M. von Bille, be commissioned to negotiate and conclude the business in question with the Duke here in London.

Inclosure in No. 227.

Taxation de la Valeur des Terres d'Augustembourg et de Grafenstein.

	Rix-dollars. S. H.	Rix-dollars. S. H.
I. Les terres d'Augustembourg sur l'Ile d'Als :—		
Les revenus bruts de ces terres montent par an à	..	80,000
Les dépenses sont—		
1. Les salaires des employés—		
a. De l'Inspecteur-Général	1,000	
b. Du Juge	200	
c. Du Greffier de Justice	100	
d. Du Caissier	350	
e. Du Concierge	400	
f. De l'Officier de Police	150	
(L'Administration des Terres n'exige pas un plus grand nombre d'employés. A l'Administration des Forêts suffit un premier forestier et cinq forestiers subalternes, dont les salaires sont payés des revenus bruts des forêts. C'est pourquoi ces salaires ne sont pas nommés ici comme dépenses.)		
2. Les dépens de l'entretien et des impôts—		
a. De l'entretien des édifices	1,000	
b. Du Concierge	400	
c. De l'économie forestière	300	
d. Contribution légale pour les pauvres	300	
e. Contribution au Gouvernement	3,800	
La somme de toutes les dépenses annuelles revient à	..	8,000
Reste revenu net	..	72,000
Qui donne, à 3 pour cent, un capital de	..	2,400,000

En taxant les biens du Duc d'Augustembourg il faut aussi considérer la valeur des chateaux d'Augustembourg, de Sonderbourg, du Palais à Augustembourg, et de tous les bâtiments voisins, qui n'appartiennent pas immédiatement aux terres, mais qui sont nécessaire à une Cour Princière, et qui font une partie du bien propre de la famille Ducale. Quant au Chateau d'Augustembourg, au Palais, et aux autres bâtiments voisins, les sommes qu'on a dépensées pour les bâtir, et qui se trouvent

	Rix-dollars. S. H.	Rix-dollars. S. H.
enregistrées dans les archives d'Augustembourg, sont nommées ici. Ainsi est taxé—		
a. Le Chateau d'Augustembourg, à	160,000	
b. Les bâtiments voisins du chateau, la maison du jardinier, les serres, la vénerie, toutes les écuries, &c., à ..	60,000	
c. Le Palais avec les bâtiments voisins, à	30,000	
d. Le Chateau de Sonderbourg, à	80,000	
En tout	..	330,000
Ainsi, toute la valeur des biens d'Augustembourg, sans les meubles cependant, remonte à	..	2,730,000
II. Les terres de Grafenstein dans le Sundewitt :—		
Les revenus bruts de ces terres se montent à peu près à	..	36,000
(Dans la dernière année avant la guerre ils remontaient à 44,639 rix-dollars.)		
Les dépenses sont—		
1. Les salaires des employés selon les comptes de Grafenstein, pour 1849	1,500	
2. Les dépens de l'entretien et des impôts—		
a. De l'entretien des édifices	1,000	
b. Du Concierge	300	
c. De l'économie forestière	300	
d. Contribution au Gouvernement	2,200	
e. Contribution légale pour les pauvres	300	
La somme de toutes les dépenses revient à	..	5,600
Reste revenu net	..	33,400
Qui donne, à 3 pour cent un capital de	1,013,300	
Le Chateau de Grafenstein avec les bâtiments voisins, mais sans les meubles, est taxé à peu près à	120,000	
La valeur des biens de Grafenstein est	..	1,133,300
La valeur des biens d'Augustembourg	..	2,730,000
La valeur de tous les biens du Duc d'Augustembourg	..	3,863,300
Ou, en écus de Prusse	4,635,960	
De ce capital il faut déduire les dettes dont le Gouvernement Danois a nommé la somme	504,000	
Reste comme valeur des biens	4,131,960 en écus de Prusse	

Le Gouvernement Danois ne taxe cette valeur que pour la somme de 2,250,000 écus de Prusse.

Les terres d'Augustembourg et de Grafenstein consistent en deux grands arrondissements avec un areal de 30,000 tonneaux Holsteinois ou à peu près 60,000 arpents du terrain le plus fertile. Sur ce territoire se trouvent trois grands chateaux princiers et un palais princier. La situation de ces terres au bord de la mer facilite la vente des produits et augmente de beaucoup la valeur, dont elles jouissent avant des autres terres par les grands droits et priviléges qui leur sont assurés par des Traités entre la Maison Royale et la Maison Ducale. Tout le terrain, par exemple; qui appartient aux fermes et aux métairies Ducales, est dispensé de tous les impôts au Gouvernement, et les impôts que les paysans doivent payer au Gouvernement sont aussi bien modérés. Tous les employés civiles et ecclésiastiques de ces terres sont nommés par le possesseur, et celui-ci exerce la juridiction et la police. En reçevant un capital, le possesseur de ces terres ne reçoit jamais ce qu'il perd en elles. Le droit et l'équité exigent donc d'autant plus qu'on le dédommage entièrement de ses pertes, quand on le force à céder ses terres pour un capital. Mais ceci ne peut se faire que quand les chateaux et les autres bâtiments qui n'appartiennent pas immédiatement aux terres sont taxés à leur pleine valeur et si les revenus nets des terres sont capitalisés à 3 pour cent. Par l'augmentation des métaux précieux et leur baissement de prix, la valeur des terres monte de jour en jour, et personne ne contera sur une plus grande rente que 3 pour cent s'il achète de grandes terres. Voilà les raisons qui nous ont conduits dans la taxation de la valeur des terres Ducales. d'Augustembourg et de Grafenstein.

No. 228.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 4, 1852.

THE Danish Minister, Baron de Plessen, told me three or four days since that Count Nesselrode had learned from M. d'Ungern Sternberg the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the question of the succession to the Danish Throne, and that it was his intention to speak to me upon the subject.

Count Nesselrode has accordingly observed to me that he had heard with dismay of

the present feelings of Her Majesty's Government upon a question which he had hoped to be drawing to a close; that he was aware that a reference to the Diet would be necessary, but that he had considered such application a matter of form to be attended to only when the arrangement was concluded; the King of Denmark was disposed to act with liberality towards the Prince of Augustenburg; and that the Prussian Government was desirous of securing good conditions for the Prince; but that a negotiation between the Danish Court and His Highness was not to be thought of; that the King of Denmark would never accede to such a proposal; and that if he did, matters would never be brought to a point, as the Prince, if once allowed to be a party to a negotiation, would cause it to be carried on indefinitely.

It appeared to me that Count Nesselrode was apprehensive that the observations which he had made to me might not be made known to your Lordship, for he expressed his intention of writing without delay upon this subject to Baron Brunnow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 229.

Mr. Howard to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 14, 1852.

YOUR Lordship will no doubt have learnt from Copenhagen ere this despatch reaches you the decision taken by the King of Denmark to offer to the Duke of Augustenburg, in consideration of his complying with certain conditions, a capital duly secured of 1,500,000 species dollars, or 2,250,000 Prussian dollars; His Majesty besides undertaking the debts on the Duke's estates, amounting to 504,000 Prussian dollars: these conditions being—

1. That His Highness should cede all his estates on the Continent of Schleswig and in the Island of Alsen to the Danish Crown.

2. That he and his family should in future take up their residence out of the Danish dominions, and should for evermore renounce purchasing real property within them; and—

3. That he should, in his own name and in that of his family, solemnly promise to do nothing by which the tranquillity of the Danish dominions can be disturbed or endangered, and also in no manner to counteract the resolutions of the King in respect to the settlement of the succession or the eventual organization of the Monarchy.

This decision of His Danish Majesty has been announced to Count Bille-Brahe, His Majesty's Minister here, in a despatch from M. Bluhme, of the 8th instant, in which it is likewise stated that Baron Bülow, the Danish Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, will be eventually instructed to place himself in direct communication with the Duke of Augustenburg for the settlement of the details of the arrangement concerning the cession of the Duke's estates to the Danish Crown; that already on that day the King's resolutions had been notified to Baron Bülow, for his preliminary information; and that he had been at the same time authorized to come to an understanding with the Prussian Plenipotentiary at the Diet in respect to the period and the manner of bringing those resolutions to the knowledge of the Duke in the form of a positive and binding ultimatum.

Count Bille-Brahe left this despatch of M. Bluhme yesterday at the Foreign Office for Baron Manteuffel, whom I saw in the evening, and who expressed to me his satisfaction with the proposed offer to the Duke of Augustenburg.

The Count had an interview this day with Baron Manteuffel, who informed him likewise that he considered the terms of the offer to be satisfactory; that he had already spoken to the King of Prussia on the subject, but that he would make his report to His Majesty this evening, and would lose no time in sending his instructions to the Prussian Ministers at Copenhagen and at Frankfort.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 230.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Earl Granville.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 10, 1852.

THE Chancellor spoke yesterday in terms of great satisfaction of the intelligence which he had received from Copenhagen. The last reports led him to regard the various difficulties existing between the Governments of Denmark and those of the two great German Powers as finally concluded.

His Excellency again expressed his hope that Her Majesty's Government would be disposed to revise their late intentions with regard to the recognition of the Duke of Glucksburg as heir to the Throne of Denmark, and adverted to the dangers which might arise from any delay as to the settlement of a question which has been found so difficult to bring to a point.

He likewise alluded to the Warsaw Protocol, and begged that I would bear in mind that, were the provisions of that Act not to be attended to, eventual rights would be revived, not in favour of the Prince of Augustenburg, but of the head of the Holstein-Gottorp branch, that is, of the Emperor of Russia.

It appears that a despatch in this sense has been addressed, by the Emperor's orders, to Baron Brunnow, from which paper, dated the 7th instant, Count Nesselrode read me some passages.

I may take this opportunity for informing your Lordship that Count Mensdorff is expected here in about a fortnight.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 231.

Mr. Howard to Earl Granville.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 16, 1852.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 14th instant, I beg to state that Baron Manteuffel informed me yesterday that the King of Prussia was quite satisfied with the terms of the offer which the King of Denmark has decided to make to the Duke of Augustenburg, as contained in M. Bluhme's despatch of the 8th of this month to Count Bille-Brahe, and that His Majesty was willing to propose them to his Highness, although he could not, of course, undertake to force their acceptance upon him.

Baron Manteuffel added, that he had accordingly already addressed the necessary instructions to M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, who is charged with the negotiation on the part of the King of Prussia with the Duke of Augustenburg, and he expressed himself much satisfied that the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs had, in deference to the wishes of the Prussian Government, decided eventually to authorize the Danish Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, Baron Bülow, to place himself in direct communication with the Duke on the subject of the details of the arrangement.

Baron Manteuffel himself considers the terms offered by the Danish Government to his Highness to be very liberal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HOWARD.

No. 232.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl Granville.—(Received February 29.)

My Lord, *Berlin, February* 26, 1852.

WITH reference to Mr. Howard's despatch of the 14th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, has arrived here, and will not return to his post until he is furnished with new instructions for the guidance of his conduct in the negotiation which is pending between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Augustenburg respecting the cession by His Royal Highness of his estates in Schleswig and Holstein, and of the relinquishment of certain claims of succession to the Crown.

The Duke, as I am informed, has refused to agree to the terms of the proposed

arrangement, and I understand that the result of an interview which has just taken place between Baron Manteuffel and Count Bille-Brahe, the Danish Minister at this Court, who had met for the purpose of conferring as to the course which it would be advisable to follow in this new difficulty, is that a communication should be made to the Duke of Augustenburg, through Count Bismark, to the effect that a categorical answer on the subject must be given by His Royal Highness within a certain time, say four weeks, and that if the Danish Government does not within that time receive his final acceptation of the terms proposed, it will consider all hopes of an amicable arrangement at an end, and act accordingly.

I have seen Baron Manteuffel since his interview with Count Bille-Brahe. and have been informed by his Excellency that the King of Prussia will use all his influence to endeavour to bring the Duke of Augustenburg to accept the proposals of the Danish Government, that M. de Bismark will remain here until there has been time to have communicated with the Cabinet of Copenhagen, and then proceed to his post with such new instructions as circumstances may dictate.

The Prussian Government appear greatly disappointed at what has occurred, and seemed disposed to do everything in their power to bring the negotiations to a close upon the basis proposed by the Cabinet of Copenhagen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 233.

Sir H. Wynn to Earl Granville.—(Received March 1.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, February* 23, 1852.

HAVING yesterday seen M. de Bluhme for the first time since his illness, he put into my hands M. de Bille's despatch, in which he gave an account of his first interview with your Lordship, and of the very favourable manner in which your Lordship spoke of the liberal proposals made to the Duke of Augustenburg. With reference to this subject, M. de Bille also mentioned a conversation he had had with Baron Brunnow, in which that Minister, after expressing himself in equally favourable terms as to His Majesty and his present Government, said that he thought it would be more consonant to his dignity, and would create a better general impression, if no immediate effect was given to a refusal on the part of the Duke to accept the terms offered; but that a term of six months should be granted to his Highness for consideration. This, M. de Bluhme said, he must strongly object to, as so long a period would be occupied, not in conciliatory consideration, but in hostile intrigues; that, between ourselves, "il ne fallait pas froisser le Roi;" that His Majesty had not only consented to, but proposed, liberal terms. It was, however, *à contre cœur*, not with any goodwill towards the Duke, who had originated all the losses of blood and treasure during the last four years, but to convince His Majesty's allies and friends of his sincere wish to set all matters of discussion at rest; that His Majesty, seeing such different dispositions on the part of the Duke, would be inclined to retract, and have recourse to the severe measures to which his Highness had exposed himself by his traitorous conduct; that valuations, to which the Duke's agents were parties, having been made, he did not see any cause for further delay; but that, in any case, three months must be sufficient to satisfy all parties that the offer was a *bonâ fide* liberal one, and not one made with the certainty, or probability, of its refused. M. de Bluhme continued by expressing his hopes that even this delay would not entail any in the European acknowledgment of the Succession, and the other arrangements connected with the Duchies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 234.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 8.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 4, 1852.

IN my despatch to Earl Granville of the 26th ultimo, I mentioned the arrival here from Frankfort of M. de Bismark, the Prussian Plenipotentiary to the German

Confederation, and stated that he would not return to his post until an answer had been received from Copenhagen to a communication which had been addressed to the Danish Government respecting the refusal of the Duke of Augustenburg to accept the indemnities and certain terms of arragement proposed by the King of Denmark; and I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that M. de Bismark called on me two days ago and said that he was suddenly and unexpectedly ordered to go back to Frankfort, and that he could not wait for the answer from Copenhagen as it had been originally intended, and that it would probably be sent to his Danish colleague, Baron Bulow.

In reply to my inquiry as to the course he was likely to follow in his negotiations on this subject, he said that he should leave the management of it as much as possible in the hands of M. de Bulow, but press the Duke of Augustenburg to accept the terms offered; that he thought the difficulty which had been raised by his Highness was more a hesitation than a positive refusal, and that the Danish Government would be quite justified in fixing a certain term within which their proposal should be accepted, and that, if the Duke finally refused, Prussia would probably have to retire altogether from the negotiation, and leave his Highness in the hands of the Danish Government to deal with him in the way they thought most advisable.

I have seen Baron Manteuffel this morning, and his Excellency has confirmed what I have said above, and added his anxious hope that this affair might be speedily concluded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 235.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Browne.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 9, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Berlin on the subject of the offer made by the King of Denmark to the Duke of Augustenburg.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 236.

The Earl of Westmorland to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 9, 1852.

YOUR Lordship will have received from Copenhagen the details of the proposal made to the Duke of Augustenburg with a view of satisfying his assumed claims upon the eventual succession to the Throne of Denmark. I inclose the heads of these arrangements as they have been submitted to the Austrian Government by the Danish Minister, Count Plessen.

Prince Schwarzenberg has expressed his entire approbation of these conditions, which he will communicate Count Thun, the President of the Frankfort Diet; but he will for the present abstain from taking any part in making those proposals to the Duke of Augustenburg, as he considers it better to leave this negotiation in the hands of Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

Inclosure in No. 236.

Heads of Arrangement proposed by the King of Denmark to the Duke of Augustenburg.

1. THE Duke shall cede all his estates in Schleswig to the Crown.

2. The Duke and family shall reside away from the King's dominions and not purchase property there.

3. The Duke promises in his own and his family's name not to undertake anything to disturb the tranquillity in the King's dominions, and in no way to do anything against

* No. 232.

the resolution of the King as to the succession to the throne and the eventual organization of the Monarchy.

The approximate value of the Duke of Augustenburg's estates in Schleswig, is 1,300,000 dollars; the King adds 200,000 dollars; total 1,500,000 dollars.

In addition, the King will pay the debts on the estates of the Duke, amounting to 504,000 Prussian dollars, and also the net revenue of the estate under the administration of the King, since the beginning of the war, amounting to above 75,000 Prussian dollars.

No. 237.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 11, 1852.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Baron Manteuffel received this morning from M. de Bismark at Frankfort, a communication respecting the negotiations with which he is charged in the affairs of the indemnity offered by the King of Denmark to the Duke of Augustenburg, that M. Bismark expresses his regret at the sudden departure of the Duke for Gotha, the uncertainty which prevailed as to the period of his Highness's return, and the consequent stagnation of the whole question.

He inclosed at the same time to Baron Manteuffel an extract from the "Hamburgh Correspondent," a newspaper said to be in the interest of the Duke of Augustenburg, in which a letter from Kiel is published, relating to the indemnity offered to the Duke by the Danish Government, and stating the reasons which rendered it impossible for the Duke to accept the terms proposed, as his Highness held his claims of succession by divine right.

M. de Bismark observes in his letter that he attaches more importance to this newspaper article than he should otherwise do, as the language of it tallies entirely with that which the Duke has frequently held to himself when discussing this matter.

Having alluded in the course of a conversation this morning with Baron Manteuffel to the rumour which has been in circulation at Berlin that the Duke of Augustenburg was expected here, and would endeavour to see the King, his Excellency said that His Prussian Majesty had determined to refuse granting him an interview in the event of any such application being made on his Highness' part.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 238.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 11, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a translation of the instruction which has been addressed to M. de Bülow, the Danish Minister to the Germanic Confederation, for his guidance in the negotiation respecting the indemnity to be offered to the Duke of Augustenburg, which has been obligingly communicated to me by my Danish colleague.

Baron Manteuffel has expressed to me his satisfaction at the tenour of this instruction, but I regret to say that he does not appear so sanguine as to the result of the communications with which M. de Bismark is charged as on a former occasion; and I have heard from other quarters that it is feared the Duke of Augustenburg will not accept the terms proposed, and that if the negotiations remain without any result, the Cabinet of Copenhagen will be forced to appeal to Her Majesty's Government to call a meeting of the members of the Conference on Danish Affairs in London, for the purpose of agreeing to a Protocol which shall regulate this question. If this were the case, I have no reason to think that the Prussian Government would, under existing circumstances, decline to become a party to it, but I have not held any communication with Baron Manteuffel on the subject of such a proposal; however, his language and general opinions on the question lead me to believe that his Excellency would not be indisposed to agree to it, if this long-pending question cannot be brought to a conclusion by any other means.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD

Inclosure in No. 238.

M. Bluhme to Baron Bülow.

(Translation.) *Copenhagen, March* 5, 1852.

WHILST I have the honour of communicating to you, herewith inclosed, for your confidential information, the copy of a despatch this day addressed to Count Bille-Brahe, I do not fail, at the same time, to reply as follows upon the subject of the questions raised in your Report.

Ad 1. Inasmuch as M. de Bismarck wishes that, in an official note to be addressed to him, the sum offered by His Majesty as the purchase-money should be stated in the lump, without entering into the several items, I cannot well have any objection to present.

Ad 2. With regard to the eventualities connected with the non-acceptation of the offers, the King our most gracious Master does not intend, as you will have been able to judge from the silence of the Royal Resolution, to pronounce himself, or even to make the slightest allusion upon the subject. His Majesty, on the contrary, considers it to be, not only correct, but to be commanded by every consideration of expediency and dignity, that you should avoid, in your official note, every intimation by which the definitive offers would be more or less deprived of the character of a positive and binding ultimatum.

The eventualities mentioned in your Report result so clearly and simply from the non-acceptance of the offer that the Duke cannot well deceive himself as to their consequences, whilst his Serene Highness is too clear-sighted not to perceive what effects a non-acceptance, in connection with the circumstance that he and his family are excluded from the Amnesty by the Royal Patent of the 10th of May last, would entail upon him and upon his family. To allude to this officially would be as unnecessary as out of place; whereas, on the other hand, it must be an object for M. de Bismarck, in the execution of his business of mediation, always to keep the Duke alive to these considerations.

As His Majesty has not thought proper to fix any term for the acceptance or refusal, doubtless because His Majesty would thereby assume a position towards the Duke in no manner compatible with his Royal dignity, no other inference can properly be drawn therefrom than that every delay is tantamount to a non-acceptance, Whether, and how far, His Majesty might, nevertheless, upon a request supported by the Prussian mediator, and proceeding from the Duke, be disposed to grant to the latter a short time for consideration, I am no more able to judge beforehand than I venture, in the present state of things, to make any proposal to His Majesty in this respect. I leave it solely to you eventually to draw up such a one, after previous agreement with M. de Bismark, and if the case should occur I would not fail to report it to our most gracious Master.

Finally, I have only to add how impossible it would be that His Majesty should be able or willing to enter into negotiations respecting the position of the Agnates of the Duke, or any rights of succession of theirs, to the Augustenburg "fidéicommis." It must be left to the Duke alone to come to arrangements thereon, if necessary, with the parties concerned; that His Majesty, in the supposition of the acceptance of his offers, would be willing eventually to release the ties of the "fidéicommis" on a request to that effect being submitted to me,—you will have learnt from my former communication; and thus, after the transfer of the estates to the Crown, the free disposal of the "fidéicommis" capital, substituted for them, could be, moreover, secured to the Duke in the most binding manner.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) BLUHME.

No. 239.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 15.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 11, 1852.

NOTHING has occurred here worthy of notice save the arrival of the Holstein and Schleswig archives to Copenhagen, principally those which had accumulated in the Duchies from the year 1834, when the Provincial States were first established.

In my last interview with M. Bluhme (Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs) he told me that he expected, without much difficulty or delay, to overcome any obstacles which still obstructed the settlement of the Danish questions; that it was a matter of great

importance to Denmark to procure from the Great Powers their guarantee to maintain the integrity of the Danish dominions as now established, as well as to guarantee the new projected Royal and Ducal succession. He also alluded in a most pointed manner to the arrangement as at present proposed to accommodate matters with the Duke of Augustenburg, saying, "that His Danish Majesty had made to that Prince the most liberal offers, which, if refused, he would only be consummating his own ruin; should the Duke refuse, the Danish Government would carry on their negotiations in London without the least further reference to him, and that to his Highness would then only remain the alternative of a trial for high treason, as to the result of which there could not be the slightest doubt; that His Danish Majesty could make no direct overture to the Duke, whose conduct during the late war precluded such possibility; but that from this difficulty the King had been relieved by His Prussian Majesty, who had put his Minister at Frankfort in direct and confidential communication with the Danish Minister there, to whom the ultimatum from this Government was sent, but that no deviation from this ultimatum could be expected, as it would include every concession possible under the existing difficult circumstances; that it was of great importance the Duke should feel that, in case of his refusal, he would meet with no support from any of the Great Powers. The Danish Government relied on Prussia giving him no encouragement to do so, and they hoped England would act in a similar manner."

It was quite evident that his Excellency in thus speaking to me, alluded to the general impression here that the Duke had the support of England, and that he was desirous, in consequence, to impress me with the conviction that were his Highness to imagine he was to enjoy England's support at all events, it would be extremely difficult to persuade him to accede to the conditions of the ultimatum alluded to. What those conditions are, I need not recapitulate to your Lordship. They are already to be found in Sir Henry Wynn's despatches; but it is my duty to inform your Lordship that they are not only just but highly generous—more favourable than could have been expected under circumstances of such great national aggravation; that he has been offered above the value of his property; the sum beyond that value being more than equivalent to the claims he is called on to renounce to the succession of the Kingdom and Duchies, the former being the merest shadow and the latter but little more.

My reply to such observations as those of M. Bluhme is, that the British Government would certainly support no unjust or exaggerated pretensions from any quarter; and that, fully appreciating the advantages of settling a question which had so nearly involved the North of Europe in the disasters of war, they would use all their influence to prevent the recurrence of such a possibility. I trust that in thus speaking I shall have met your Lordship's approbation.

The present moment seems most propitious for the settlement of this difficulty. The embarrassments of the last five years, and the immense efforts made by this nation during that period (efforts almost beyond their strength), seem to have brought it to a state of exhaustion. It now looks for quiet and repose. From this desirable sentiment nothing is likely to disturb it, save some act of extraordinary indiscretion on the part of the Government,—a circumstance little likely to occur so long as M. Bluhme remains at the head of the Government; but, undoubtedly, any concession to the Duke of Augustenburg beyond those of the proposed ultimatum would produce such effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PETER BROWNE.

No. 240.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 16, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Copenhagen,* on the subject of the guarantee to be given by the Great Powers to the Danish succession.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

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* No. 239.

No. 241.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Browne.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 16, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copies of despatches from Her Majesty's Ministers at Vienna and Berlin,* on the question of the indemnity which has been offered to the Duke of Augustenburg.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 242.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 15, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an extract of an instruction addressed, on the 11th instant, by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs to M. de Bülow at Frankfort, on the subject of the negotiations with which that Minister is charged in the affair of the indemnity offered to the Duke of Augustenburg.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 242.

M. Bluhme to M. de Bülow.

(Extrait.) *Copenhague, le* 11 *Mars,* 1852.

JE crois devoir porter confidentiellement à votre connaissance, Monsieur, qu'une des premières commissions dont M. Bille a été chargé de s'acquitter après son arrivée à Londres a été de remettre entre les mains de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne une lettre autographe et particulière du Roi notre auguste Maître, servant de réponse à une lettre que cette auguste Souveraine a, dans le temps, adressée au Roi, dans le but d'intercéder pour la restitution au Duc d'Augustenbourg de ses biens particuliers.

Dans cette lettre autographe, dont M. de Bille a été le porteur, le Roi a parlé à cœur ouvert; Sa Majesté a expliqué avec une entière et confiante franchise les graves et importantes raisons qui ont motivé ses actions et ses determinations dans tout ce qui concerne le Duc d'Augustenbourg et sa famille.

La lettre du Roi a été parfaitement bien accueillie par la Reine Victoria, cette auguste Souveraine ainsi que son Royal Epoux ont apprécié toute la générosité de l'offre fait par le Roi, et ont déclaré ne vouloir dorénavant ni exprimer eux-mêmes quelque désir, ni appuyer la demande d'autrui plaidant en faveur d'une permission pour le Duc de recouvrir la possession de ses terres ou de retourner dans les Etats du Roi; et avec une noble spontanéité que je me plais à signaler ici le Prince Albert a incessamment adressé dans ce sens une lettre particulière au Duc, dans laquelle il l'engage à accepter l'offre magnanime et généreux du Roi.

Le Comte Derby pensait que cette lettre pourrait bien peut-être essentiellement modifier la résolution du Duc de décliner les propositions du Gouvernement Danois.

Je reçois dans ce moment un rapport du Ministre du Roi à Vienne du 4 du courant, dans lequel le Comte Plessen me mande que le Prince Schwartzenberg, après certaine hésitation toutefois, lui avait promis d'envoyer au Comte Thun l'ordre de vous appuyer en général dans la transaction qui vous est confiée, et de prononcer hautement l'approbation du Cabinet Autrichien de la marche suivie dans cette affaire par celui du Roi.

No. 243.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 18, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the translation of a letter which has been addressed by M. de Bülow, the Danish Minister to the Germanic Confedera-

* Nos. 236 and 237.

tion, to M. de Bismark, requesting him to communicate to the Duke of Augustenburg the terms upon which the King of Denmark offers to indemnify him for the cession of his estates and of his claim in the succession to the Throne.

M. de Bismark, having been recalled from Frankfort to Berlin for the purpose of assisting the Prussian Government in some discussions which are soon to come before the two Chambers, has not yet acted upon this communication. It was at first intended that he should embody the contents of M. de Bülow's letter in one to the Duke of Augustenburg, to be forwarded to Gotha; but Baron Manteuffel has just informed me that this has not been done, and that he even thinks it fortunate the communication has been postponed for a short time, as according to all accounts which have reached him, and from persons who have lately seen the Duke at Gotha, his Highness appears resolved not to accept the Danish proposal, and consequently M. de Bismark's letter might have led to a fresh complication in the business. Baron Manteuffel told me further that the King of Prussia had intended writing himself to the Duke of Augustenburg, and urging him to accept the terms proposed: but I regret to say that his Excellency did not seem to be satisfied with the present state of the negotiation, and appeared to doubt whether that part of M. de Bülow's letter to M. de Bismark relating to the relinquishment of all claims in the succession was prudently drawn up, and whether it would not have been better to have confined the allusion to this subject to the arrangement signed at Wsrsaw last June, which limited the succession to the family of Prince Christian of Glücksburg. Baron Manteuffel added that words to that effect would certainly have been more agreeable to the King his Master, and less open to objections.

I understand that when M. de Bismark writes to the Duke, he will fix the term of six weeks as the one in which an answer must be returned to the Danish Government.

It is expected that M. de Bismark will now make some stay here: and I understand that M. de Bulow has been directed to come to Berlin in order to assist in whatever negotiations take place respecting this question.

I had the honour to report to your Lordship last week, in my despatch of the 11th instant, that the Danish Government were desirous to call a meeting of the Conference on Danish affairs in London, for the purpose of agreeing to a new Protocol, to which Prussia should be a party; and I have just heard from Baron Manteuffel that M. de Bluhme, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, proposes to send a draft of the proposed Protocol to Berlin, where he would wish it to receive the approbation of the Prussian Government before being forwarded to London.

I understand also that the Cabinet of Copenhagen propose to confine thi Protocol to two parts—a declaration of the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and the succession to the Throne in the line of Prince Christian of Glucksburg.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 243.

Baron Bülow to M. de Bismarck.

(Translation.) *Frankfort, March* 12, 1852.

YOUR Excellency is already generally acquainted with the communications which were made a short time ago to the Royal Prussian Court by orders of the King my most gracious Sovereign, respecting the purchase of the estates of the Duke of Augustenburg for the Danish Crown. The more sincerely grateful my Government feels for the sentiments with which that Court has entered upon the mediation of this affair, and the more it appreciates them, the more satisfactory does it appear to me that the period should be now arrived to apply to your kindness for the so desirable intercession, in the hope that by the reception which the Royal offers have already met with, a desirable and speedy result may, as far as possible, be secured.

With this view, I beg to inform your Excellency that, in case that his Serene Highness the Duke Christian Augustus of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg should cede all his estates on the Continent of Schleswig, as well as in the Island of Alts, with all their belongings, in full property to the Danish Crown; that his

Serene Highness with his family should henceforth take up his residence out of the territory of all the dominions, countries, and provinces subjected to the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, and should renounce, for himself and his family, ever purchasing any real property there; as also that his Royal Highness should most solemnly promise, in his own name and in that of his whole family, not to do anything by which the tranquillity of the Royal States could in any manner be disturbed or endangered; as also that he will equally engage, in his own name and in that of his family, at no time and under no circumstances to oppose the Royal resolutions concerning the settlement of the Succession for all the countries at present united under His Majesty's sceptre, or the eventual organisation of the Monarchy,—His Majesty is willing to grant to his Serene Highness for the said possessions, whilst undertaking the debts to the amount of 504,000 dollars Prussian currency resting upon the said estates, the price of 1,500,000 specie dollars (2,250,000 dollars Prussian currency). His Majesty would cause to be delivered to the Duke, for this sum, a bond for 1,500,000 specie dollars, signed by himself and countersigned by all the members of the Royal Privy Council of State, and would at the same time consent to an arrangement by which the whole debt would be completely extinguished within a proper term, by means of the current half-yearly payment of interest and instalments of capital.

As soon as these offers (which are to be considered as the ultimatum of my Court) shall have been accepted by his Serene Highness the Duke, I am authorized to enter eventually into further agreements with his Serene Highness respecting the arrangement of the succesaive payments, as well as respecting the points connected with the final transfer to the Crown of the frequently mentioned estates.

Whilst I accordingly, and in pursuance of my conversations with you, venture to request your Excellency to bring this offer of my most illustrious Sovereign to the knowledge of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, and to be so good also as to inform me whether it is accepted or declined by his Serene Highness, I request, &c.

(Signed) B. BÜLOW.

No. 244.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 22.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, March* 18, 1852.

WITH reference to that part of my preceding despatch in which I mention that a draft of the proposed Protocol on the Danish Succession is expected to arrive here shortly from Copenhagen, and that it is considered desirable that it should receive the sanction of the Prussian Government before being forwarded to London.

It is proposed, therefore, that the Protocol shall first be agreed to here, and then forwarded to the Chevalier Bunsen, with a mere instruction to sign it, provided it should meet with the approbation of Her Majesty's Government.

I may also add that a question was raised here a few days ago, whether a special Plenipotentiary of the Prussian Government should not be sent to London to negotiate and sign the proposed Protocol; but I understand that this plan has now been abandoned, and that the discussion, if any, that may take place will be carried on here.

No. 245.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 23.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 17, 1852.

IN Lord Bloomfield's despatch of the 4th instant reference is made "to a communication which has been addressed to the Danish Government respecting the refusal of the Duke of Augustenburg to accept the indemnities, and certain terms of arrangement proposed by the King of Denmark." The word "refusal" employed by Lord Bloomfield is too strong. The word "hesitation" used by M. Bismark, expresses with more correctness the degree and nature of the opposition with which the King's proposal had been met; the objections appearing to me, from what I have been able to learn, to mean little more than a desire

for alteration of form and regulations as to detail. The substance of this communication (from M. de Bulow) recommended his Government to have the negotiations with the Duke carried on by M. de Bismark "en première ligne," by himself (M. de Bulow) "en seconde ligne;" whereas M. de Bismark likewise desired to get rid of the initiatory, and to be referred to by M. de Bulow only in the second place, which would entail on His Danish Majesty the necessity of treating directly with one whom he considers to be a rebel subject. He advises besides that threats should be held out to the Duke in the event of his refusing the conditions.

This communication has now been replied to by the Danish Government, but I have not been able as yet to discover the particulars.

No. 246.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 26, 1852.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 18th instant, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government concur in thinking it most desirable that the proposed Protocol on the Danish Succession, which is to be signed in London, should first be approved in Berlin. Baron Bunsen has full power, and there is no doubt that France is ready to concur. The Earl of Westmorland's despatches likewise state that Prince Schwartzenberg is anxious to settle the matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 247.

M. de Bille to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 27.)

Londres, ce 26 *Mars,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc, a l'honneur de communiquer ci-joint à son Excellence M. le Comte de Malmesbury, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique, un Projet de Convention qui vient de lui être transmis de la part de son Gouvernement pour servir de base aux négociations à ouvrir à Londres conformément au Section 4 du Protocole du 2 Août, 1850.

En réclamant à cette occasion de nouveau les bons offices du Cabinet Britannique qui n'ont jamais manqué au Roi son auguste Maître, en faveur du principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et en se rapportant entièrement au jugement de son Excellence M. le Comte de Malmesbury sur les mesures à prendre pour donner suite aussitôt que possible aux stipulations du Protocole précité, le Soussigné saisit, &c.

(Signé) BILLE.

Inclosure in No. 247.

Draft of Convention.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, considérant que le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, lié aux intérêts généraux de l'équilibre Européen, est d'une haute importance pour la conservation de la paix, et que cette intégrité ne saurait être mieux assurée qu'au moyen d'une combinaison qui appelle à la succession dans la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc, la seule descendance mâle à la exclusion des femmes, ont résolu, à l'invitation de Sa dite Majesté, de donner aux arrangements relatifs à cet ordre de succession un gage additionnel de stabilité par un acte de reconnaissance Européenne, et de conclure, à cet effet, une Convention.

En conséquence, les Hautes Parties Contractantes ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotiaires, savoir :

Lesquels, &c., ont arrêté et signé les Articles suivants :—

ARTICLE I.

Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc ayant, avec l'assentiment de Son Altesse Royale le Prince Héréditaire, et de ses plus proches Cognats appelés à la Succession par la Loi Royale de Danemarc, et après avoir pris en sérieuse considération les intérêts de sa Monarchie, déclaré vouloir régler l'ordre de Succession dans ses Etats de manière à ce qu'à défaut de descendance mâle en ligne directe du Roi Frédéric III de Danemarc, sa Couronne soit transmise à Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, et à ses descendants issus de son mariage avec Son Altesse la Princesse Louise de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, née Princesse de Hesse, par ordre de primogéniture, de mâle en mâle, les Hautes Parties Contractantes, appréciant la sagesse des vues qui ont déterminé l'adoption éventuelle de cette combinaison, s'engagent d'un commun accord à reconnaître à Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, et à ses descendants mâles issus en ligne directe de son mariage avec la dite Princesse, le droit de succéder, si l'éventualité prévue venait à se réaliser, dans la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc.

ARTICLE II.

Pour le cas que la descendance mâle issue du mariage de Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg avec Son Altesse la Princesse Louise de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, née Princesse de Hesse, viendrait à s'éteindre, les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'engagent à pourvoir par une Convention ultérieure au maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise.

ARTICLE III.

Il est expressément entendu que les droits et les obligations réciproques de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc, pour les Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg, et de la Confédération Germanique, établis par l'Acte Fédéral de 1815 et par le droit Fédéral existant, ne seront pas altérés par la présente Convention.

ARTICLE IV.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes se réservent de porter la présente Convention à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder.

ARTICLE V.

La présente Convention sera ratifiée, &c.

No. 248.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 29.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 22, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's despatch of the 16th instant, referring to the Duke of Augustenburg.

It is now known here that His Highness has repaired to Gotha, which confirms the general opinion that he looks for protection to the British Court, Prussia having completely abandoned him, and Austria, though she declines direct interference, strongly recommends his acceptance of the offered conditions.

Your Lordship may rest assured that were the Danish Government so disposed, they would not dare to make further concessions than those already offered.

No. 249.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received March 29.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 25, 1852.

THE draft of a Convention for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and for the regulation of the Succession in Denmark, which it is proposed shall be signed in London, arrived here two days ago from Copenhagen, and has been communicated by Count Bille-Brahe to Baron Manteuffel.

Count Bille-Brahe informs me that a copy of the document in question has been

already forwarded to Her Majesty's Government; it is therefore needless of me to transmit one to your Lordship.

I regret to say that no progress has yet been made in this affair, nor can be expected for some days to come, in consequence of the absence of the King of Prussia and of Baron Manteuffel.

His Majesty, however, will return to Berlin on the 27th instant, and Baron Manteuffel will be back to-morrow from a short excursion, when the question will be taken into consideration.

To judge from what M. de le Coq, the Under-Secretary of State, said to me this morning, I apprehend that some objection may be raised to Article II, which stipulates that, in case of the extinction of male issue from the marriage of Prince Christian of Glucksburg, the High Contracting Parties engaged to provide by a future Convention for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

M. de le Coq observed that he thought some other turn might be given to this Article which would meet the wishes of the King of Denmark; but although he intimated that this point might give rise to some difficulty, still he said nothing which would lead to the supposition that there were objections to any other part of the proposed Convention; and he assured me that, on the contrary, the Prussian Government were most desirous to close the affair.

The Russian Minister, Baron Budberg, has had the goodness to read to me a despatch of Count Nesselrode's of the $\frac{4}{16}$th instant, inclosing the copy of an instruction which the Chancellor had addressed on the same day to Baron Brunnow, transmitting to him instructions to sign the Convention in question.

The despatch to Baron Budberg is an instruction drawn up in general terms, directing him to give his best assistance in bringing this affair to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Russian Minister tells me that, he thinks, it would have been more advisable for the Danish Government not to have introduced this new Article, which, though it may ultimately be agreed to by the King of Prussia, cannot well fail to lead to discussions which it would be desirable to avoid.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 250.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 1.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, March* 27, 1852.

YESTERDAY being the weekly day for conference with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I had the honour of seeing M. Bluhme. On my alluding to the matter of the Duke of Augustenburg, his Excellency desired me to convey the expression of his warm acknowledgments for the manner in which your Lordship treated the Danish questions now pending; his despatches from M. de Bille expressing in strong terms the fair and friendly spirit in which your Lordship viewed these concerns. He also requested me to express his regret at the delay which had occurred before he had had it in his power to send definitive instructions to M. de Bille, hat that delay had not resulted from any alteration of his own opinions, or those of His Majesty's Government, but in the great difficulties he had to overcome, both from the Diet and other causes; that these instructions had now been transmitted to M. Bille, and that your Lordship would consider them as a general outline of his views and wishes, which he would feel disposed as far as possible to modify and alter in any way recommended by your Lordship. He urgently pressed upon me to place before your Lordship the great advantage which would result from a speedy settlement of the London negotiations, "if possible before Easter," entreating me to impress how much a consummation would add to the obligations under which this country already feels herself to Her Majesty's Government. That while the King of Prussia, on the one hand, expressed himself in favour of a settlement of this question on the conditions Denmark proposed (and declared that he would not see the Duke of Augustenburg if he were to visit Berlin for the purpose of seeing him); that the Duke of Augustenburg had, on the other hand, returned to Frankfort from Gotha, accompanied by the Prince of Prussia and the Duke of Gotha, having been invited by the former to repair to Coblentz, there to celebrate His Royal Highness' birthday; that while the Prince of Prussia advised His Serene Highness to accept the conditions, he nevertheless practically supported his cause.

M. Bluhme desires that I should write thus strongly to urge expedition, only in order to carry out your Lordship's own views. Certainly it cannot, unfortunately, be denied that the Duke of Augustenburg has brought all his difficulties on himself, having had no right, as a Danish Prince and subject, on any pretence, to take up arms in favour of any other country, against his own; nor has he now any right, being offered a large remuneration for what he is called upon to resign, to throw difficulties in the way of the settlement of a question already rendered sufficiently complicated and injurious to Denmark by his own conduct.

His Excellency tells me that his reports from Frankfort state that the counsels of the Prince of Prussia to the Duke to accept the Danish ultimatum do not appear to have produced any favourable impression on His Highness. The King has granted six weeks to the Duke of Augustenburg for considering whether he will accept the conditions offered to him or not.

No. 251

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 29, 1852.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 18th instant, in which I reported that M. de Bismark was to address a communication to the Duke of Augustenburg, containing the King of Denmark's offer of a pecuniary indemnity to his Highness in the event of his ceding his estates to the Crown, and relinquishing any eventual claims he might have to the Succession in Holstein, I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that the letter has been despatched to the Duke, and that His Prussian Majesty has likewise written to him, and urged him to accept the terms proposed.

The period of six weeks is left to the Duke to consider the matter, and if he does not accede to the proposal within that time the King of Denmark will, I understand, consider himself absolved from the conditions which he has now offered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 252.

Lord Bloomfield to Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 29, 1852.

AT an interview which I have just had with Baron Manteuffel, I learnt from his Excellency that he had, last night, submitted to the King the draft of the Convention as proposed by the Danish Government, respecting the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy and the settlement of the Succession; and learnt from his Excellency that though His Prussian Majesty would have preferred the omission of Article I, from the proposed Convention, he had not said anything which appeared to indicate an insuperable objection to it.

His Excellency told me that in a day or two the King would probably make known his opinion respecting the document in question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 253.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord, *Berlin, March* 29, 1852.

BARON MANTEUFFEL has received, for his consideration, from Prince Schwartzenberg, a draft of the Report which his Highness proposes should be made to the German Diet by the Governments of Austria and Prussia, upon the occasion of their returning to that Assembly the mandate of the Confederation for the settlement of the affairs of Holstein.

Baron Manteuffel does not appear to approve of this Report; he objects more

particularly to the introduction into it of the Question of Succession to the Danish Throne, which he considers ought not to be brought before the Diet; and he has accordingly, in a despatch to Count Arnim, which will be sent off to Vienna to-night, proposed the omission of this point, as well as other alterations, with a view to render the Report less lengthy.

M. de Bülow, the Danish Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, has, in conjunction with Count Bille-Brahe, the Danish Minister at this Court, held several conferences at the Prussian Foreign Office on this subject, and will return to his post this evening.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 254.

The Earl of Westmorland to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 5.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 30, 1852.

THE Danish Minister at this Court, Count Plessen, has placed in my hands the project of a Convention (proposed by his Government for the consideration of the Powers who were parties of the Protocol of London), for the regulation of the future Succession to the States comprising the Danish Monarchy. Count Plessen requested me to mention this Convention to Prince Schwartzenberg, to whom he had communicated a copy, and to inquire his intentions with regard to it. In compliance with Count Plessen's request, I brought this subject before Prince Schwartzenberg, who stated that he had no objection to become a party to this Convention, provided the Emperor of Russia agreed to the second Article, which stipulated for a future Convention by the Contracting Powers for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in case of the extinction of the male succession of the family of Prince Christian of Glucksburg, but without referring to the rights which, in such a case, the Emperor of Russia had reserved for his own family.

Prince Schwartzenberg stated that if this difficulty was removed he would recommend his Sovereign to become a party to the Convention.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

No. 255.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 5.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, April* 1, 1852.

YOUR Lordship will have been led to believe from the assurances given to me by Baron Manteuffel on the 29th ultimo, as reported in my despatch of the 24th ultimo,* that there was a reasonable expectation of the King of Prussia acceding without loss of time to the Convention proposed by the Cabinet of Copenhagen respecting the Succession to the Throne of Denmark; but I regret to say that His Majesty disapproves of the second Article of that Convention, and has directed Baron Manteuffel to make a communication on the subject of it to the Court of Vienna.

When I saw his Excellency this morning, I was surprised to find that he appeared to consider it would be, advisable before any further steps were taken, to communicate with Prince Schwartzenberg as to the propriety of laying the Convention before the German Diet, and requesting its accession to it.

Upon hearing this from Baron Manteuffel, I told his Excellency that I was sure Her Majesty's Government would regret the delay occasioned by this communication; that further, I did not see how the Diet could be admitted to any participation in the matter; that it would be time enough to communicate with that Body when the affair was completed; and that if Austria and Prussia were agreed, it was not likely that any difficulties would afterwards be raised at Frankfort.

After I had seen Baron Manteuffel, Count Bille-Brahe, the Danish Minister at

* No. 252.

this Court, called upon me, and communicated to me an extract of a letter addressed by Count Plessen at Vienna to M. de Bluhme, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the King of Denmark, reporting a conversation which he had had with Prince Schwartzenberg; stating that, on account of the discrepancy which appears to exist between the second Article of the Danish draft of Convention, and the reserves stipulated on the part of the Emperor of Russia in the Protocol of Warsaw of June last, his Highness objects to instruct Count Buol to sign the Convention until His Imperial Majesty shall have declared his concurrence with it.

I have also seen the Austrian and Russian Ministers this evening. They both expressed their conviction of the impropriety of a communication such as Baron Manteuffel described it to be his intention to make to Prince Schwartzenberg, and they propose calling to-morrow upon his Excellency in the hope of being able to effect some change in his determination.

Baron Manteuffel's language to me on Danish affairs has of late been very inconsistent, for on the 29th ultimo he stated (as your Lordship will find reported in my despatch of that date†), when referring to the subject of a joint report to be made by the Austrian and Prussian Governments to the German Diet, upon the occasion of their returning to that Assembly the mandate of the Confederation for the settlement of the affairs of Holstein, that he objected to any allusion being made to the question of the Succession to the Danish throne as proposed by Prince Schwartzenberg, and now the Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs proposes that the whole affair should come under the consideration of the Diet.

But I have some hope, notwithstanding the declared intention of Baron Manteuffel to make this communication to Prince Schwartzenberg, that modifications may be introduced into it, and that, even if forwarded to Vienna, it will not meet with a favourable reception there, particularly as the opinion of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh has been already strongly pronounced against any participation of the German Diet in discussing the question.

No. 256.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 6.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 31, 1852.

IN a previous despatch I mentioned to your Lordship that M. de Bluhme had informed me his definitive instructions had been sent to M. de Bille as to the negotiations about to take place in London on the Succession to the Danish dominions, and the maintenance of their integrity.

The day after I had written M. de Bluhme gave me the inclosed 'Projet," copies of which he had some days before forwarded to the Danish Ministers at those Courts which are to take part in its discussion. I did not then forward it, supposing that M. de Bille, as a matter of course, had communicated its contents; but as I understand the opinion of M. Manteuffel to be that the IInd Article is likely to occasion difficulty, I now forward the Projet *in extenso* to enable your Lordship to see at once what is likely to provoke opposition. I shall make no further comment upon this matter at present, except to say that Prussia may be expected to throw as much difficulty as she decently can in the way of the settlement of these Danish questions. It is certainly her interest to maintain peace, and this she desires,—but not to consolidate nor maintain the integrity of the Danish dominions; could she secure the former, and leave the latter an open question, there is little doubt but that she would prefer it.

Hoping, in the course of next week, to forward such information on this complex question as will enable your Lordship to enter upon its consideration with advantage, at the present moment I shall add no more.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PETER BROWNE.

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† No. 253.

Inclosure in No. 256.

Draft of Convention.

[See Inclosure in No. 247.]

No. 257.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Browne.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 6, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copies of despatches which have been received from Her Majesty's Ministers at Vienna and Berlin,* on the subject of the Convention for regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark which has been proposed by the Government of Denmark.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 258.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, April* 4, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the Amnesty which has just appeared, by which His Danish Majesty grants free pardon to all those in the Duchies who had engaged in the late war against Denmark, with the exception of twenty-one. The original list of the proscribed in Schleswig included thirty-two, which has been reduced now to fifteen for that Duchy, and six added for Holstein, which was not under the King's authority when the Schleswig list appeared. Besides the above, all officers who held Danish commissions in March 1848, and who, notwithstanding, took up arms against Denmark, are excluded from its benefit. All the others are civilians who made themselves most conspicuous in the late struggle against Denmark, or whose position rendered their disloyalty the more reprehensible. Amongst these is a M. Franke, a man who had been a confidential employé of the Danish Government, who, notwithstanding, served as the Schleswig deputy to the Central Government at Frankfort, acting under the declared avowal that Schleswig was to be separated *in toto* from Denmark, and, together with Holstein, permanently incorporated with Germany.

In case any of these proscribed persons should return to the Danish dominions they are to be arrested, and the pleasure of the King then taken as to the manner in which they are to be dealt with.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PETER BROWNE.

P.S.—I have this moment received a copy of the Amnesty for military persons, which I inclose.

P. B.

Inclosure 1 in No. 258.

Letter-Patent for the Duchy of Schleswig, concerning a Revisal of the Amnesty Patent of May 10, 1851.

(Translation.) *Copenhagen, March* 29, 1852.

WE, Frederick VII, by the grace of God, King of Denmark, of the Vandals and Goths, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormeria, and Ditmarsh, and of Lauenburg, as also of Oldenburg, &c., &c., do hereby make known, that having, in Our Supreme Manifesto of the 28th of January of the current year, declared Our Resolution "that as soon as Our sovereign authority should be completely re-established, the Letter-Patent of the 10th of May, 1851, concerning the amnesty for the Duchy of Schleswig, which then issued, should undergo an extensive revision, and that those who, after this revision had taken place, should still be excluded from the benefit of the amnesty with respect to

* Nos. 254 and 255.

Schleswig should also be excluded from all other parts of Our Monarchy, but that those not excluded should be permitted to return at once to Schleswig," the said revision having now taken place according to Our supreme command, We hereby order as follows:—

Section 1. To all Our subjects of the clerical or civil class who have taken a part in the insurrection which, in the month of March 1848, broke out in Our Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, or have been active in abetting the same, We most graciously grant pardon for their transgressions of a purely political nature then committed, and that no trial and punishment for the same shall take place, except in the case of future similar misconduct.

Section 2. Excluded from the preceding section 1 of Our most gracious amnesty are—

1. The Duke Christian Carl Friedrich August of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, and his family;

2. The Prince Friedrich Emil August of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, and his family.

(Then follow nineteen other names of noblemen and gentlemen, but their families are not mentioned.)

Section 3. The persons named in the preceding section 2, if found in the Duchy of Schleswig shall be immediately arrested, and Our more explicit supreme determination as to the further measures to be taken in every such case must be ascertained. (N.B. This includes the whole Monarchy, as well as Schleswig, as will be seen by reference to the 1st section, which embodies it.—P. B.)

Section 4. All those who left the Duchy of Schleswig before the publication of Our Supreme Letter-Patent of the 10th of May, 1851, and who, according to the said Letter-Patent, would have required permission to return, are now allowed, as private persons, to do so without impediment, provided they be not among those excluded by section 2. (The N.B. with respect to section 3 applies to section 4.)

Section 5. All prior Ordinances which are contrary to this supreme declaration of Our pleasure are hereby abrogated, whereunto all concerned have to conform.

Given at Our Palace of Christiansborg, the 29th of March, 1852.

Under Our Royal hand and seal,

(Signed) FREDERICK R.

(Signed) C. Moltke. (L.S.)

Rosen.

Inclosure 2 in No. 258.

Letter-Patent respecting the Amnesty of those Persons who have served in the Land or Sea Forces against the Government of the King.

(Traduction.)

NOUS, Frederic VII, par grace de Dieu Roi de Danemark, des Vandales et des Goths, Duc de Slesvig, Holstein, Stormarn, des Dithmarses, de Lauenbourg et d'Oldenbourg, Savoir faisons: En considération du rétablissement de notre pouvoir souverain dans notre Duché de Holstein, Nous avons jugé à propos de faire connaître le mode dont il sera procédé à l'égard de ceux de nos sujets qui, occupant une position militaire ou civile-militaire, se sont laissé persuader à entrer au service de l'insurrection, avons ordonné et ordonnons:

1. Par une grâce Royale spéciale Nous accordons une amnistie complète à tous les sous-officiers et simples soldats.

2. La même amnistie est accordée à tous ceux qui n'ont été placée comme officiers qu'après le 24 Mars, 1848.

3. Ceux, au contraire, qui le 24 Mars, 1848, étaient en notre service comme officiers, mais qui au mépris de leur serment et de leur devoir, sont entrés au service de l'insurrection, seront exclus de cette amnistie et devront être arrêtés en quelque lieu que ce soit où ils se trouveraient dans les limites de notre Monarchie. Lorsqu'un des individus susdésignés aura été arrêté, il en sera adressé un rapport respectivement à notre Ministère de la Guerre ou à notre Ministère de la Marine, qui pour chaque cas spécial aura à demander notre résolution Royale sur cet objet.

4. Les fonctionnaires et employés civils-militaires seront dispensés de toute poursuite judiciaire; par contre, il sera pourvu par des dispositions ultérieures à

la question de savoir s'ils pourront continuer l'exercice de leurs emplois et fonctions.

Donné en notre Château de Christiansborg, le 29 Mars, 1852.

Sous notre Sceau et Seing Royal,

(Signé) FREDERIC R.

(Contresigné) C. F. HANSEN. (L.S.)

STEEN BILLE.

No. 259.

Colonel Hodges to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 9.)

(Extract.) *Hamburgh, April 6, 1852.*

YOUR Lordship, I presume, has already been informed of the proceeding as to the Amnesty question, and the Letters-Patent published in the Duchies relating to the same. Of the thirty-three individuals formerly forbidden to enter Schleswig, the prohibition as to eighteen has been withdrawn, and the remainder, with four of the chiefs in the late insurrection, in addition to the Duke of Augustenburg, and his brother the Prince of Noer, and their families, are now excluded from both Duchies. These exclusions can hardly surprise any one well acquainted with the parts taken by the persons to whom they apply in the late unhappy contest against Denmark. Nevertheless, a great cry of dissatisfaction proceeds from the Duchies on account of the individuals referred to being shut out from the Royal clemency; and a list of whose names I have, herewith, the honour to inclose.

I regret very much to perceive that a spirit of discontentment prevails amongst the Ritterschaft and landed proprietors of both Duchies, especially of Holstein, and is loudly expressed at these exceptions; and it is only two days since I had a long conversation on the subject with an influential nobleman from Holstein, whom I always considered unbiassed in his views, who is one of the very few of his rank who kept aloof from participation in the late revolutionary contest against Denmark. This gentleman expressed fears that the Danish Government might adopt a retaliatory line of policy, and regret that the exceptions from the amnesty are so many as they are. Although he could hardly meet my remarks as to the propriety of the Danish Government preventing the individuals named from residing in the Duchies, at least for some time to come, yet he remarked to me that it might be all as I said, still that the measure was not a wise one; and he added, "Be it soon, or four or five years hence, we shall have a renewal of the late awful scenes, and Holstein, if not both Duchies, will be lost to Denmark; for you may depend upon it Prussia cherishes designs upon Holstein which have not yet been developed." From other sources I hear, likewise, that great discontent prevails generally in Holstein and the south of Schleswig, and of the total want of confidence in the good faith of Denmark.

In all questions between Denmark and the Duchies there is, unfortunately, great mistrust shown on both sides. In my former despatches to Viscount Palmerston relating to them, I have always represented the present Minister for Holstein, Count Reventlow-Criminil, as a man of the highest honour and most amiable qualities. From his being by birth a Holsteiner, and connected by marriage with Holstein families, he has naturally strong feelings towards the interests and demands of the Duchy; and it is probable that the Schleswig-Holstein party urge him to ask more of the Danish Government than they can well grant, looking at the national feelings in Denmark for what is there considered Danish rights over the Duchies, and the animosity of a numerous party towards the Duchies, especially Holstein, owing to the late revolt. Indeed, should that Danish party prevail, fresh troubles may break out, and it may then be impossible for His Danish Majesty to govern the Duchies with honour to his Crown, or advantage to his country.

I believe it to be in the contemplation of the King of Denmark to visit Holstein early in the summer. Such a visit, if judiciously directed, might be attended with beneficial results.

Inclosure in No. 259.

List of Names of those excluded from the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

THE Duke Christian Carl Friedrich August von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, and his family.

The Prince Frederick Emil August von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg and his family.

The Advocat William Hartwig Beseler (late Statthalter).

Friedrich Count von Reventlow, of Wittenberg (late Statthalter), and ex-Provost of the Convent at Preetz.

M. M. T. Schmidt, ex-Minister of Finance.

Ober- and Landgerichts-Advocat M. Jurgen Bremer.

Theodor Olshausen, ex-Railway Director.

M. Rudolph Schleiden, ex-Deputy in the former Board of Customs and Chamber of Commerce.

M. Andreas Paul Adolph von Harbon, ex-Councillor of State and ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs nnder the Statthalter.

Director, Landrath Friedrich Carl Heinrich von Ahlefeldt and Heinrich Carl Esmarch, members of the former High Court of Schleswig.

The Landrath August Detler von Ahlefeldt, of Oehe.

Friedrich Nicolaus Adam Ludwig Baron von Siliencron, ex-Amtmann (Bailiff) of the bailiwicks of Gottorp, Hütten, Ober-Director of the village of Cappeln, and ex-Envoy of the Statthalters at Berlin and other German Courts.

Friedrich Carl Ferdinand Jacobson, ex-Hadersvogt, of Cropp and Meggersdorf-Harden (a most determined and efficient partisan of the Revolutionary Government).

Georg Friedrich von Krogh, ex-Amtsverwalter and Hausvogt, in Westeramt Hadersleben.

Georg Heinrich Leonard Schou, ex-Burgomaster, Head of Police and Town Bailiff, in Apenrade.

Nicolaus Johannes Ernst Nielsen, ex-Provost of the districts Hütten, and Chief Pastor in the Friedrichsberg Church in Schleswig.

Jacob Guido Theodor Gulich, ex-Ober and Landgerichts Advocat.

Lorenz Lorenzen, ex-Pastor at Aderbye.

Hans Reimer Claussen, Ober- and Landesgerichts-Advocat.

Carl Philip Franke, ex-Deputy in the former Board of Customs and Chamber of Commerce.

No. 260.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 10.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April* 7, 1852.

BARON MANTEUFFEL has gone to the country for the Easter holidays.

I saw his Excellency the evening before he went away, and endeavoured to learn whether anything new had occurred in the negotiations respecting the Convention as to the Danish Succession which might interest Her Majesty's Government, and was informed that he had not made a communication to Vienna on the subject of the participation of the German Diet in the question, such as I was led to expect would have been the case when I wrote my despatch of the 1st instant, and that instead of doing so he had applied to M. de Bismarck at Frankfort for his opinion as to the propriety of taking such a step; that he would not receive an answer from that Minister for some days, which would allow time for reports to reach Berlin as to the impressions which had been made by the proposed draft of Convention at London and St. Petersburgh.

I have since heard that Baron Manteuffel is not without expectation of being able to overcome the King's repugnance to the Convention, and I am assured that his Excellency is resolved to use his best endeavours to obtain His Majesty's accession to it.

According to a report from St. Petersburgh, which has been made to me confidentially, the result of the communication of the draft of the proposed Convention by the Danish Minister at that Court to Count Nesselrode has been that, although Russia does not approve of the second Article, which she looks upon as

an entirely new proposition, she is not seeking to raise objections to it; and that Baron Brunnow has latitude to act, and will be ready to do so, if there is unanimity on the subject amongst the other Powers.

In my despatch of the 1st instant I inclosed the extract of a despatch from the Danish Minister at Vienna, in which Count Plessen reports that he had received the assurance from Prince Schwartzenberg that, provided Prussia did not object to Article II, the Austrian Cabinet was disposed to accept it. We may therefore presume that the Imperial Government will be found willing to consent to the Convention, and that if the King of Prussia's plan of laying the affair before the Germanic Confederation be ever brought officially under their consideration, it will be discountenanced by them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 261.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Browne.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 13, 1852.

I HEREWITH inclose, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Berlin,* on the question of the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 262.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 16.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, April* 13, 1852.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch inclosing copies of M. Bille's note, with the proposed draft of Convention for regulating the succession to the Crown of Denmark, as well as copies of despatches on the same subject which your Lordship had received from Her Majesty's Ministers at Berlin and Vienna, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that in a conversation which I have had with the Danish Envoy, M. de Bülow, I have ascertained that he had no knowledge of the grounds of objection stated by Lord Westmorland to have been made by Prince Schwartzenberg to instruct the Austrian Minister in London to sign the proposed Convention. M. de Bülow was informed of the objection started at Berlin, and attributes the plan of referring the matter to the Diet to the same source as is ascribed to it by Lord Bloomfield, adding that he thinks the King of Prussia's mind in this respect has been influenced by the Duke of Augustenburg.

The objections to the matter being laid before the Diet are great, as some of the smaller States, whose dispositions in this question are well known to be unfriendly to Denmark, would be enabled to delay, if not prevent, a settlement.

M. de Bülow regards the terms of the IInd Article of the proposed Convention as so vague that he cannot anticipate its being viewed in Russia as prejudicing the terms of the Protocol of Warsaw of the 5th June, 1851.

It is of the greatest importance to Denmark, he says, that a speedy settlement should be arrived at, and unless the project of Convention is signed either in its present form or without material charges, it is evident that the Duke of Augustenburg will not renounce any of his pretensions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 263.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Ungern-Sternberg.—(Communicated to the Earl of Malmesbury by Baron Brunnow, April 17.)

St. Pétersbourg, le $\frac{29 \text{ Mars}}{3 \text{ Avril}}$, 1852.

AINSI que vous l'avez prévu, M. le Ministre de Danemarc a bien voulu me communiquer le projet que sa Cour vient d'envoyer à Londres pour la conclusion de l'Acte final

* No. 260.

relatif à l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise et à l'ordre de succession. Le projet de Convention ou de Traité qui a donné lieu à ce travail du Ministère Danois, ainsi qu'aux observations dont le Premier Ministre a bien voulu l'accompagner, m'était déjà connu. Ce projet, il faut que je le dise, est l'expression fidèle de nos idées sur la nature de l'Acte qu'il s'agit de signer à Londres. La rédaction en est calculée de manière à répondre aux vœux légitimes du Cabinet de Copenhague et à pouvoir être acceptée par les autres Parties Contractantes. C'est pour cela que cette rédaction a conservé, autant que possible, les termes du Protocole de Londres et ceux du Protocole de Varsovie. Vous les retrouverez, M. le Baron, dans le préambule du projet de Convention. Il signale dans les mêmes termes que le préambule du Protocole de Londres le but que les Puissances ont principalement en vue, savoir, le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise. Il indique comme moyen d'atteindre ce but, et conformément à ce qui a été exprimé au section 1 du Protocole de Varsovie, l'établissement d'un ordre de succession en faveur de la seule descendance mâle, à l'exclusion des femmes. Il semble donc que, sous ce rapport, la rédaction du projet envoyé de Londres répond aux idées que M. de Bluhme a bien voulu vous exprimer. L'intégrité de la Monarchie est placée en première ligne, l'ordre de succession en seconde. Dans le projet de Londres le mot de "garantie" été soigneusement évité. Vous observerez, M. le Baron, qu'il ne se trouve pas dans le Protocole du 2 Août, 1850.

L'idée d'une garantie implique celle d'un engagement éventuel, et vous savez que le Cabinet Britannique évite de se lier par des engagements dont l'objet n'est pas clairement défini. Il n'aurait pas signé le Protocole du 2 Août s'il y avait entrevu pareil engagement, et dans le cas présent il ne sera pas moins circonspect qu'il l'était il y a deux ans. Quant au Cabinet Français, quoiqu'il ne soit pas gêné, pour le moment du moins, par des considérations parlementaires que les Ministres Anglais ne sauraient jamais perdre de vue, il est à prévoir que pour la signature de l'Acte Final il se rangera volontiers à l'avis du Cabinet Britannique.

Après vous avoir exposé les motifs qui ont présidé à la rédaction du projet que le Baron de Brunnow a confidentiellement remis à M. de Bille je passe à l'examen de celui du Cabinet Danois. Et d'abord je vous prie d'assurer M. le Premier Ministre que les observations que son projet a dû suggérer au Cabinet Impérial sont toutes dans l'intérêt du Danemarc, et que pour notre part nous sommes prêts à admettre les modifications qui nous paraîtront conçues dans cet intérêt, et qu'il sera possible de faire accepter par les autres Parties Contractantes.

L'Article 1 du Projet Danois fait mention de M. le Prince Héréditaire et des plus proches Cognats que la *lex regia* appelle à la succession. Il est à prévoir, M. le Baron, qu'ici une première objection se présentera à l'esprit des Ministres et des Représentants des deux Puissances Allemandes. Les uns et les autres ne manqueront pas de relever, et avec raison, le silence qui a été observé au sujet des Agnats. Ils demanderont que pour la forme au moins il soit fait mention de leur assentiment, ou des raisons qui ont dispensé les Parties Contractantes d'y recourir. De son côté le Cabinet Impérial croirait devoir objecter à cette omission. Il n'ignore pas que le Cabinet de Copenhague reconnaît aucun droit de succession éventuel aux deux branches de la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg. Mais les Princes d'Augustenbourg et de Glucksbourg ne sont pas les seuls Agnats de la Maison Royale de Danemarc. La ligne principale dite de Kiel, représentée aujourd'hui par l'auguste Chef de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp, compte aussi au nombre des Agnats, et il faut remarquer que ce ne sont que l'assentiment et la renonciation éventuelle de Sa Majesté Impériale qui ont rendu possible la combinaison qu'il s'agit de faire reconnaître.

Je passe à une seconde observation. Les Articles 1 et 2 du Projet Danois sont basés sur la supposition que les droits de succession qu'il s'agit de reconnaître au Prince Christian de Glucksbourg ne pourront passer, après lui, qu'aux seuls enfants mâles issus de son mariage avec Son Altesse Royale Madame la Princesse Louise de Hesse. Il est vrai que le choix du Prince Chrétien est motivé dans le Protocole de Varsovie sur ce que la descendance mâle de Son Altesse réunit en elle les droits qui viennent lui échoir autant par son extraction d'une Princesse de Hesse, que par les actes de renonciation des autres membres de la même Maison. Mais le Protocole de Varsovie n'a pas limité ses prévisions à la seule descendance issue de Madame la Princesse Louise. Par le section 3 de ce Protocole Sa Majesté l'Empereur s'est déclaré prêt à renoncer à ses droits éventuels en faveur de Monseigneur le Prince Chrétien de Glucksbourg et de sa descendance mâle, sans ajouter la condition qu'elle fût issue du mariage actuel de Son Altesse. De la même manière, aux termes du section 3, les droits éventuels auxquels Sa Majesté Impériale consentirait à renoncer renaîtraient dans la Maison Impériale de Russie à l'époque où la descendance mâle du Prince Chrétien viendrait à s'éteindre; c'est-à-dire, que l'effet de

renonciation durerait aussi longtemps qu'il y aurait une descendance mâle quelconque, habile à hériter des droits de Son Altesse le Prince de Glucksbourg. C'est ainsi que le Cabinet Impérial entend les termes du Protocole de Varsovie. Leur application a été facilitée depuis par l'acte de renonciation en vertu duquel Madame la Princesse Louise de Hesse a elle-même transporté sur son auguste époux et ses enfants mâles les droits qui lui appartenaient. Il semble, M. le Baron, que cette interprétation est toute dans l'intérêt d'une solution favorable à la Monarchie Danoise. Puisqu'il s'gît de maintenir le principe de son intégrité jusque dans l'avenir le plus réculé, s'il est possible, il convient de ne pas tracer des limites trop étroites aux chances que l'avenir peut présenter.

D'après le Projet Danois les prévisions s'arrêteraient aux deux Princes fils du Prince Chrétien, et dont l'ainé touche à peine à l'âge de 9 ans. Espérons que la Providence Divine exorcera les vœux qui appellent ses bénédictions sur chacun des membres actuellement vivans de cette auguste Maison.

Toutefois comme l'hypothèse d'un second mariage du Prince Chrétien n'est pas inadmissible dans l'ordre des choses humaines, il nous semble qu'il ne serait ni juste ni prudent de lui refuser la faculté de transmettre, si les fils nés de Madame la Princesse Louise de Hesse venaient à manquer, aux Princes qui naîtraient d'un second mariage les droits qui lui seront dévolus par les renonciations de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et celles des augustes membres de la Maison de Hesse. La restriction introduite dans les Articles 1 et 2 du Projet Danois refuserait cette faculté à Son Altesse, et nous croyons que dans l'intérêt de la future tranquillité de la Monarchie il serait utile de supprimer cette restriction.

L'Article 2 du Projet Danois stipule que les Puissances s'entendront ultérieurement sur la maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie, dans le cas où la descendance mâle du Prince de Glucksbourg viendrait à l'éteindre. D'après ce que M. Bluhme a bien voulu vous dire, M. le Baron, cette stipulation a pour but de mettre l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise au défaut d'une garantie plus explicite, à l'abri d'une nouvelle complication dans le cas prévu de l'extinction de la descendance mâle du Prince de Glucksbourg. Il n'est pas bien sûr que le Cabinet Anglais veuille déjà prendre des engagements pour cette éventualité. Pour sa part le Cabinet Impérial n'aurait rien à objecter, quant au principe, à la proposition Danoise. Mais il conviendrait, ce nous semble, de réserver au Cabinet de Copenhague l'initiative des propositions qu'il jugerait à propos, le cas échéant, d'adresser aux autres Parties Contractantes. Dans le but nous proposerions pour l'Article 2 la rédaction suivante :—

"Les Hautes Parties Contractantes, en reconnaissant comme permanent le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, s'engagent à prendre en considération les ouvertures ultérieures que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc jugerait à propos de leur adresser, si (ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise) la descendance mâle de Son Altesse le Prince Chrétien de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg venait à s'éteindre."

Vous observerez, M. le Baron, que nous omettons dans cette rédaction la restriction concernant les enfants nés du mariage actuel du Prince Chrétien, tous comme nous proposerions de la faire disparaître de l'Article 1. Soit que le Cabinet de Copenhague consente à la supprimer, soit qu'il tienne à la maintenir, il sera nécessaire de faire mention, à l'occasion de la stipulation de l'Article 2, des droits éventuels de la branch ainée de Holstein-Gottorp, lesquels renaîtraient le cas échéant. Il n'est pas de l'intention de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de les réserver expressément par une clause insérée au Traité. Mais le Baron de Brunnow recevra l'ordre de rappeler et de renouveler les réserves exprimées dans le Protocole de Varsovie, par une note qu'il remettra au moment de la signature.

Le Cabinet Impérial n'a, pour sa part, rien à objecter à l'Article 3 du Projet Danois, qui réserve les droits de la Confédération Germanique. Nous souhaitons qu'il soit également admis par les Puissances Allemandes, qui se sont toujours montré scrupuleuses pour sauvegarder les droits de la Confédération.

Je vous ai fait part, M. le Baron, des observations que la communication du Baron de Plessen a suggérées au Ministre Impérial. Veuillez les porter à la connaissance du Ministère Danois et l'engager à ne les envisager que comme un nouveau témoignage du juste intérêt que l'affaire qui va se traiter à Londres inspire à notre auguste Maître, et de son désir d'en faciliter la conclusion dans l'intérêt réel du Danemark.

Le Baron de Brunnow ayant sollicité des instructions au sujet des propositions que le Cabinet de Copenhague a transmises à Londres, je vais lui communiquer la présente dépêche.

Recevez, &c.

No. 264.

The Earl of Westmorland to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 19.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April* 13, 1852.

BARON VRINTZ, who has lately returned here from the post he occupied at the Court of Copenhagen, has informed me that the draft of the note by which the Governments of Austria and of Prussia will announce to the German Diet the termination of the negotiation with the Danish Government, with which they had been charged by that Assembly, has been agreed upon, and will immediately be forwarded to Frankfort.

Baron Vrintz also stated that an agreement is upon the point of being arrived at between the Austrian and Prussian Governments, for the final settlement of the questions relating to the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg and of his family.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WESTMORLAND.

No. 265.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 19.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April* 15, 1852.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 18th and 29th ultimo,* I have the honour to inclose herewith translations of two letters which have been addressed by M. de Bismark to the Duke of Augustenburg, communicating to his Highness the King of Denmark's offer of a pecuniary indemnity, upon the condition of his ceding his estates to the Crown, and relinquishing any eventual claims he might have to the Succession in Holstein.

No answer has yet been received by M. de Bismark to these communications; and the belief here is that the Duke will not make any reply to them until after the 1st of May, the period which has been left to his Highness to consider his final decision.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 265.

M. de Bismark to the Duke of Augustenburg.

(Translation.)

Your Highness, *Frankfort, March* 31, 1852.

HAVING often had the honour of making communications to your Highness, in conformity with my instructions as to the eventual regulation of your Highness' future relations to the Crown of Denmark; and your Highness having declared yourself generally not disinclined to come to an agreement by means of negotiations, I am now able to inform you that the mediation of my Government has succeeded in procuring from the Crown of Denmark attention to the wishes till now expressed by your Highness in such a manner that not only a capitalization of the revenue to be granted to your Highness has been there agreed to, but also a new assessment of the Ducal estates, for which the necessary data have been procured, and in as impartial a manner as possible, with the assistance of the accountants appointed by your Highness, and which has resulted in a much higher value of the estates than the former assessment had shown.

At the same time, in conformity to the wish of your Highness, the Danish Envoy at the Diet, M. de Bülow, as the official Representative and Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Denmark, has been instructed to communicate to your Highness the offers of the Danish Government, and to conclude the settlement of the same. I have now received these offers from M. de Bülow in an official form, and with a request to bring the same to your Highness' knowledge.

I have been authorized and commissioned by His Majesty the King my gracious Sovereign, as a proof of the lively sympathy which he takes in the interest of your Highness, to afford every facility to bring about a settlement between your Highness and the Plenipotentiary of the Crown of Denmark which the position of my Government admits of; and I accordingly do myself the honour respectfully to lay before your Highness the proposals in question of the Danish Government as they were communicated to me in a note from M. de Bülow of the 12th of this month.

* Nos. 243 and 251.

His Majesty the King of Denmark offers to buy under the following modifications your Highness' estates situated in the Duchy of Schleswig. His Majesty grants for these possessions, taking upon himself the debts with which the estate is encumbered, assessed at 504,000 Prussian dollars, the sum of 1,500,000 species dollars, or 2,250,000 Prussian dollars, presuming that your Highness is willing to cede your estates on the continent of Schleswig, as well as the Island of Alsen, with all appurtenances to the full ownership of the Danish Crown; that your Highness and the Ducal Family will for the future take up your residence beyond the territory of all kingdoms, lands, and provinces under the Sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, and also renounce for yourself and family ever to buy any landed property whatever there. Further, that your Highness in your own name, and that of all your family, solemnly promise to undertake nothing whereby the peace may be disturbed or endangered in the Royal States; as also in your own name, and that of your family, bind yourself at no time, and under no circumstances, to oppose the Royal will in respect to the order of succession in all lands at present united under the Crown of His Majesty the King of Denmark, or the eventual organization of the Monarchy.

The payment of the purchase-money would be so made that His Majesty the King of Denmark would cause a bond for 1,500,000 species dollars, signed by His Majesty, and countersigned by all the members of the Royal Privy Council of State, to be handed over to your Highness, and at the same time so arranged that the whole debt be liquidated within a suitable time by the continual half-yearly payment of interest and capital.

In bringing these offers of the King of Denmark to your Highness' knowledge, I respectfully beg your Highness to do me the favour to acquaint me with your resolution as to their acceptance or non-acceptance, in order that I may inform M. de Bülow, as the Plenipotentiary of the Crown of Denmark: the latter is authorized as soon as, and in case, the overtures of his Court are accepted by your Royal Highness, eventually to come to a more special agreement as the arrangement of the successive payments, and also to the points referring to the final conveyance of the said estates to the Crown.

By a later note of M. de Bülow of the 24th of this month, I am informed that His Majesty the King of Denmark is willing to continue the present offer, called by the Royal Danish Government an ultimatum, till the 30th of April of this year; but that His Majesty would from that date no longer consider himself bound by the same, unless the acceptance of that offer by your Highness had till then ensued.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BISMARK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 265.

M. de Bismark to the Duke of Augustenburg.

(Translation.) *Frankfort, March* 31, 1852.

HAVING in the accompanying note, according to the instructions of my Government, the honour to lay before your Highness the overtures made by the Danish Government, I take the liberty of respectfully adding the following.

The King's resolution regarding the Succession in all the countries at present united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, of which mention is made in the proposed conditions, only refer, according to the verbal explanations of Count Bille-Brahe, made to me in Berlin, to the conveyance of the Succession to the male descendants of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sondersburg-Glucksburg out of his marriage with his present wife, as agreed upon by the Protocol signed at Warsaw

This issue failing, neither the acceptance by your Highness of the conditions proposed by His Majesty, nor any other renunciations in favour of His Highness Prince Christian, would be able to alter the legality of the till now existing claims of all the high Agnates of the Royal House of Denmark.

Count Bille-Brahe has, it is true, not added any written explanation of the instructions which have been sent to him from Copenhagen on this point; I do not, however, hesitate to assume, after the explanations which have taken place between him and M. de Bülow on the one hand, and between the Under-Secretary of State, M. de le Coq, and myself on the other, that it would correspond with the expectations of the Danish Government if your Highness, in case you are pleased to accept the proposals now made, gave some explanations on this point which would answer more fully in the above sense than is signified in the words of the communication which has been made on the part of Denmark.

By a confidential communication of the Danish Government the revenues collected,

and to be collected, the proceeds of the Ducal estates would be immediately paid after the approval of the arrangement proposed by your Highness; and His Majesty the King of Denmark is willing to grant in respect to the settlement of money, the dissolution of the entail which now rests on the Ducal estates, as also that this latter sum remain free from reversion, to which a part of the Ducal estates might be subject as fief.

In respectfully offering this proposition for your Highness' decision, as I am instructed to do, I feel convinced that only your Highness is able fully to resolve whether, on a careful examination of the present state of things, it is more in the interest of yourself and of the Ducal family to accept the offers of the Crown of Denmark, or to meet the eventualities which may ensue from the demand of the Cabinets concerned in the speedy and definite regulation of the Danish question, in case these same Governments should come to the conviction that the desired results are not to be attained by way of negotiation heretofore tried.

No. 266.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 19.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, April* 15, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 4th instant, inclosing copies of despatches addressed to your Lordship from Her Majesty's Ministers at Berlin and Vienna.

M. de Bluhme read to me part of a despatch from Count Nesselrode to the Russian Minister here, by which it appears that the Emperor of Russia will not make the difficulties anticipated by Prince Schwartzenberg to the IInd Article of the Convention proposed by Denmark for regulating the future Succession. On the contrary M. de Bluhme assures me he prefers the Russian wording of that Article to his own, as conveying his meaning with more precision. Thus, the objection of Prince Schwartzenberg to the IInd Article, alluded to in Lord Westmorland's despatch of the 30th ultimo, falls to the ground. I need not trouble your Lordship with the precise amended wording, as M. de Bluhme assures me it has already been communicated by M. de Bille.

The only other part of this Russian despatch with which I need trouble your Lordship is, that in which Count Nesselrode, on his part, assenting to the spirit of the IInd Article, adds his doubts as to England entering into any engagements in case of the eventuality arising to which that article alludes. I assured M. de Bluhme he might be confident no imaginary difficulties would prevent your Lordship from entering upon the projected negotiation, "being perfectly aware that, if every possible eventuality were allowed to arrest its progress, it would be impossible ever to bring about its solution."

The present dynasty has governed Denmark, and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, for four centuries; and the descendants of the Prince of Glücksburg, on whom it is proposed to settle it, might, with equal probability, enjoy it for as long a period.

M. de Bluhme attaches much moment to that part of the Russian wording of the IInd Article which runs "toujours en reconnaissant l'intégrité des dominions Danoises." It will be left to Denmark herself to initiate to the Powers who are to conduct these negotiations, the plan to be adopted as to the Succession, in case of the occurrence of the event to which it alludes. Although M. de Bluhme speaks cautiously, it is quite evident he expects the King and Prince of Prussia to throw every possible obstacle in the way of an arrangement. The Prussian Government appears really and honestly anxious for a settlement; but these two Royal personages are unfavourable to a powerful guarantee for the integrity of the Danish dominions, with the Dukedoms of which they hope, sooner or later, to round their German influence.

I understand that the King of Prussia has directed Count Bismark, his Minister at Frankfort, to give his opinion as to the advisability of placing the Danish proposal, in all its parts, before the Diet for consideration. His report has not yet been made; but, as all the Powers about to engage in these negotiations are as adverse to such a reference as Prussia appears desirous of it, M. Bluhme hopes, in the event of Prussia remaining obstinate, the other Powers will begin and carry on the negotiations without her participation.

The Danish Minister at Berlin informs his Government that the great moderation of the Danish amnesty (alluded to in my despatch No. 13) has given much satisfaction to the Cabinet of Berlin.

No. 267.

M. de Bille to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 19.)

My Lord, *April* 19, 1852.

IN compliance with the wish expressed by your Lordship I have the honour herewith to transmit to you five genealogical tables of the reigning Danish Line, the three branches of the Gottorp Line, and one of the Sonderburg or Augustenburg Line; and I also inclose a short mémoire on the pretensions of the latter to Succession in the Duchy of Holstein.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 267.

I.—THE REIGNING LINE IN DENMARK.

FREDERICK V, † 1766.

From his son the HEREDITARY PRINCE FREDERICK, † 1805,

- CHRISTIAN VIII, † 1848.
  - FREDERICK VII, *born* 1808. Reigning King.
- JULIANE SOPHIE, † 1850.
- LOUISE CHARLOTTE, *born* 1789; *married* to Landgrave W. of Hesse. Act of renunciation, with husband's consent, August 3, 1851.
  Children:
  - MARIE LOUISE CHARLOTTE OF ANHALT-DESSAU, *born* 1814. Act of renunciation, with husband's consent, August 16, 1851.
    Daughter: ADELHEID MARIE OF NASSAU. Act of renunciation, with husband's consent, September 18, 1851.
  - LOUISE WILHELMINE OF GLUCKSBURG, *born* 1817; *married* to Prince Christian of Glucksburg. Act of renunciation in favour of husband, July 18, 1851.
    Children:
    - CHRISTIAN FREDERICK WILHELM CARL, *born* June 3, 1843.
    - ALEXANDRA, *born* December 1, 1844.
    - CHRISTIAN WILHELM ADOLPH GEORG, *born* December 24, 1845.
    - MARIE, *born* November 26, 1847.
  - FREDERICK WILHELM GEORGE ADOLPH, Prince of Hesse. Act of renunciation, July 18, 1851.
  - AUGUSTA SOPHIE, *born* 1823.
- FREDERICK FERDINAND, Hereditary Prince of Denmark, *born* 1792.

II.—THE LINE OF GOTTORP.

Founder, ADOLPH, youngest Brother of CHRISTIAN III of Denmark, and Grandson of CHRISTIAN I of Denmark.

CHRISTIAN ALBRECHT, Duke of Gottorp, † 1694, Great-grandson of ADOLPH, Founder of the Line.

Children:

- FRIEDRICH IV, † 1702.
  - CARL FRIEDRICH, † 1739. Married to a daughter of PETER THE GREAT of Russia, founder of the present reigning Dynasty in Russia.

  This line was in possession of the Grand Ducal part of Holstein up to 1773, when it received the present Grand Duchy of Oldenburg from Denmark, in exchange for its Possessions in Holstein.
- CHRISTIAN AUGUST, Bishop of Lübeck, Administrator.
  Children:
  - ADOLPH FRIEDRICH, King of Sweden, 1751–71. Founder of the Swedish Line (WASA). (*Vide* Table III.)
  - FRIEDRICH AUGUST.
  - GEORGE LUDWIG.

  Founders of the "Episcopal" or Oldenburg Line, now reigning in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg. (*Vide* Table IV.)

III.—THE SECOND, OR SWEDISH LINE OF GOTTORP.

ADOLPH FRIEDRICH, Grandson of DUKE CHRISTIAN ALBRECHT, the founder of the Gottorp Line, † as King of Sweden, 1770.

Children:

- KING GUSTAV III, † 1792.
  - GUSTAV IV, ADOLPH, † 1837.
    - GUSTAV, Prince of Wasa, *born* 1799.
      - Daughter: CAROLINE.
- KING CARL XIII, † 1818. Without descendants.

IV.—YOUNGER GOTTORP ("EPISCOPAL") LINE.

CHRISTIAN AUGUST, Administrator.

Children:

- ADOLPH FRIEDRICH, King of Sweden, † 1770.
- FRIEDRICH AUGUST, Bishop, First Duke of Oldenburg, † 1785.
  - PETER FR. WILHELM, Duke and Bishop, † 1823.
- GEORG LUDWIG, † 1763.
  - PETER FRIEDRICH LUDWIG, Duke of Oldenburg, Prince of Lübeck, † 1829.

    Children:
    - PAUL FRIEDRICH AUGUST, Grand Duke of Oldenburg,

      Children:
      - NICOLAUS FREIDR. PETER, *born* 1827.
      - ELIMAS, *born* 1844.
    - PETER FRIEDRICH GEORG, † 1812.

      Son: CONSTANTIN FRIEDR. PETER, *born* 1812.

      Children:
      - NICOLAUS, *born* 1840.
      - ALEXANDER, *born* 1844.
      - GEORG, *born* 1848.

V.—THE LINE OF SONDERBURG.

(This Line has never been reigning in the Duchies.)

JOHAN the Younger, † 1622, Founder of this Line, was a Great Grandson of CHRISTIAN I, Elective King of Denmark, and Brother to FREDERICK II of Denmark.

Children:

- ALEXANDER, Sonderburg-Sonderburg.

  Children:
  - JOHAN CHRISTIAN, Sonderburg-Sonderburg, afterwards Franzhagen. (Line extinct 1709.)
  - ALEXANDER HEINRICH, Catholic. (Extinct 1727.)
  - ERNST GÜNTHER, From whom descends the DUKE OF AUGUSTENBURG.
  - AUGUST PHILIPP, From whom descends the Line of Beck, since 1826 called Glücksburg.
  - PHILIPP, Wiesenburg. (Line extinct 1744.)
- FRIEDRICH, Norburg. (Line extinct 1722.)
- PHILIPP, Glücksburg. (Line extinct 1799.)
- JOACHIM ERNST, Ploen. (Line extinct 1761.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 267.

Mémoire Succinct relatif au Droit que les Sonderbourg prétendent avoir à la Succession du Duché de Holstein.

ON sait que plusieurs membres de la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg, nommément les Augustenbourg, dans différentes brochures qui évidemment

proviennent d'eux-mêmes ou qui ont été écrites sous leur influence, prétendent que, à raison de leur descendance direct du Roi Christian I, premier Duc Holsteinois de la Maison d'Oldenbourg, ils sont les héritiers les plus proches de tout le Duché actuel de Holstein, en cas d'extinction de la souche masculine de la famille Royale de Danemark.

On sait également qu'aucune des deux lignes principales de la maison d'Oldenbourg, pas plus celle de Glückstadt (Danoise) que celle de Kiel (Russe-Oldenbourgeoise) n'ont reconnu ni ne veulent reconnaître à la ligne collatérale apanagée séparément (abgetheilte) de Sonderbourg un droit égal au leur, et que toutes les deux sont d'accord sur ce point, à savoir, que cette ligne collatérale, nommément les Augustenbourg comme tels, ne possèdent aucun droit à la Succession du Holstein. La preuve détaillée de ce qui précède se trouve dans un assez grand nombre d'ouvrages imprimés et ne saurait être reproduite en quelques pages lorsqu'il s'agit de renverser tous les arguments imaginés pour pallier des prétentions mal-fondées. Aussi se bornera-t-on à présenter ici un exposé très-succinct et précis des raisons sur lesquelles cette assertion s'appuie essentiellement.

Avant tout il est nécessaire de rappeler que ce n'est nullement le Roi Christian I qui a fait l'acquisition du Duché actuel de Holstein dans son ensemble, que c'est au contraire le Roi Christian VII qui en 1806 a réuni les différentes parties ensemble, et que le dit Duché se compose de toutes les possessions Allemandes que les Rois de Danemark avaient acquis jusqu'alors, à diverses époques et en vertu de différents titres légitimes. En effet après la chûte du Saint Empire, ces possessions par une Patente du 9 Septembre, 1806, furent réunies, sous la dénomination commune de Holstein, et comme partie inséparable, sous tous les rapports, au corps politique de la Monarchie Danoise.

Et si on voulait attaquer cette déclaration et prétendre que le Roi Christian VII, en se fondant sur l'effet que la dissolution de l'Empire d'Allemagne devait avoir nécessairement sur les droits qui se rattachaient à l'existence de cet Empire, et par d'autres raisons n'était pas autorisé à proclamer, au moyen de cette Patente, la réunion à perpétuité de ces possessions au corps politique de la Monarchie—et partant à les soumettre à l'ordre de succession établi par la Loi Royale de Danemark—il est clair que, dans ce cas-là, dès que le moment se présentera où la réunion, par suite de différence dans l'ordre de succession, ne pourra plus exister, chacune des parties intégrantes, ainsi réunies sous la dénomination commune de "Duché de Holstein," devra nécessairement passer d'un héritier à l'autre, en se conformant au droit et aux usages en vigueur lorsque la Patente de 1806 fut publiée. Car le Roi n'avait pas le droit de dépouiller ses successeurs par droit d'hérédité des possessions pour lesquelles ses ancêtres avaient acquis un droit particulier et complet de propriété et qu'ils avaient soumis à l'ordre de succession de la Loi Royale, conformément à l'Article 19 de cette Loi.

Partant de ce point de vue, il est indispensable d'établir dans le Duché actuel de Holstein, tel qu'il existe depuis 1806, une distinction bien nette:

1. Entre les anciennes possessions allodiales de Schauenbourg, comprenant la Seigneurie de Pinneberg, avec la ville d'Altona, le Comté de Rantzau et quelques districts de moindre importance.

2. Et l'ancien Duché-fief de Holstein, dans lequel il faut encore observer une différence entre le district de Plöen et les territoires de Glückstadt et de Kiel.

Nous allons examiner séparément les prétentions de la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg et spécialement des Augustenbourg sur chacune de ces parties du Holstein.

I.

1. Les fertiles et riches possessions des Schauenbourg situées sur les bords de l'Elbe demeurèrent à une branche de cette ancienne Maison Comtale, longtemps après l'extinction de cette famille en Holstein et en Stormarie, et après que le Roi Christian I y était devenu d'abord Comte et plus tard Duc. Ces possessions des Schauenbourg, complètement distinctes du Duché-fief de Holstein, ont en effet, durant l'espace de prés de deux siècles, pendant que Christian I et ses successeurs gouvernaient le fief Holsteinois, formé un Comté héréditaire indépendant, relevant de l'Empire directement et de franc-alleu. Elles furent expressément reconnues en cette qualité de bien allodial ou de franc-alleu par une Confirmation Impériale qui date du 13 Septembre, 1619. Les Ducs de Holstein, comme tels, ou comme descendants de Christian I, n'avaient à cet égard aucun droit d'hérédité.

2. C'est aussi ce que ces Ducs furent contraints de reconnaître. En effet lorsqu'en 1640 le dernier Comte de Schauenbourg, Otto VI, vint à mourir, ils tentèrent d'abord s'ils pouvaient sans obstacle obtenir la possession du Comté considéré comme une portion du fief Holsteinois tombé en déshérence ; mais ils ne tardèrent pas à se convaincre de l'impossibilité de faire valoir cette fausse prétention, et c'est pour cela que les deux Ducs régnants du Holstein, le Roi Christian IV de la ligne principale de Glückstadt et le Duc Frederic III de la ligne principale de Kiel, s'adressèrent à la mère du défunt Comte Otto, qui était reconnue comme l'héritière allodiale du Comté, lui achetèrent son héritage entier et divisèrent entr'eux le Comté de la manière suivante : le Roi reçut en partage la partie méridionale plus considérable, la Seigneurie de Pinneberg, et le Duc la partie du Nord moin importante, c'est-à-dire, le bailliage de Barmstedt. Du reste ils se bornèrent à donner connaissance par un simple acte de faire part à l'Empereur de cet achat et de ce partage, sans jamais songer à lui demander en fief leurs possessions de franc-alleu, et à l'égard de cette propriété allodiale ils agirent tout-à-fait suivant leur bon plaisir.

3. La Seigneurie de Pinneberg, depuis cette même époque, est demeurée à la famille Royale de Danemark comme propriété particulière et indépendante. Le Roi Christian IV la laissa en héritage à son fils le Roi Frederic III, et lorsque celui-ci eut, en 1665, établi la Loi Royale (Lex Regia) comme loi de famille pour toute sa lignée, il décida dans le 19me Article, que tout ce qu'il possédait à titre de propriété privée (le " sær Eyeres Ret " de la Lex Regia) passerait en héritage aux Rois héréditaires du Danemark, sans être divisé ni partagé. La Seigneurie de Pinneberg n'a jamais cessée d'appartenir à la Couronne comme propriété privée ; elle a été tenue jusqu'en 1806 complètement séparée du Holstein, et dans toutes les Ordonnances Royales elle est désignée comme une seigneurie distincte. C'est en 1806 seulement et lorsque le Holstein eut cessé d'être un fief de l'Empire d'Allemagne et qu'il fut considéré comme une partie inséparable de la Monarchie Danoise, que la Seigneurie de Pinneberg fut comprise sous la dénomination de Duché de Holstein.

4. Le bailliage de Barmstedt fut traité tout à fait de la même manière par le Duc Frederic III de la ligne de Kiel, comme propriété complètement libre et n'ayant rien de commun avec le fief Holsteinois.

Le Duc Frederic III prouva lui-même d'une manière évidente que c'était bien réellement une propriété dont il pouvait disposer librement, car en 1649 il vendit de nouveau le dit bailliage directement au Comte Christian Rantzau de Breitenburg. Le Comte obtint que ce bailliage, regardé comme un district depuis longtemps eximé du Holstein, fut érigé en Comté de Rantzau libre et allodial, relevant immédiatement de l'Empire et dont le possesseur avait le droit de disposer librement, soit par testament soit par adoption. Le second Comte de Rantzau ne tarda pas à faire usage de ce droit, car par un testament en date du 10 Août, 1669, confirmé par l'Empereur en 1671, il institua le Roi de Danemark, Frederic III, héritier du Comté pour le cas où sa descendance mâle viendrait à s'éteindre. C'est pourquoi lorsque le dernier Comte régnant de Rantzau eut été assassiné en 1721 à l'instigation de son propre frère et que ce dernier eut été déclaré mort civilement, le Roi Frederic IV de Danemark prit possession du Comté, en vertu de ce testament. Le Comte de Rantzau tomba de cette manière sous l'application du 19me Article de la Loi Royale, ainsi que la Seigneurie de Pinneberg ; et dans la Patente du 9 Septembre, 1806, on procéda d'une manière identique tant pour le Comté que pour la Seigneurie. Cependant, malgré leurs rapports avec le Duché actuel de Holstein, Pinneberg et Rantzau ont conservé leurs titres particuliers et en partie une administration distincte.

5. Il doit ressortir clairement de ces courtes explications historiques qu'aucun descendant du Roi Christian I comme tel, ni par conséquent les Augustenbourg comme tels, ne sauraient avoir le moindre droit à hériter de possessions que ce Roi ne posséda jamais ou sur lesquels il n'avait aucune prétention légitime à faire valoir. Car on se rappelle que ces possessions ne furent acquises par les Rois de Danemark que deux siècles plus tard. C'est en effet ce que les acquéreurs de ces possessions, le Roi Christian IV et le Duc Frédéric III, énoncèrent formellement dans l'acte d'association formé par eux le 16 Mai, 1641. au sujet de leurs nouvelles acquisitions. La prétention des Augustenbourg, que Rantzau et Pinneberg appartenaient au fief Holsteinois, est renversée non seulement par les faits historiques, mais encore par des actes publics politiques. Et comme de fait il n'existe aucune autre personne ni aucune autre maison qui possède un droit légitime quelconque à hériter des anciennes possessions allodiales des Schauenbourg

en Holstein, on ne saurait contester que la succession de ces possessions doit forcément être réglée d'après la loi de Succession en vigueur dans la famille du premier acquéreur, c'est-à-dire, conformément au 19me Article de la Loi Royale de Danemark.

II.

1. L'ancien Duché-fief de Holstein était échu par voie d'élection et d'accommodements au fils de la sœur du dernier possesseur, Christian I de la Maison d'Oldenbourg, qui déjà à cette époque était Roi de Danemark. Christian I et ses successeurs pendant deux siècles ne furent à proprement parler que Ducs électifs, en ce sens que les Diètes Holsteinoises s'étaient réservé le droit d'élire un Duc parmi ses descendants. L'Empereur accordait ensuite l'investiture à celui qui était élu de cette manière. Par suite de partages entre les successeurs de Christian I, les deux lignes principales et une ligne collatérale de la Maison d'Oldenbourg en Holstein surgirent pendant la durée même de la période élective. Les deux lignes principales étaient: la ligne ainée (Danoise) ou de Glückstadt, et la ligne cadette (Russe-Oldenbourgeoise) ou de Kiel. Les chefs de ces deux lignes reçurent l'hommage des Etats et furent en commun "Ducs régnants du Holstein." La ligne collatérale dite de Sonderbourg était apanagée en Holstein de quelques domaines sécularisés, ayant appartenu à des monastères et qui formaient trois petits bailliages, savoir: Plöen, Ahrensböeck, et Reinfeld; mais jamais le chef ou les chefs de cette ligne collatérale ne reçurent l'hommage des Etats; ils n'avaient aucune part dans le Gouvernement commun du Duché et étaient qualifiés de seigneurs apanagés séparément (abgetheilte Herren).

Dans le courant du dix-septième siècle les chefs des deux lignes principales régnantes supprimèrent entièrement, avec l'approbation de l'Empereur, le droit d'élection que possédaient les Etats et introduisent un ordre précis de succession dans leurs lignes, au moyen des Statuts de Primogéniture du 9 Janvier, 1608, et du 24 Juillet, 1650. Pour la ligne collatérale au contraire, elle ne fut jamais comprise dans ces statuts de primogéniture des lignes principales; d'ailleurs elle n'a jamais établi pour elle-même et pour son apanage (paragium) un statut particulier de primogéniture.

2. Mais alors même que les statuts d'hérédité et de primogéniture eussent embrassé toutes les lignes des descendants de Christian I, la succession du fief Holsteinois, d'après le droit féodal Allemand, ne leur serait pas garantie uniquement par ces statuts. En effet le droit féodal Germanique n'appelle expressément à hériter, par droit de naissance, que le fils et le petit-fils du dernier possesseur, et il refuse d'une manière péremptoire aux lignes collatérales tout droit de succession basé uniquement sur la naissance. Par contre, ce même droit féodal indique à ces lignes collatérales un moyen à l'aide duquel ils peuvent se réserver un droit à la succession d'un fief, à savoir, à l'aide de la co-investiture ou l'investiture simultanée. D'après cette institution les lignes collatérales pouvaient également succéder à un fief, lors même qu'ils n'avaient aucune part réelle dans la possession de ce fief, mais à la condition de demander (muthen) et d'obtenir une lettre d'investiture pour la totalité du fief, ou en d'autres termes l'investiture simultanée (*investitura simultanea, manus communis,* die gesammte Hand) et ils acquéraient par-là une sorte de possession simultanée fictive (*coinvestitura juris Germanici;* Gesammtbelehnung). Mais en même temps il leur était imposé comme condition absolue de demander (muthen) cette lettre d'investiture et de la faire dans le délai voulu, c'est-à-dire, dans l'an et jour, toutes les fois que les lignes collatérales changeaient de chef ou à l'avènement de chaque Empereur. Conformément au recez du Conseil Aulique de l'Empire de l'année 1654 (Reichshofraths-Ordnung vom 16ten März, 1654), et jusqu'à la dissolution de l'Empire d'Allemagne, cette formalité fut exigée comme une condition indispensable lorsqu'une ligne collatérale voulait conserver son droit de succession dans les Maisons Princières et dans les fiefs de l'Empire, pour lesquels l'investiture simultanée du droit féodal Allemand n'avait pas cessé d'être en vigueur. La naissance ou la descendance directe seule ne donnait aucune espèce de droit de succession. Ce droit reposait uniquement sur la possession et la réservation en temps utile de l'investiture simultanée (die gesammte Hand). Le fait d'avoir négligé de demander l'inféodation et la *repetita investitura* entrainait la perte du droit de succession.

3. La Maison d'Oldenbourg et le fief Holsteinois étaient précisément du nombre de ces familles et de ces fiefs de l'Empire pour lesquels cette investiture simultanée était reconnue. La ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg n'avait pas, comme les deux lignes principales régnantes, reçu l'hommage des Etats; elle n'avait aucune part dans le Gouvernement commun du pays, et n'était pas comprise dans les statuts

d'hérédité et de primogéniture. Mais les chefs de cette ligne collatérale apportèrent longtemps l'attention la plus scrupuleuse à demander sans délai et à obtenir les lettres d'investiture de l'Empereur pour leur part spéciale de territoire et l'investiture simultanée pour le Duché tout entier. Ils sentaient parfaitement combien cette formalité était importante pour la garantie du droit de succession, et Jean le Jeune (Johann der Jüngere), qui est la souche de cette ligne collatérale, avait dans son testament recommandé d'une manière solennelle à tous ses descendants d'apporter le plus grand soin à demander (muthen) dans les délais voulus le renouvellement de cette investiture simultanée, afin de ne pas perdre, en négligeant de le faire, leur droit éventuel à la succession. Cette même recommandation fut renouvelée plus tard en 1633 par les descendants eux-mêmes qui, par une série non-interrompue de demandes de lettres d'investiture qui leur furent accordées, conservèrent l'investiture simultanée, et on voit encore sous la date du 13 Février, 1751, le Duc Frederic Charles de Plöen, qui s'était chargé de solliciter l'investiture pour toute la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg, obtenir de l'Empereur cette lettre d'investiture simultanée pour lui et pour cette ligne collatérale.

Mais c'est aussi la dernière lettre Impériale d'inféodation qui ait été demandée par un membre quelconque de la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg. Cette ligne était regardée par les deux lignes principales régnantes comme indemnisée au moyen de son apanage (paragium). Cet apanage lui-même, grâce à un nombre infini de partages, fut subdivisée en une foule de petits districts, et tous les seigneurs apanagés séparément (abgetheilte Herren) de Sonderbourg se trouvaient endettés. Dans ces conjonctures, comme la branche de Plöen de la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg était près de s'éteindre, et que, faute pour cette ligne collatérale d'une loi de primogéniture et d'une distinction très-tranchée entre le bien allodial et bien féodal dans le district de Plöen, la succession de Plöen était un sujet de démêlés et de prétentions, d'un coté, entre les trois autres branches des Sonderbourg, et de l'autre, entre les filles du Duc de Plöen qui avaient des droits à l'héritage du bien allodial; dans ces circonstances, disons-nous, et en présence de ces difficultés, tous les seigneurs de la ligne de Sonderbourg convirent d'un commun accord de vendre ou d'abandonner moyennant une indemnité suffisante leur héritage entier et tous leurs droits au Roi de Danemark Frederic V et à ses héritiers et successeurs Royaux.

C'est en effet de cette manière-là que cette cession fut opérée. Le représentant du droit d'investiture simultanée pour toute la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg, le Duc Frederic Charles, dont nous venons de parler, signa le 29 Novembre, 1756, après une renonciation préalable des branches d'Augustenbourg et de Beck-Glücksbourg, un acte de cession qui fut ratifié le 7 et le 11 Janvier, 1857, et confirmé le 5 Mars, 1761, par l'Empereur.

4. Cet Acte, on peut même dire ce Traité important, eut pour la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg une double conséquence, d'abord à l'égard du district féodal et particulier de Plöen et ensuite relativement au droit de succeession dans le reste du Holstein appartenant aux lignes principales de Glückstadt et de Kiel.

En premier lieu la ligne entière collatérale de Sonderbourg renonça à perpétuité à toute espèce de droit ou de prétention sur les possessions de Plöen, tant féodales qu'allodiales, en faveur des Rois de Danemark et de leurs héritiers et successeurs Royaux. Par conséquent aucun descendant de cette ligne collatérale n'a plus comme tel aucune prétention à faire valoir sur les terres de Plöen, et par suite la Maison Royale de Danemark tient ces mêmes possessions à titre de propriété privée et particulière ("med sær Eyeres Ret"), et aussi longtemps du moins qu'il existera un rejeton mâle de la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg.

5. En second lieu, à partir du même moment et pour toujours, la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg toute entière a cessé de demander pour la totalité du Duché-fief de Holstein l'investiture simultanée (die gesammte Hand) qui d'ailleurs ne lui aurait certainement pas été accordée, et elle a renoncé conséquemment au seul moyen à l'aide duquel il lui eût été possible de se réserver un droit de succession éventuel. Il suit de là qu'aucun des membres de la ligne collatérale de Sonderbourg, comme tels, et par conséquent aussi aucun des Augustenbourg comme tel, n'est habile à se porter héritier du Holstein, pas plus pour la portion de Glückstadt que pour elle de Kiel.

A l'appui de leur prétendu droit de succession, en ce qui concerne la portion de Kiel, les Sonderbourg ont soutenu que sous tous les rapports cette partie du Holstein remplace l'Oldenbourg; or, disent-ils, comme en 1671 l'Oldenbourg fut par eux cédé au Roi de Danemark avec la réserve de faire retour en cas d'extinction de

la souche Royale masculine, il en résulte que cette portion du Holstein qui porte le nom de Kiel devrait dans ce cas faire retour aux Sonderbourg à titre d'équivalent pour l'Oldenbourg. Mais il est facile de montrer que ce raisonnment est insoutenable. Il faut avant tout se rappeler que les Sonderbourg n'avaient pas autre chose qu'une simple expectative sur l'Oldenbourg et point de possession réelle, qui ne pouvait être acquise qu'au moyen d'une investiture, et que du moment où, par suite de la dissolution de l'Empire d'Allemagne, l'investiture ne peut avoir lieu, toute réalisation d'expectative devient par là même impossible. On peut ajouter encore à ce qui précède, que les Augustenbourg, avant même que l'Empire d'Allemagne eût cessé d'exister, avaient d'une manière assez claire fait abandon du droit que l'expectative aurait pu leur créer. En effet ils n'ont point élevé de prétention sur l'Oldenbourg en 1761, alors que, par suite de l'extinction de la branche de Plöen, ce pays eût dû leur échoir en partage ; et ils ne formulèrent ni protestation ni réservation lorsque en 1773 l'Oldenbourg, "affranchi de toute prétention," fut cédé à la ligne principale de Kiel.

Le résultat de cette déduction historique est donc, que ni les Sonderbourg ni par conséquent non plus les Augustenbourg ne sauraient, à raison de leur descendance directe de Christian I, avoir hérité d'aucune espèce de droit de succession à une partie quelconque du Duché actuel de Holstein, savoir :

(*a.*) Ni aux anciennes possessions des Schauenbourg, parcequ'elles n'ont jamais été la propriété de Christian I et qu'elles ne faisaient pas partie du fief Holsteinois, tandis qu'elles sont échues à la Maison Royale de Danemark à titre de propriété libre et sur laquelle personne n'avait aucun genre de prétention à faire valoir ;

(*b.*) Ni aux anciennes possessions de Plöen, car c'est précisément par la ligne des Sonderbourg qu'elles ont été cédées à perpétuité aux Rois de Danemark et à leurs héritiers et successeurs Royaux ;

(*c.*) Ni enfin au reste de l'ancien Duché-fief de Holstein, tant au territoire de Glückstadt qu'à celui de Kiel, parceque suivant le droit féodal Allemand ces possessions ne peuvent échoir à une ligne collatérale privée de l'investiture simultanée.

No. 268.

Memorandum by Baron Brunnow on the Convention under consideration for Regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.

L'AUTRICHE, la France, la Grande Bretagne, la Russie, et la Suède, à l'invitation de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc, ont résolu de donner au principe du maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise un gage additionnel de stabilité par un acte de reconnaissance Européenne.

Les dites Puissances ont contracté entr'elles l'engagement formel de munir à cet effet leurs Représentants à Londres des pleins pouvoirs nécessaires, en exécution des Protocoles du 4 Juillet, du 2 et du 23 Août, 1850.

Ces Actes énoncent, en termes clairs et précis, le parfait accord qui subsiste entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes quant au maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise dans l'intérêt général de la paix et de l'équilibre Européen.

Le Cabinet de Berlin, de son côté, a cru devoir donner à ces principes l'adhésion la plus cordiale par les communications adressées à la Cour de Copenhague, dans la poursuite des négociations qui ont précédé la présente délibération.*

Les Plénipotentiaires, appelés à y concourir, ont pour mission de constater et de consacrer aujourd'hui une pensée politique, sur laquelle leurs Cabinets sont déjà tombés d'accord entr'eux.

L'initiative de cette délibération appartenait, de droit, au Plénipotentiaire Danois.

D'ordre de sa Cour, il a présenté un Projet de Traité qui forme l'objet de l'examen de la Conférence de Londres.

Ce Traité est destiné à réaliser les intentions précédemment exprimés par les Hautes Parties Contractantes, savoir : "A régler éventuellement l'ordre de succession dans la Royale Maison de Danemark de manière à faciliter les arrangements au moyen desquels l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise demeurera intacte."

Dans ce but, Sa Majesté le Roi, de concert avec les Membres de son auguste Maison, a déclaré l'intention de régler l'ordre de succession dans ses Etats de manière à ce qu'à

* Note du 30 Septembre, 1851, adressée par M. le Baron de Manteuffel au Comte de Bille-Brahe.

défaut de descendance mâle en ligne directe, sa Couronne soit transmise à son Altesse le Prince Chrétien de Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg et à ses descendants, par ordre de primogéniture de mâle en mâle.

Afin de revêtir cet arrangement de famille des formes requises par la loi d'Etat, Sa Majesté Danoise réclamera le concours des Chambres.

En adoptant cette marche, dans l'intérêt du bien-être et du repos à venir de ses peuples, Sa Majesté le Roi invite les Cabinets amis et alliés à accorder éventuellement leur reconnaissance à cet arrangement, qui a pour objet, ainsi que les Actes précédents de Londres en ont formellement énoncé le désir, de maintenir dans son intégrité l'état des possessions actuellement réunies sous la Couronne de Danemarc.

L'engagement à prendre par les Hautes Parties Contractantes consiste donc à reconnaître un ordre de choses que Sa Majesté le Roi, dans l'intérêt de sa Monarchie comme dans celui de l'équilibre Européen, se réserve de faire revêtir de toutes les garanties voulues par la Constitution de l'Etat.

Cet engagement, il faut le dire, n'impose aux Puissances aucune obligation onéreuse. Elles se bornent à donner moralement, par leur adhésion, un gage additionnel de stabilité à un œuvre de prévoyance politique qu'elles considèrent elles-mêmes comme d'une haute importance pour la conservation de l'équilibre général.

Parmi ces Puissances il en est une seule qui, en adhérant à la transaction projetée, soit prête à faire l'abandon de certains droits, qu'elle aurait pu revendiquer dans le cas où la Maison Royale actuellement règnante en Danemarc viendrait à s'éteindre sans descendance mâle.

Des considérations d'intérêt général ont déterminé Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies à écarter cet obstacle. Dans ce but, les Cours de St. Pétersbourg et de Copenhague ont signé le Protocole de Varsovie le $\frac{24 \text{ Mai}}{5 \text{ Juin}}$, 1851, lequel a été porté à la connaissance de tous les Cabinets.

En vertu des stipulations qu'il renferme, Sa Majesté l'Empereur, comme chef de la branche ainée de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp, s'est déclaré prêt à renoncer aux droits éventuels qui lui appartiennent en faveur de son Altesse le Prince Chrétien de Glucksbourg et de sa descendance mâle.

Il a été prévu toutefois par le susdit Protocole "que l'offre d'une pareille renonciation cesserait d'être obligatoire si la combinaison elle-même venait à manquer."

Or, l'intérêt bien entendu de toutes les Puissances s'accorde à faire réussir cette combinaison, et non pas à la faire échouer; car il est évident que la paix générale n'a rien à gagner lorsqu'on néglige de prévenir les causes qui peuvent faire naître à l'avenir des complications graves.

Ce serait donc se charger d'une grande responsabilité que de vouloir entraver l'accomplissement de cette œuvre de paix, par des difficultés d'un ordre secondaire.

On s'est préoccupé, il est vrai, de celles qui pourraient naître du côté de la Confédération Germanique, en ce qui concerne spécialement les relations des Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg.

Mais ces préoccupations, il est juste de la dire, ont été écartées d'avance par le soin avec lequel les Plénipotentiaires réunis en Conférence à Londres ont su garantir les droits Fédéraux de l'Allemagne, quant à ses rapports avec les dits Duchés.

Les Actes de Londres attestent le respect que les Cabinets portent à l'inviolabilité de ces droits.

Le Traité actuellement mis en délibération sert à les sauvegarder de nouveau, dans les termes les plus formels. Pour s'en convaincre il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil sur le texte de l'Article III :—"Les droits et les obligations réciproques de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc pour les Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg et de la Confédération Germanique, établis par l'Acte Fédéral de 1815, et par le droit Fédéral existant, ne seront pas altérés par le présent Traité."

Après une déclaration si formelle, revêtue de la sanction d'une reconnaissance Européenne, que resterait-il donc à désirer pour mettre à couvert les droits Fédéraux de l'Allemagne?

Celle-ci ne serait-elle pas d'ailleurs représenté par les deux Grandes Puissances, l'Autriche et la Prusse, qui dans toutes les transactions Européennes ont tenu à honneur de veiller aux intérêts de l'Allemagne?

Mais s'il était vrai que celle-ci reconnût le besoin d'en demander davantage, la sollicitude des Plénipotentiaires réunis en Conférence à Londres aurait déjà avisé à ce redoublement de précaution comme à ce surcroit de formalité. En effet, l'Article IV du Traité contient la stipulation suivante :—

"Les Hautes Puissances Contractantes se réservent de porter le présent Traité à la connaissance des autres Puissances en les invitant à y accéder."

Par cette stipulation tous les égards ont été observés, toutes les réserves ont été prises de manière à ce que chacun fut libre de se prononcer sur la transaction conclue à Londres, après en avoir sérieusement apprécié le mérite.

Les Cabinets qui ont concouru à cet Acte à l'invitation de Sa Majesté Danoise n'entendent point imposer leurs convictions à ceux qui ne les partagent pas librement.

La faculté de juger cette transaction en y accédant ou en n'y accédant point appartient à tout Etat indépendant. Chacun exercera ce droit selon sa conscience.

Mais il est dans l'ordre des choses consacré pour le repos de la communauté des Etats, que là où il s'agit de résoudre une question à laquelle sont liées des considérations majeures, qui influent sur la conservation de l'équilibre Européen, le bien général doit l'emporter dans la balance où se pèsent les grands intérêts de la paix.

Les vues exclusives, les prétentions isolées, les récriminations privées, quel que soit le désir qu'on puisse éprouver de les adoucir et de les ménager,* ne sauraient prévaloir sur l'obligation morale qu'impose le devoir d'assurer le repos universel de la communauté.

Ce principe s'appliquera nécessairement au sort de la transaction destinée à consolider, dans l'intérêt général de la paix, l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise.

Les Cabinets qui auront librement adhéré à ce Traité auront la conscience d'avoir fait ce qui dépendait de leur prévoyance et de leur sagesse afin de prévenir une contestation dont les conséquences auraient pu compromettre gravement la tranquillité de l'Europe.

S'il s'élève une voix dissidente qui veuille désapprouver cet acte de saine politique, il restera aux Cabinets signataires du Traité de Londres une satisfaction morale qui placera leur conduite au-dessus du blâme; celle de pouvoir attester hautement à la face du monde qu'elles n'ont été dirigées par aucune vue d'agrandissement, ni d'ambition ni d'influence exclusive, mais uniquement guidées par le désir sincère de faire servir leur accord au bien général de toutes les nations, en leur conservant le bienfait de la paix, objet constant de la sollicitude des Puissances représentées par les Plénipotentiaires aujourd'hui réunis en Conférence à Londres.

(Signé) BRUNNOW.

Ashburnham House, le $\frac{7}{19}$ *Avril,* 1852.

No. 269.

Baron Brunnow to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 21.)

Mon cher Lord Malmesbury, *Ashburnham House, le* 19 *Avril,* 1852.

JE m'empresse de remplir ma promesse en vous envoyant ci-joint:

1. Le projet de Traité, auquel j'ai ajouté les amendements indiqués dans la dépêche du Comte Nesselrode, dont je vous ai fait prendre lecture.

2. Un résumé dans lequel j'ai rendu compte des engagements pris par nos Cabinets,† quant à la délibération actuellement ouverte à Londres.

Ce Memorandum confidentiel n'a pour objet que de réduire la question dont il s'agit à sa plus simple expression; voici les faits:—

Par notre Protocole du 2 Août, 1850, nous avons pris l'engagement de donner au principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise un gage additionnel de stabilité par une reconnaissance Européenne.

Le Roi de Danemarc nous invite aujourd'hui à remplir cet engagement.

Dans ce but il nous propose un projet de Traité.

En l'examinant, nous trouvons qu'il répond exactement aux conditions sur lesquelles nous étions déjà tombés d'accord entre nous.

Il ne nous impose aucune obligation onéreuse.

Il n'altère en rien les droits Fédéraux de l'Allemagne, en ce qui concerne les relations des Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg.

Il constate simplement que, dans notre opinion, il convient à l'équilibre de l'Europe de conserver intacte la Monarchie Danoise, sans la démembrer.

Nous établissons ce principe, dans l'intérêt général de la paix; mais nous ne prétendons point l'imposer à ceux qui seraient d'un avis différent du nôtre.

Chacun est libre d'adhérer à cette doctrine où de ne point y accéder.

* Ces ménagements ont dicté à la Cour de Copenhague les offres d'accommodement faites au Duc d'Augustenbourg. Il dépend de sa volonté de les accepter ou de les refuser. Les Cabinets, sans prétendre influencer son choix, ont dû se borner à reconnaître la générosité des offres de Sa Majesté Danoise.

† See No. 268.

Nous invitons les autres Etats à s'associer à notre manière de voir; mais nous leur réservons la pleine et libre faculté de ne pas le faire, s'ils ne le veulent point.

De leur côté, ils ne peuvent pas nous empêcher de déclarer ce qui nous paraît juste et nécessaire pour préserver l'Europe d'une contestation sérieuse, dont les conséquences retomberaient à notre charge, si notre prévoyance n'avisait pas aux moyens de prévenir, à temps, une semblable complication.

Heureusement, notre accord nous permet aujourd'hui d'écarter cette éventualité.

L'Autriche, la France, la Grande Bretagne, la Russie, et la Suède ont unanimement exprimé la même pensée politique par les Protocoles du 2 et du 23 Août, 1852.

La Prusse a retardé alors son assentiment. Mais elle l'a énoncé depuis dans une note formelle du 30 Septembre, 1851, que je cite dans mon Mémorandum, et qui doit se trouver dans vos archives. Par cette communication, la Cour de Berlin s'est placée sur la même ligne avec nous.

Je ne pense pas qu'elle ait changé d'avis.

Si tel était le cas, je serai le premier à le regretter; mais il nous importerait de nous rendre compte de ses intentions.

Car, nous ne pouvons pas rester indéfiniment dans l'incertitude. Nous sommes tenus de procéder à l'examen du Projet Danois. Ceux d'entre nous qui se trouvent autorisés à y adhérer doivent le dire. Ceux qui sont dépourvus d'instructions de leurs Gouvernements doivent en demander. Enfin ceux qui ont des objections à faire doivent les articuler.

Voilà, en peu de mots, le résumé de la situation. Elle est très claire et nette.

Quant à ce qui regarde les prétentions de la famille d'Augustenbourg, je me suis toujours prononcé en faveur d'une compensation équitable. Dans les choses de ce monde pour arriver à un arrangement à l'amiable, il ne faut rien exagérer ni d'un côté ni de l'autre.

La vérité est, que le mariage du chef de cette famille avec la Comtesse Danneskjold écarte ses enfants de toute éventualité de Succession Princière. Le même motif subsiste pour son frère le Prince Frédéric, ainsi que pour les descendants de son oncle défunt le Prince Emile. Le sort a voulu que les espérances dynastiques de toute cette branche fussent ainsi frappées de nullité, en droit public.

Mais, il n'en est pas moins vrai de dire qu'en équité un certain dédommagement revenait à cette Maison. Elle avait assurément donné à la Cour de Danemarc de sérieux motifs de mécontentement lors des derniers troubles dans les Duchés. C'est incontestable. Ces griefs ont rendu plus difficile un accommodement.

Pourtant, Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc a fini par faire des offres de compensation. Le Roi de Prusse, chargé de cette négociation, en a reconnu la générosité.

Il appartient sans nul doute au Duc d'Augustenbourg d'accepter ou de rejeter ces offres.

Cependant, quelle que soit sa détermination, il est nécessaire de dire qu'il ne saurait dépendre de lui de mettre obstacle à la solution d'une affaire d'intérêt général qui concerne l'équilibre Européen.

Ce serait pousser trop loin les choses. La raison d'Etat ne le voudrait point. Comme je vous l'ai dit, un "life interest" ne peut pas l'emporter dans la balance où se pèsent de si grands intérêts permanents.

En mettant de côté tout ce qui est exagéré, il faut s'en tenir à ce qui est équitable.

Si le Roi de Danemarc avait refusé toute offre d'accommodement, j'aurais été le premier à soutenir qu'il y aurait eu de sa part une rigueur regrettable. Mais l'offre une fois faite, et cela sous des conditions que le Roi de Prusse lui-même a jugé acceptables, je ne puis pas me prononcer en faveur d'une résistance qui ne me parait pas suffisament justifiée.

Je dirai même que si les Cabinets, en retardant la signature du Traité projeté, encourageaient cette résistances, du moins indirectement, ils risqueraient de porter aux intérêts du Duc d'Augustenbourg un préjudice réel. Car le Cour de Copenhague pourrait, avec quelque apparence de raison, trouver dans cette circonstance un motif assez plausible pour retracter ses offres antérieures. Si cela arrivait, comment indemniserait-on le Duc de ce qu'il aurait perdu par son refus? Les intérêts de sa famille en éprouveraient une grave atteinte, que rien ne saurait réparer.

Cette considération achève de me convaincre que nous ferions une chose vraiment utile en ne différant point la signature de notre Traité. Mais, en le signant, nous pourrions annoncer au Plénipotentiaire Danois que nous sommes dans l'attente que Sa Majesté le Roi veuille bien se maintenir dans les dispositions qu'il a énoncées à l'égard de la Maison d'Augustenbourg, et lui conserver la compensation prévue, quand même le hef de la famille aurait laissé expirer le terme fixé pour son acceptation.

Ce mode de transaction me semblerait digne de la bienveillance des Cabinets. Tout le reste ne profiterait à personne. Car les délais sont toujours mauvais. Ils finissent ordinairement par des mécomptes et par des regrets.

Si vous partagez ma manière de voir, et si vous jugez à propos d'accompagner la signature du Traité d'une communication adressée au Plénipotentiaire Danois dans le sens que je viens d'indiquer, je suis prêt à m'y associer; et j'ai la certitude que l'Empereur daignera approuver cette démarche, faite dans une si bonne intention. Veuillez la prendre en considération. Je vous la soumets d'autant plus volontiers que je sais que Sa Majesté la Reine a daigné prendre intérêt au sort de la Maison d'Augustenbourg. Je me sens donc doublement autorisé à vous proposer une démarche qui, je le crois, préserverait cette famille des conséquences ruineuses d'un refus sans espoir.

Pour épuiser cette matière, il me reste à vous dire un mot sur ce qui me revient de Berlin, quant à l'idée de faire intervenir la Confédération Germanique dans notre délibération présente. En y réfléchissant, j'ai lieu de croire qu'on n'insistera point sur cette combinaison. Je ne le regarde pas comme possible. En voici la raison. Dans une transaction d'intérêt Européen, l'Autriche et la Prusse ne peuvent pas réclamer la prérogative d'avoir chacune deux votes, tandis que les autres Puissances n'en auraient qu'un. En effet, l'Autriche et la Prusse voteraient une fois comme Puissances Européennes, et une seconde fois comme Cours Allemandes. Cela ne s'est jamais fait. Ce serait un antécédent que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, la Russie, et la France, ne pourraient pas admettre, en droit public. Pour ma part, mes pleins pouvoirs n'iraient pas jusque-là. Je crois que nous remplissons strictment toutes nos obligations en réservant, comme l'Article 3 le dit, les droits Fédéraux de l'Allemagne. L'Autriche n'en a pas exigé davantage lorsqu'elle a adhéré le 23 Août à notre Protocole de 1850. Si la Prusse en demandait plus, elle exigerait l'impossible. Elle est trop sage pour le faire.

Mille et mille amitiés,

(Signé) BRUNNOW.

No. 270.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 22.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, April* 17, 1852.

AFTER I had closed my last despatch I learned that Count Bismark's Report as to the advisability of referring the Danish Convention to the Diet at Frankfort had reached Copenhagen.

The Count is extremely averse to any such reference, for as it would be certain to provoke the opposition of all parts of Germany, save Prussia, Austria, and Holstein, it would inevitably be productive of delay, and might cause still more serious inconvenience.

As your Lordship, of course, learns all particulars from Frankfort, I need make no further remark, except that Count Bismark's view has given much satisfaction here, leading to the expectation that the King of Prussia will now, at last, abandon further opposition to the settlement of the Danish question.

Your Lordship will at once see the impossibility of Denmark consenting to the Succession question being submitted to the German Diet, as it would be a tacit admission on her part that Germany had a right to meddle in concerns almost exclusively Danish.

No. 271.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 23.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, April* 19, 1852.

THE Report of the Commissioners on the settlement of affairs in Schleswig-Holstein, exclusive of the question of succession to the Throne, has been laid before the Diet and approved by that Body.

There was, as I am informed, much dissension, and, as in the case of the votes on the Hessian Constitution, a decision was obtained with considerable difficulty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 272.

Draft Treaty for Regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.—(Communicated to the Earl of Malmesbury by M. de Bille, April 24.)

A L'INVITATION de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, considérant que le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, lié aux intérêts généraux de l'équilibre Européen, est d'une haute importance pour la conservation de la paix, que cette intégrité ne saurait être mieux assurée qu'au moyen d'une combinaison qui appelle à la succession dans la totalité des Etats actuellememt réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark la seule descendance mâle à l'exclusion des femmes, ont résolu de donner aux arrangements relatifs à cet ordre de succession un gage additionnel de stabilité par un acte de reconnaissance Européenne, et de conclure à cet effet un Traité.

En conséquence, les Hautes Parties Contractantes ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, savoir :

Lesquels, &c., ont arrêté et signé les Articles suivants :—

ARTICLE I.

Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark ayant, avec l'assentiment de Son Altesse Royale le Prince Héréditaire, et de ses plus proches Cognats appelés à la succession par la loi Royale de Danemark, ainsi que de concert avec le chef de la branche ainée de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et après avoir pris en sérieuse considération les intérêts de sa Monarchie, déclaré vouloir régler l'ordre de succession dans ses Etats de manière à ce qu'à défaut de descendance mâle en ligne directe du Roi Frédéric III de Danemark, sa Couronne soit transmise à Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg et à ses descendants issus de son mariage avec Son Altesse la Princesse Louise de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, née Princesse de Hesse, par ordre de primogéniture, de mâle en mâle, les Hautes Parties Contractantes, appréciant la sagesse des vues qui ont déterminé l'adoption éventuelle de cette combinaison, s'engagent d'un commun accord à reconnaître à Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg et à ses descendants mâles issus en ligne directe de son mariage avec la dite Princesse, le droit de succéder, si l'éventualité prévue venait à se réaliser, dans la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

ARTICLE II.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes, en reconnaissant comme permanent le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, s'engagent à prendre en considération les ouvertures ultérieures que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark jugerait à propos de leur adresser si (à ce que Dieu ne plaise) la descendance mâle de Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, issue de son mariage avec Son Altesse la Princesse Louise de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, née Princesse de Hesse, allait s'éteindre.

ARTICLE III.

Il est expressément entendu que les droits et les obligations réciproques de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, pour les Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg, et de la Confédération Germanique, établis par l'Acte Fédéral de 1815, et par le droit Fédéral existant, ne seront pas altérés par le présent Traité.

ARTICLE IV.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes se réservent de porter le présent Traité à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder.

ARTICLE V.

Le présent Traité sera ratifié, &c.

No. 273.

Draft of Protocol.—(Communicated to the Earl of Malmesbury by Baron Brunnow, April 24.)

EN apposant leur signature au Traité qui a fait l'objet de leur réunion en Conférence, les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche, de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, de Russie, et de Suède et Norvège, ont résolu de remettre à M. le Plénipotentiaire de Danemarc la communication annexée au présent Protocole.

Le Plénipotentiaire Danois s'est chargé de la placer sous les yeux de Sa Majesté le Roi son auguste Souverain.

Annex 1.

Draft of Communication to be addressed to the Plenipotentiary of Denmark.

LES Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Russie, de Suède et de Norvège, en signant le Traité conclu en ce jour avec M. le Plénipotentiaire de Danemarc, ont l'honneur de lui adresser la présente communication afin de constater, au nom de leurs Cabinets, la ferme assurance que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc, persistant à agir dans l'esprit de sage conciliation qui a dicté les offres déjà faites, d'après ses ordres, à son Altesse Monseigneur le Duc de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Augustenbourg, se plaira à en maintenir l'effet, quand même le terme originairement fixé pour l'acceptation de ces offres aurait expiré.

Si, d'une part, il n'appartient point aux Plénipotentiaires réunis en Conférence à Londres de préjuger les déterminations de son Altesse Monseigneur le Duc d'Augustenbourg quant à une question qui, par sa nature, devait rester étrangère à leurs délibérations, ils croient, de l'autre, se conformer aux intentions de leurs Cabinets en émettant l'espoir que ce Prince voudra bien prendre en sérieuse considération les motifs qui les ont engagés à laisser les voies ouvertes pour arriver à un résultat que les intérêts bien entendus de sa famille recommandent à sa sollicitude.

Animés de ce désir, les Soussignés ont l'honneur de prier M. le Plénipotentiaire de Danemarc de vouloir bien placer la présente communication sous les yeux de Sa Majesté le Roi, comme un juste témoignage de la confiance qu'inspire à leurs Cabinets la générosité de ses augustes intentions.

Annex 2.

Draft of Treaty.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norwège, considérant que le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, lié aux intérêts généraux de l'équilibre Européen, est d'une haute importance pour la conservation de la paix, et que cette intégrité ne saurait être mieux assurée qu'au moyen d'une combinaison qui appelle à la succession dans la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc, la seule descendance mâle, à l'exclusion des femmes, ont résolu, à l'invitation de Sa dite Majesté, de donner aux arrangements relatifs à cet ordre de succession un gage additionnel de stabilité par un acte de reconnaissance Européen et de conclure à cet effet un Traité.

En conséquence les Hautes Parties Contractantes ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, savoir :

Lesquels, &c., ont arrêté et signé les Articles suivants :—

ARTICLE I.

Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc ayant, de concert avec Son Altesse Royale le Prince Héréditaire, et le chef de la branche ainée de la maison de Holstein-Gottorp, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, ainsi qu'avec l'assentiment de ses plus proches cognats, appelés à la succession par la loi Royale de Danemark, et après avoir pris en sérieuse considération les intérêts de sa Monarchie, déclaré vouloir régler l'ordre de succession

dans ses Etats de manière à ce qu'à défaut de descendance mâle en ligne directe du Roi Frédéric III de Danemarc, sa Couronne soit transmise à Son Altesse le Prince Chrétien de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, et à ses descendants par ordre de primogénitière, de male en mâle, les Hautes Parties Contractantes, appréciant la sagesse des vues qui ont déterminé l'adoption éventuelle de cette combinaison, s'engagent d'un commun accord à reconnaître à Son Altesse le Prince Chrétien de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg et à ses descendants mâles, le droit de succéder, si l'éventualité prévue venait à se réaliser, dans la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

ARTICLE II.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes, en reconnaissant comme permanent le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, s'engagent à prendre en considération les ouvertures ultérieures que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc jugerait à propos de leur adresser, si (ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise) la descendance mâle de Son Altesse le Prince Chrétien de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg venait à s'éteindre.

ARTICLE III.

Il est expressément entendu que les droits et les obligations réciproques de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarc pour les Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg, et de la Confédération Germanique, établis par l'Acte Fédéral de 1815 et par le droit Fédéral existant, ne seront pas altérés par le présent Traité.

ARTICLE IV.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes se réservent de porter le présent Traité à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder.

ARTICLE V.

Le présent Traité sera ratifié, &c.

No. 274.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 26.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, April* 22, 1852.

I HAVE already communicated to your Lordship the intelligence respecting the Danish amnesties, with the exception of all the names of the excluded persons. Of these I named but two or three of the most prominent, not imagining that communicating the others could be of any importance. My own conviction of the mildness of the amnesties, as well as of the propriety of the exclusions, has had confirmation by a despatch from Count Bille-Brahe, the Danish Minister at Berlin, who states it has given great satisfaction there; no objection, on any ground, having been raised to it by either the King or the Government of Prussia.

It was not to be expected that Denmark, having to meet so many different interests and feelings, could have succeeded in satisfying all. No doubt the anti-Danish party in the Duchies would have preferred that the names therein excluded should have been marked for especial reward; but, on the other hand, the Government here has had to consider the feelings of two-thirds of the Danish population, who had so severely suffered from the late war; and my surprise is, not that it has been obliged so far to yield to the public voice, but that it has had the courage to limit the excluded to so few.

No. 275.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 26.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April* 22, 1852.

WITH reference to the wish expressed by the King of Denmark, that the German Diet should be admitted as a party to the proposed Convention respecting the Danish Succession, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Count Nesselrode has directed Baron Budberg, the Russian Minister at this Court, to discountenance any such question.

In the despatch written by the Russian Chancellor on this subject, the advantages enjoyed by the Confederation under its present organization and attributes are strongly set forth, and dwelt on as being of a nature most likely to insure the greatest benefit in the management of the internal affairs of Germany, but its powers to meddle in any European question is combated as a novelty, and as an unwarrantable pretension.

The despatch goes on to state in support of this opinion that some years ago two cases of Succession, one in Gotha and the other in Altenburg, had occurred, both difficult of solution; but that nevertheless both were arranged satisfactorily after much discussion amongst the parties interested, and then, and then only, was the case submitted to the Diet, which approved of and confirmed the decisions. It cites also a further instance in which an affair of Succession was settled without any communication with the Diet—the very recent case of the two Principalities of Hohenzollern, which were added to the Crown of Prussia without any question arising of consulting the Diet.

These opinions of the Imperial Cabinet have been made known to the King, and will probably have some weight. It is not, however, considered impossible that the final decision may be postponed until the Duke of Augustenburg shall have answered M. de Bismark's letter, or until the period shall have arrived within which his Highness must send in his reply; and I may add in support of this impression that Baron Manteuffel mentioned to me a few days ago that the Duke had lately paid a visit to the Prussian Minister at Frankfort, but had never in the course of a long conversation touched on the subject of the Danish offer.

I have just heard that a fresh cause of delay is expected, and that it has been thought necessary to communicate with Vienna before taking any further step.

This proceeding may occupy some little time, but it would appear to have nothing for its object but the establishment of a clear understanding between the two great German Courts on the subject; and, indeed, it must be in the interest of both that there should be no difference in the instructions to be sent to their Plenipotentiaries in London, in order to avoid any question arising hereafter when the whole affair shall be finally submitted to the Diet at Frankfort. I believe that I may state, according to information which I have obtained from a good source, that His Prussian Majesty is now disposed to desist from the plan which he entertained and which is alluded to in the first part of this despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 276.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 26.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April* 22, 1852.

TWO days ago the Russian Minister communicated to Baron Manteuffel the copy of a despatch which had been addressed to Baron Ungern-Sternberg at Copenhagen, setting forth the alterations which his Government desired to see introduced into the Convention proposed by the Danish Government in the question of the Succession.

They propose that a different wording shall be given to Article I; that the Protocol of Warsaw shall be taken as the basis of the arrangement; and that the assent of the Emperor of Russia, as well as that of the Cognates, should be stated in this document: and that it should be stipulated further that in the event of Prince Christian of Glücksburg marrying again, the issue of a future marriage should be included in the Succession.

As to Article II, the Russian Government suggest an entirely new wording, to the effect that in the event of the extinction of male issue, the co-signing Powers engage to take into consideration any invitation which the Cabinet of Copenhagen may in that case address to them, thus omitting the obligations under which the Powers would have placed themselves according to the original draft of the Article, to provide, by a future Convention, for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

I have just seen Baron Manteuffel, and in speaking of this Russian despatch, his Excellency said that he had submitted it to the King; that he had not yet received his Majesty's final orders, but that he himself had no objection to make to it.

I am informed that the French Minister at this Court expresses the readiness of his Government to adopt the draft of Convention now proposed, and that on their part there will be neither difficulty nor delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 277.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir E. Lyons.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 28, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, printed copies of a Convention for regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, which was initialled this day by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden. As soon as the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires shall have received his full powers, which are daily expected, this Convention will be signed in full, and it is to be hoped that by that time the Prussian Minister at this Court will have received instructions to sign the Treaty on the part of Prussia likewise.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 278.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 28, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, printed copies of a Treaty for regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, which was initialled this day by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden. As soon as the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires shall have received his full powers this Convention will be signed in full; and I have to instruct your Lordship, in the mean time, to use your utmost endeavours to induce the Prussian Government to instruct the Prussian Minister at this Court to sign it likewise on behalf of the Prussian Government, and you will not fail to send a categorical answer by the telegraph on Friday.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 279.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 28.)

(Extract.) *Berlin, April* 28, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a telegraphic despatch has reached the Prussian Government, announcing that the Duke of Augustenburg accepts the indemnity offered by the King of Denmark, on the conditions of His Highness ceding his estates to the Crown, and relinquishing all claims to the succession in Holstein.

I understand further that the Duke has expressed the wish that the furniture of the palace may be restored to him.

An answer to the communication which has been made to the Austrian Government from here is expected in a few days, and as the Danish Government has agreed to the modification proposed by the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, the difficulties in the way of a settlement seem to be disappearing.

No. 280.

Protocol of a Conference held at the Foreign Office, April 28, 1852.

LE Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique a ouvert la Conférence en soumettant aux Plénipotentiaires le Projet de Traité proposé par le Plénipotentiaire de Danemarc, et annexé au présent Protocole.

Après avoir annoncé l'adhésion donnée à ce projet par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, il a invité les Plénipotentiaires à faire connaître s'ils étaient prêts à y adhérer au nom de leurs Gouvernements.

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche, de France, de Russie, et de Suède et de Norvège, sont déclaré que la teneur du susdit Acte répondait entièrement aux vues et aux intentions de leurs Cabinets respectifs.

Le Chargé d'Affaires d'Autriche a fait observer toutefois, qu'il n'était pas encore muni des pleins-pouvoirs nécessaires pour signer, bien qu'il se crût autorisé à accepter et à parapher la rédaction proposée.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Prusse, dans l'absence d'instructions de son Gouvernement, a signalé la nécessité où il est de se mettre en mesure d'en recevoir.

Le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat, en constatant la haute importance que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique attache au concours de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse pour l'accomplissement d'une œuvre si désirable dans l'intérêt général de la paix, s'est empressé d'informer les Plénipotentiaires que des nouvelles arrivées à l'instant de Berlin lui donnaient l'espoir fondé de voir s'applanir les difficultés qui jusqu'ici avait retardé l'envoi des pouvoirs dont le Plénipotentiaire de Prusse regrettait l'absence. En même temps il a engagé ce dernier à ne pas laisser ignorer à sa Cour qu'un plus long retard placerait la Conférence dans l'obligation regrettable de procéder à la signature du Traité sans la participation du Plénipotentiaire Prussien; et afin de prévenir cette nécessité, il a proposé à la Conférence de surseoir jusqu'à la réception d'une réponse de Berlin.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Prusse, appréciant les motifs de cette détermination, s'est engagé à prendre sans le moindre délai les ordres de sa Cour.

Les Plénipotentiaires se sont empressés d'exprimer unanimement l'espoir que le Plénipotentiaire de Prusse serait prochainement mis en mesure de prendre part avec eux à une œuvre dont le but étant d'assurer le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, se trouve en parfaite harmonie avec les sentiments hautement manifestés par Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse.

Passant ensuite à la lecture du projet soumis à leur délibération, les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche, de Danemarc, de France, de la Grande Bretagné, de Russie, et de Suède et de Norvège, ont discuté la rédaction, Article par Article; et après s'être mis d'accord en tous points sur l'ensemble, ils en ont paraphé un des exemplaires déposé aux Actes de la Conférence, jusqu'à la signature formelle du Traité; et dans ce but les Plénipotentiaires ont fixé une réunion prochaine au Samedi 1er Mai.*

(Signé) KUBECK.
BILLE.
WALEWSKI.
MALMESBURY.
BUNSEN.
BRUNNOW.
REHAUSEN.

No. 280 A.

The Chevalier Bunsen to the Earl of Malmesbery.—(Received April 28.)

Prussian Legation, April 28, 1852.

CHEVALIER BUNSEN presents his compliments to the Earl of Malmesbury, and has the honour herewith to return the Protocol transmitted to him, to which he has affixed his name, in order to testify his presence, not having concurred in the act mentioned in the Protocol, of signing with the paraphé of his name, the project of Convention in question, which he has by telegraph announced to his Government in the mean time.

Chevalier Bunsen has the honour, &c.

No. 281.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir E. Lyons.†

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 29, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, a printed copy of a Protocol of a Conference held at this Office yesterday,‡ between the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, at which the draft of Convention regulating the Succession to the Crown of

* Altered to the 8th of May.
† A similar despatch was addressed to Lord Bloomfield. ‡ No. 280.

Denmark, was initialled by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden.

I also inclose a copy of a note from the Prussian Plenipotentiary,* stating the reason which induced him to sign the Protocol, though he declined to initial the Convention.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 282.

The Earl of Malmesbury to the Chevalier Bunsen.

Foreign Office, April 30, 1852.

THE Earl of Malmesbury presents his compliments to the Chevalier Bunsen, and has the honour to propose that, as the Chevalier Bunsen will not receive his full powers to sign the Danish Convention till Monday, the 3rd of May, a Conference should take place at the Foreign Office, on Wednesday the 5th of May, at half-past 4 o'clock, instead of to-morrow at 5, and that the Convention should then be signed.

No. 283.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Baron Brunnow.

My dear Baron Brunnow, *Foreign Office, April* 30, 1852.

I HAVE adopted the alterations in the Protocol, proposed in your note of yesterday's date, and I inclose a printed copy of the Protocol as altered.† I shall have the Protocol written out in proper form for the signature of the Plenipotentiaries at the Conference, which I propose to be held here on Wednesday next, for the purpose of signing the Danish Convention.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 284.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Baron Kubeck.‡

Foreign Office, April 30, 1852.

THE Earl of Malmesbury presents his compliments to Baron Kubeck, and has the honour to inform him that, as the Prussian Plenipotentiary has received instructions to sign the Danish Convention, but will not receive his full powers till Monday, the 3rd May, Lord Malmesbury proposes that a Conference should take place at the Foreign Office, on Wednesday, the 5th of May, at half-past 4 o'clock, instead of to-morrow at 5, and that the Convention should then be signed.

No. 285.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received April 30.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, April* 24, 1852.

AT the same interview with M. de Bluhme which formed the subject of my despatch his Excellency spoke on another matter, more important and pressing. The accounts received from the Duchies are far from satisfactory. It appears that about 20,000 disarmed soldiers, trained to the use of arms during the last war, are now scattered over the Duchies unemployed, and under the influence of a spirit of hostility to this country which might lead them to perpetrate any injury against it. They are, it is true, at present without arms; but arms could be

* No. 280 A. † No. 280.

‡ Similar notes were addressed to M. de Bille, Count Walewski, Baron Brunnow, and Baron Rehausen.

without difficulty obtained, and these men when thus armed might then, by a *coup de main*, get possession of Rendsburg, which is but feebly garrisoned. Besides this danger, accounts have been lately received from Glückstadt reporting a spirit of insubordination amongst the Holstein soldiers employed there, which causes considerable alarm here. Against this double danger the Danish Government fear they may be, ere long, compelled to take strenuous steps; but this is no easy matter, for it appears that, according to the Prussian Government's opinion, Denmark has no right to send Danish soldiers to Holstein—a principle against which M. de Bluhme protests and has from the very first protested: as, unless Danish regiments be sent, there is no security against a new outbreak. I represented to M. de Bluhme how advisable it was, especially at this time, to avoid coming into any new misunderstanding with Prussia; that if any such measure as that to which he alluded should be necessary, at all events it ought to be deferred until the London negotiations had terminated, until assurances had been given as to the integrity of the Danish dominions, and until the maintenance of the projected succession had been guaranteed. His Excellency assured me that such was his earnest wish, but that self-defence and the emergency of the moment must take precedence of all more distant considerations, however important, and that he much feared, from the aspect of affairs in the Duchies, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to delay taking the step to which he had alluded; that in such case he expected the support of the great Powers to maintain the cause of Denmark; and when, in spite of her most earnest wishes, she was forced into a course she was most unwilling to pursue, he looked especially for the support of England to enable her to maintain her liberty of action, and, indeed, her very existence.

There is no doubt that M. de Bluhme is seriously alarmed, and I feel fully persuaded there is no step so calculated to put an end to this and all other dangers which threaten this little country as a speedy settlement of the Danish Convention. With reference to this matter, I inclose a copy of a despatch yesterday received from His Danish Majesty's Minister at Berlin, which, at my request, M. de Bluhme has sent to me. Your Lordship will be glad to find it very satisfactory, and that the clouds which have hitherto beset the Danish Question are, at last, beginning to clear away.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PETER BROWNE.

Inclosure in No. 285.

Count Bille-Brahe to M. de Bluhme.

M. le Ministre, *Berlin, ce* 19 *Avril,* 1852.

LE courrier que l'Envoyé de Russie attendait est arrivé ce matin et lui a apporté copie de la dépêche de M. le Chancelier au Baron Ungern-Sternberg, en date du 22 Mars (vieux style). Les sentiments que le Cabinet Impérial exprime par rapport au projet de Convention à signer à Londres ne laissent rien à désirer quant au noble désintéressement dont ils font foi, et quant à la bienveillance pour l'auguste famille régnant en Danemark. En même temps cette dépêche contribuera puissamment à avancer l'œuvre de Londres, et levera sans doute aussi les difficultés que le Cabinet de Vienne trouvait à y autoriser le signature du Protocole final.

La même expédition contenait trois dépêches adressées en date du 1er de ce mois (vieux style) au Baron de Budberg, toutes trois dirigées contre la disposition du Cabinet de Berlin de faire participer la Diète Germanique à la Conférence de Londres.

M. le Comte de Nesselrode y fait observer que déjà par un Article Secret de la Paix de Berlin, Sa Majesté Prussienne s'était engagée à participer aux négociations pour fixer la Succession en Danemark, sans qu'il fût fait mention de participation de la Diète.

Que le Protocole de Varsovie, dans lequel l'affaire était traitée comme une telle de famille, n'autorisait pas cet appel à la Diète, et que l'invitation que le Cabinet de Copenhague venait d'adresser à ceux des Grandes Puissances et de Suède l'avait été d'après la teneur de ce Protocole.

Il y a ensuite coincidence dans la manière de juger l'affaire de M. le Chancelier avec celle du Baron de Bismarck, parcequ'il dit qu'un appel à la Diète, au lieu de la fortifier, l'affaiblirait en mettant au jour sa désunion, et en lui faisant refuser la

participation à la Conférence de Londres, ce qui ne manquerait guères d'arriver. Que la Diète est d'après sa nature un pouvoir conservateur, aux efforts duquel les Puissances ont applaudi quand ils tendaient à consolider l'état intérieur de l'Allemagne.

Ensuite est citée l'analogie de ce qui eut lieu à l'occasion de l'extinction d'une des branches de la ligne Saxonne Ernestine, où il y eut partage et même échange de territoire sous les auspices du Roi de Saxe seul, et encore récemment, à l'événement de l'incorporation des Principautés de Hohenzollern en Prusse, ce qui pour les deux cas seulement *a post facto* fut soumis et approuvé par la Diète, pour démontrer qu'un pareil arrangement de famille pourrait de la même manière aussi prendre place pour le Holstein.

Je ne saurais douter que les communications de ces pièces ne fasse beaucoup d'impression sur l'esprit du Roi de Prusse et n'influe les déterminations de Sa Majesté.

Au reste outre l'Envoyé d'Angleterre celui de France a reçu l'ordre de faire au Cabinet d'ici des représentations pour la déterminer à abandonner son idée par rapport à la Diète de Frankfort.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) H. DE BILLE-BRAHE.

No. 286.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Browne.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 1, 1852.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 24th ultimo, I have to state to you that on the arrival of the Chevalier Bunsen's full powers, which are expected in London on the 3rd instant, the Plenipotentiaries are prepared to sign the Convention for regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, on Wednesday next, the 5th of May.

Her Majesty's Government have received with some anxiety your account of the possibility of fresh outbreaks in the Duchies. At such a moment it would appear most important that no act on the part of the King of Denmark should endanger the peace of those territories, and that the time and manner adopted by His Majesty for his journey to the Duchies require the greatest deliberation.

It is not for Her Majesty's Government to interfere with His Danish Majesty's discretion on such subjects, but the motive of Her Majesty's Government cannot be misunderstood by His Majesty if they state their opinion that all His Majesty's relations, even of a private nature, with the Duchies, require at this moment the greatest prudence.

You will read this despatch to M. Bluhme.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 287.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 3.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, April* 29, 1852.

I HAVE this moment left M. de Bluhme, who informs me that he has just had the intelligence from Frankfort of the Duke of Augustenburg having agreed to the Danish ultimatum in all its particulars, retaining, however, his furniture, plate, race-horses, shooting apparatus, and hounds, as well as the net revenue from his property for the last four years.

The Danish Government had never intended to appropriate such property, consequently his requirements in this respect interpose no difficulty.

M. de Bluhme desires me to convey the expression of his most heartfelt thanks for the manner in which your Lordship has from the very first conducted this matter. He states that the removal of this difficulty, as well as of others with which they had to contend, is attributable in an "immense degree" to the friendly and effective way in which your Lordship has interfered to bring about that happy result.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PETER BROWNE.

No. 288.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 3.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April* 30, 1852.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the King of Prussia has been induced to assent to the proposed Treaty for the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, His Majesty still clings to the idea which he has all along entertained, that the mode of treating with the Diet should be at once taken into consideration, and he hopes that his allies may be induced to join with him in conveying this act to the knowledge of the Germanic Confederation.

I have the honour to inclose an extract which has been communicated to me, of that part of Chevalier Bunsen's instructions which relate to this point. It will prepare your Lordship for a communication on his part, and I may add that the Prussian Minister is not directed to give in any written document on the occasion of signing the Treaty, but simply to make a verbal declaration on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 288.

Baron Manteuffel to Chevalier Bunsen.

(Extrait.) *Berlin, le* 30 *Avril,* 1852.

SA Majesté tient à faire recommander aux Représentants des Puissances chargées de signer la Convention de soumettre à leurs Gouvernements l'idée de porter l'Acte qui aura été arrêté à Londres à la connaissance de la Diète Germanique pour lui fournir le moyen de la sanctionner de son côté, et de lui assurer par là à un plus haut degré encore le caractère d'une incontestable validité. D'ordre exprès du Roi je vous invite à vous prononcer confidentiellement envers vos collègues, et de faire valoir vis-à-vis d'eux les considérations que la sollicitude pour le Corps Germanique a suggérée à Sa Majesté.

No. 289.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 3.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April* 30, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a packet which has been sent to my care by Baron Manteuffel for Chevalier Bunsen, and which it is requested may be forwarded to that Minister without delay. It contains instructions to sign the Treaty initialled at the Foreign Office on the 28th instant, for regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 290.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 5.)

My Lord, *Berlin, May* 2, 1852.

THE Austrian Minister has informed me that, according to intelligence just received from Vienna, the full powers and instructions to enable Baron Kübeck to sign the Treaty respecting the Danish Succession cannot be ready till to-morrow, when they would be immediately forwarded to London.

Baron Prokesch stated to me at the same time, that his Government proposed directing Baron Kübeck to suggest that the following part of Article I of the projected Treaty, "et de ses plus proches cognats appelés à la Succession par la loi Royale de Danemark, ainsi que de concert avec Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, le chef de la Branche ainée de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp," should

be omitted; but that the Austrian Plenipotentiary will not be instructed to press the matter if he finds it meets with serious objection, and that he will not refuse to sign if the other Plenipotentiaries are indisposed to agree to the omission.

I understand that the Austrian and Prussian Governments have now decided on the terms in which they shall communicate to the German Diet the return of the mandate with which they have been entrusted for the settlement of the affairs of Holstein and Lauenburg, and that in consequence of M. de Bismark's absence at this moment from Frankfort the communication will be made by Count Thun alone.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 291.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 7.)

My Lord, *Berlin, May 3, 1852.*

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Prussian Government are disposed to agree to the omission of that part of Article I of the Treaty relating to the Succession to the Danish Crown as recommended by the Cabinet of Vienna, and that Chevalier Bunsen will consequently be authorized to accede to the Austrian proposal, provided the other Representatives agree to it. He is, however, specially ordered not to raise any difficulty, but to sign whatever his colleagues may settle on the matter.

Baron Manteuffel has just mentioned this to me, and added that he believes the Austrian proposition is approved of by Baron Meyendorff, the Russian Minister at Vienna.

I hear that this Government apprehend that considerable dissatisfaction will be expressed at the German Diet when the Treaty is known to that Body, and that several of the smaller States, foreseeing the unpopularity of the communication, will probably not pronounce any opinion on its being made to them: the Governments of these States, however, will be exposed to attacks in their different Chambers; they will find public opinion against them, and defend themselves by explaining that they had no participation whatever in the negotiations, and that it was forced on them by the two great German Powers. At the same time it may be observed that had the Treaty been communicated to the Diet, it would have led to endless negotiations, and been as difficult to terminate as that part of the Belgian question which related to Luxemburg.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 292.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 7.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, May 4, 1852.*

BARON DE BULOW called upon me yesterday, and informed me of his having learned from Berlin that in consequence of your Lordship's communication to Lord Bloomfield, the Prussian Government had sent instructions to M. de Bunsen to sign the Protocol of Conference in London relating to the Danish Succession.

Baron Bulow was of course much gratified at this favourable result being in prospect, and attributes it greatly to the goodwill and influence of the British Cabinet, for which he says the Danish Government is profoundly grateful.

Baron Bulow also informed me of the acceptance of the proposals of his Government by the Duke of Augustenburg, which, as it preceded the assembling of the London Conferences, was not too late to be qualified as a prudent and not undignified submission to the exigencies of His Highness' position.

The Duke has expressed a wish for a partial restitution of furniture and effects, which M. de Bulow says he has reason to think will be granted.

His Highness has taken a residence for himself and his family at Homburg.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 293.

Mr. Browne to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 8.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, May* 1, 1852.

ON the same day as my last despatch was written His Danish Majesty gave a large dinner-party, to which the Corps Diplomatique was invited. The King did me the honour to enter into conversation with me, and amongst other things expressed his gratitude, which he desired me to communicate to Her Majesty's Government for the way in which they had acted, in endeavouring to settle the Danish questions, which now promised a happy issue.

The Duke of Augustenburg having now agreed to accept the Danish ultimatum has given much satisfaction here. No doubt that this country is deeply indebted to your Lordship for any part you may have had in bringing about so fortunate a consummation.

No. 294.

*The Earl of Malmesbury to the Earl of Westmorland.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, May* 8, 1852.

I HAVE to inform you that the Treaty for regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, as annexed to the Protocol signed on the 28th ultimo, was this day signed by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

P.S.—I inclose a copy of the Protocol which was signed on this occasion.

No. 295.

Baron Brunnow to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 8.)

M. le Comte, *Londres, le* $\frac{26 \text{ Avril}}{8 \text{ Mai}}$, 1852.

CONFORMEMENT aux ordres de ma Cour, je me fais un devoir de communiquer à votre Excellence la note ci-annexée que je viens de remettre à M. le Ministre de Danemark, en signant conjointement avec lui le Traité de ce jour.

En vous invitant à vouloir bien en prendre acte, j'ai l'honneur, &c.,
(Signeé) BRUNNOW.

Inclosure in No. 295.

Baron Brunnow to M. de Bille.

Londres, le $\frac{26 \text{ Avril}}{8 \text{ Mai}}$, 1852.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies près Sa Majesté Britannique, ayant été autorisé à signer le Traité, conclu en ce jour, conjointement avec son Excellence M. le Chambellan de Bille, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a reçu l'ordre de lui remettre en même temps la présente note: à l'effet de rappeler et de renouveler les réserves exprimées dans le Protocole de Varsovie du $\frac{24 \text{ Mai}}{5 \text{ Juin}}$, 1851; lequel, après avoir été revêtu de la sanction de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies et de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a été porté à la connaissance des Cabinets signataires du présent Traité.

Le Section 3 du susdit Protocole est conçu en ces termes:—

"Voulant de son côté compléter les titres résultant de ces renonciations et amener ainsi une combinaison qui serait d'un si haut intérêt pour le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, comme Chef de la Branche ainée de Holstein-Gottorp, serait prêt à renoncer aux droits éventuels qui lui

* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Bloomfield and Sir E. Lyons.

appartiennent, en faveur de Monseigneur le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle. Toutefois il est entendu :

"Que les droits éventuels des deux branches cadettes de Holstein-Gottorp seraient expressément réservés ;

"Que ceux dont l'auguste Chef de la Branche ainée ferait l'abandon pour lui-même et pour sa descendance mâle en faveur du Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle, renaîtraient dans la Maison Impériale de Russie à l'époque où (ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise) la descendance mâle de ce Prince viendrait à s'éteindre ;

"Que puisque la renonciation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur aurait principalement pour but de faciliter une combinaison que réclament les premiers intérêts de la Monarchie, l'offre d'une pareille renonciation cesserait d'être obligatoire si la combinaison elle-même venait à manquer."

En renouvelant, d'ordre de la Cour, les réserves ci-dessus énoncées, le Soussigné saisit, &c.

No. 296.

*The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, May* 11, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, copy of a letter which I have received from Baron Brunnow,† communicating a note addressed by him to the Danish Minister at this Court on the occasion of the signature of the Treaty relative to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 297.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Baron Brunnow.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 14, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, inclosing a copy of a note which you had addressed on that day to the Plenipotentiary of the King of Denmark, renewing and recording the reserves touching the Succesi on to the Crown of Denmark made by the Emperor of Russia in the Protocol of Warsaw of the $\frac{24\text{th May}}{5\text{th June}}$, 1851.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 298.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received May 24.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, May* 18, 1852.

COUNT REVENTLOW-CRIMINIL, the son of the Minister, who has been appointed Secretary of Legation at Her Majesty's Court, by whom I send this despatch, is the bearer of the Danish ratification of the Treaty.

No. 299.

M. de Bille to Baron Brunnow.‡

Londres, le 24 *Mai,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark près Sa Majesté Britannique, s'est empressé de transmettre à son Gouvernement la note que son Excellence M. le Baron de Brunnow, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, lui a fait

* A similar despatch was addressed to Sir E. Lyons. † No. 295.
‡ Not officially communicated to the British Government.

l'honneur de lui adresser en date du $\frac{8 \text{ Mai}}{26 \text{ Avril}}$ de l'année courante, par ordre de sa Cour, à l'effet de rappeler et de renouveler les réserves exprimées dans le Protocole de Varsovie du $\frac{24 \text{ Mai}}{\text{Juin}}$, 1851, dont le § 3 est conçu en ces termes :—

"Voulant de son côté compléter les titres résultant de ces renonciations et amener ainsi une combinaison qui serait d'un si haut intérêt pour le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, comme chef de la branche ainée de Holstein-Gottorp, serait prêt à renoncer aux droits éventuels qui lui appartiennent, en faveur de Monseigneur le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle.

"Toutefois il est entendu :

"Que les droits éventuels des deux branches cadettes de Holstein-Gottorp seraient expressément réservés ;

"Que ceux dont l'auguste chef de la branche ainée ferait l'abandon pour lui-même et pour sa descendance mâle en faveur du Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle, renaîtraient dans la Maison Impériale de Russie à l'époque où (ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise) la descendance mâle de ce Prince viendrait à s'éteindre ;

"Que puisque la renonciation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur aurait principalement pour but de faciliter une combinaison que réclament les premiers intérêts de la monarchie l'offre d'une pareille renonciation cesserait d'être obligatoire, si la combinaison elle-même venait à manquer."

La note susmentionnée ayant en conséquence été déposée aux archives de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, le Soussigné a reçu l'ordre d'en prévenir son Excellence M. le Baron de Brunnow. Du reste il est chargé de déclarer, qu'il est également entendu de la part de son Gouvernement que les stipulations du Traité du 8 de ce mois ne peuvent ni ne doivent altérer en rien la nature des réserves en question, qui garderont ainsi, après la signature de ce Traité, la même force et valeur qu'elles avaient avant sa conclusion.

(Signé) BILLE.

No. 300.

Sir E. Lyons to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 2.)

My Lord, *Stockholm, May* 24, 1852.

IN doing myself the honour of reporting to your Lordship that the King of Sweden and Norway and His Majesty's Government hail with great satisfaction the Treaty which was signed in London on the 8th instant for regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, I beg leave at the same time to offer my best acknowledgments to your Lordship for the information that has enabled me to communicate freely on this anxious question with the Court to which I have the honour to be accredited.

Baron Stierneld mentioned to me yesterday that the ratification of the Treaty would be dispatched from hence on the 30th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDMUND LYONS.

No. 301.

*The Earl of Malmesbury to Baron Kubeck.**

Foreign Office, June 16, 1852.

LORD MALMESBURY presents his compliments to Baron Kubeck, and will be happy to have the honour of receiving him at the Foreign Office on Saturday next, at half-past 2 o'clock, to meet the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the Treaty of the 8th May, relative to the Danish Succession.

Lord Malmesbury requests that Baron Kubeck will have the goodness to send his Secretary to the Foreign Office at 1 o'clock on Saturday, to collate the respective ratifications, and to prepare the certificates of exchange, and that he will also send at the same time his seal.

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* Similar notes were addressed to M. de Bille, Count Walewski, Chevalier Bunsen, Baron Brunnow, and Baron Rehausen.

No. 302.

*The Earl of Malmesbury to the Earl of Westmorland.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, June* 19, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the ratifications of the Treaty of the 8th of May relative to the Danish Succession were this day exchanged by the Plenipotentiaries of all the Powers who signed that Treaty, with the exception of the Plenipotentiary of Russia, who, in consequence of the absence of the Emperor from St. Petersburgh, had not yet received the ratification of His Imperial Majesty.

I herewith transmit to you a copy of the Protocol of the Conference which was held at this office this day, on the occasion of the exchange of the ratifications.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Inclosure in No. 302.

Protocol of a Conference held at the Foreign Office, June 19, 1852.

Présens :

Les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche;
de Danemark;
de France;
de la Grande Bretagne;
de Prusse;
de Russie;
de Suède et de Norvège.

LE Plénipotentiaire de Russie a expliqué les motifs du retard qu'éprouve l'expédition des ratifications Impériales du Traité du 8 Mai, et a déclaré en même temps avoir reçu l'ordre d'annoncer à la Conférence la complète adhésion de Sa Majesté l'Empereur à toutes les stipulations du susdit Traité.

Prenant ensuite en considération le mode d'exécution de l'Article IV, les Plénipotentiaires ont été d'avis de réserver à la Cour de Danemark l'initiative mentionnée au dit Article.

Le Plénipotentiaire Danois, sans vouloir préjuger la décision de son Gouvernement, a prévenu qu'il était dans la nécessité de demander à cet égard des instructions spéciales.

(Signé) COLLOREDO.
BILLE.
A. WALEWSKI.
MALMESBURY.
BUNSEN.
BRUNNOW.
REHAUSEN.

No. 303.

M. de Séniavine to Baron Brunnow.—(Communicated to the Earl of Malmesbury by Baron Brunnow, June 26.)

M. le Baron, *St. Pétersbourg, le* $\frac{7}{19}$ *Juin*, 1852.

AU moment de signer l'Acte de Ratification du Traité conclu à Londres le $\frac{26 \text{ Avril}}{8 \text{ Mai}}$, l'Empereur m'a ordonné d'adresser à ses Représentants près les Gouvernements qui ne sont pas intervenus dans cette transaction, la circulaire que votre Excellence trouvera ci-jointe en copie. Elle invite les Représentants de l'Empereur à se joindre aux démarches que leurs collègues les Représentants des autres Parties Contractantes recevront l'ordre de faire en exécution de l'Article IV du Traité. En communiquant cette circulaire à votre Excellence je la prie de vouloir bien la porter à la connaissance du Ministère Britannique.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) S. SENIAVINE.

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* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord Bloomfield and Sir E. Lyons.

Inclosure in No. 303.

Circular Despatch addressed by M. de Séniavine to Russian Representatives at the Regal and Grand Ducal Courts of Europe.

St. Pétersbourg, le 7 Juin, 1852.

J'AI l'honneur de vous communiquer ci-près, par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, un Traité qui a été conclu à Londres le $\frac{26 \text{ Avril}}{8 \text{ Mai}}$, entre la Russie, l'Autriche, la France, la Grande Bretagne, la Prusse, et la Suède, d'une part, et le Danemark, de l'autre. Il a pour objet principal d'assurer le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité actuelle, et d'en consacrer le principe comme permanent pour le cas où la ligne mâle de la Maison actuellement régnante viendrait à s'éteindre. A cet effet, et conformément aux intentions exprimées par Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, les Puissances Contractantes se sont engagées à reconnaître, le cas échéant, à Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg et aux descendants mâles issues en ligne directe du mariage de ce Prince avec Son Altesse la Princesse Louise, née Princesse de Hesse, le droit de succéder dans la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur vient de ratifier ce Traité, et les Actes de Ratification vont être échangés à Londres.

Vous observerez, Monsieur, que par l'Article IV les Parties Contractantes se sont réservé de porter le Traité du 8 Mai à la connaissance des Hautes Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder. Comme il faudra que cette communication ait lieu aussitôt après l'échange des ratifications, je dois vous en prévenir dès à présent, Monsieur ; l'intention de notre auguste Maître étant que vous vous trouviez autorisé à vous joindre, au nom de la Cour Impériale, aux démarches que vos collègues d'Autriche, de Danemark, de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Suède, seront chargés de faire auprès de la Cour où vous êtes accrédité. Ces démarches, aux termes de l'Article IV, auront pour but de porter le Traité du 8 Mai à la connaissance de cette Cour et de l'inviter à y accéder.

No. 304.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received June 28.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, June* 21, 1852.

M. GARLIEB, who has been employed on several commercial negotiations, has left this place for Frankfort, to settle all the pecuniary claims of the Duke of Augustenburg.

In addition to the sum agreed on for the purchase of His Highness' estates, and the remuneration for his eventual rights of succession, he is authorized to pay 240,000 dollars (26,500*l.*) for arrears of rent, and produce of horses and other effects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 305.

Chevalier Bunsen to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received July 5.)

My Lord, *Prussian Legation House, June* 26, 1852.

HIS Serene Highness the Duke of Augustenburg has requested me, as Prussian Minister, to communicate to you that having come for a few weeks to this country, he is desirous of presenting his respects to Her Majesty.

As the Duke has, by the Agreement lately signed with the Crown of Denmark, dissolved the relations which connected him with the same, and is now simply to be considered as a German Prince, and as His Serene Highness has decided upon taking his abode in the Prussian dominions, I can have no hesitation to act in this case according to His Serene Highness' request, and have therefore the honour to request your Lordship to lay before Her Majesty his wish to obtain the honour of an audience.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BUNSEN.

No. 306.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received July 13.)

My Lord, *Berlin, July* 10, 1852.

THE unexpected visit of the Duke of Augustenburg to London, and the attentio shown to his Highness by Chevalier Bunsen, have been much commented on here, and understand that the Danish Minister has spoken to Baron Manteuffel on the subject.

The President of the Council alluded to it also in the course of a conversation whic I had with his Excellency this morning, and told me that he was very glad to learn by th telegraph that the Duke had left London and returned to Frankfort. He added that i was very bad taste in the Duke to leave Frankfort at the very moment when the Danis Plenipotentiary, M. Garlieb, whom he himself had requested might be sent to negotiat the arrangements connected with the cession of his rights, in the place of M. de Bülow was arriving, and that he feared there were good reasons for believing that his Highnes had made the journey, in the hope that he might succeed in persuading Her Majesty' Government to support a new scheme, which he has put forward, of transferring the sea of the negotiations respecting his affairs from Frankfort to London.

I replied to Baron Manteuffel that the Danish Government had latterly given s many proofs of their desire to act fairly in the question of the indemnity that I truste the Prussian Government would discountenance any project of the kind; and he gave m to understand that such was his intention, and that he most ardently desired the conclusio of this negotiation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 307.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 16, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, a copy of a despatc from Her Majesty's Minister at Berlin,* reporting the substance of a conversatio with Baron Manteuffel on the visit of the Duke of Augustenburg to this country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 308.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received July 20.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, July* 17, 1852.

THE Duke of Augustenburg called on me the day before yesterday, and informe me that a serious difficulty had arisen in the progress of the arrangement between th Danish Government and himself.

On his Highness' return from England, he found awaiting him here M. Garlieb, a agent of the Danish Government, empowered to treat directly with his Highness for final settlement.

M. Garlieb was not, however, authorized to admit the intervention or participatio of the Representative of the Prussian Government in the negotiation between the Duk and himself, as Agent for the Danish Government; and the Duke of Augustenburg regarding this as a departure from an established preliminary, has requested me t transmit to your Lordship the inclosed Memorandum (which came to hand last night explanatory of what has passed between himself and M. Garlieb, and of the grounds o which the settlement is suspended for the present.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

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* No. 306.

Inclosure in No. 308.

Memorandum by the Duke of Augustenburg.

LE Gouvernement Danois a, comme on le sait, prié le Roi de Prusse de se charger de l'intermédiaire entre le Duc d'Augustenbourg et lui, afin qu'il put, par l'aide de cet intermédiaire, conclure un arrangement avec le Duc. Après que le Roi de Prusse eût donné son assentiment à cette demande, qu'il eût offert son intermédiaire au Duc d'Augustenbourg, et que celui-ci l'eût accepté, il va sans dire que cet intermédiaire doit durer jusqu'à ce que toutes les négociations à l'égard de l'arrangement en question soient terminées et complètement conclues. Aucun des parties contractantes a donc le droit de refuser à lui seul l'intermédiaire du Roi de Prusse, ou de déclarer cet intermédiaire éteint, dans le moment actuel où les propositions Danoises faites au Duc d'Augustenbourg par le Roi de Prusse seront le sujet des négociations.

Seulement quand les deux contractants sont d'accord sur ce point-là, l'intermède peut se retirer des négociations, mais ceci ne pourra jamais avoir lieu sur le désir d'un seul des deux parties. Le Roi de Prusse a par son Envoyé près de la Confédération Germanique, M. de Bismark, négocié avec le Duc d'Augustenbourg à l'égard de l'arrangement en question, et lui a communiqué par cet Envoyé les propositions du Gouvernement Danois. Ces propositions contiennent des déterminations qui doivent être développées plus longuement, et seulement quand les négociations relatives à ceci seront conclues, et les documents signés, l'affaire pourra être regardée comme terminée. Jusqu'à ce qu'on soit arrivé à ce point-là, il va sans dire que la médiation entreprise par le Roi de Prusse ne saurait cesser.

Le Plénipotentiaire Danois, le Conseiller Garlieb, qui est envoyé de Copenhague à Francfort pour négocier avec le Duc sur la conclusion de l'arrangement, a déclaré qu'il est assigné par ses instructions à négocier seul avec le Duc. A la remarque qu'on lui a faite à cet égard, que ceci ne saurait exclure l'intermédiaire de l'Envoyé Prussien, M. Garlieb a répondu qu'il ne pouvait interpréter cette expression dans ses instructions que de manière à ne point oser négocier sous la médiation du Ministre de Prusse, regardant l'intermédiaire exercé jusqu'à present par le Roi de Prusse comme éteint.

Le Duc a répondu à ceci qu'il ne reconnaissait nullement au Gouvernement Danois le droit de se défaire de l'intermédiaire du Roi de Prusse, avant que toutes les négociations ne soient terminées; que lui, le Duc, regardait cette médiation comme un droit qui lui revenait; et que par conséquent il réclamait la participation de l'Envoyé de Prusse, M. de Bismark. Mais afin de ne point perdre de temps, le Duc s'est déclaré prêt à essayer provisoirement si, par des conférences provisoires avec M. Garlieb, sous la coopération privée de M. de Bismark, il pourrait s'entendre avec le premier, sans préjudicier son droit de réclamer la médiation du Roi de Prusse en cas de besoin. Il s'est réservée de pouvoir faire ceci quand bon lui semblerait. M. Garlieb a déclaré qu'il n'avait rien à observer contre la co-opération de M. de Bismark comme particulier.

Ce qui a conduit le Gouvernement Danois à ceci est difficile à deviner: dans tous les cas un tel procédé n'est pas de nature à inspirer de la confiance au Duc; au contraire celui-ci est par cela même provoquée à la plus grande précaution! Le Duc se trouve pendant les négociations avec le Gouvernement Danois dans une situation bien défavorable vis-à-vis de celui-ci; car indépendamment de ce qu'il se trouve comme particulier vis-à-vis d'un Gouvernement, ce qui est toujours au désavantage du premier, le Gouvernement Danois a toute la fortune sur laquelle on négocie en mains. Au surplus le Gouvernement Danois a, en ce qu'il a déclaré le Duc exclu de l'amnistie, placé celui-ci en dehors de la loi. Le Duc ne peut donc par conséquent faire valoir ses droits au dedans des frontières de la Monarchie Danoise, et si plus tard il s'éleverait des difficultés entre le Gouvernement Danois et le Duc à l'égard de l'arrangement qui sera présentement conclu, ou à l'égard de quelques uns des Articles qu'il contient, il ne resterait donc au Duc, comme exclu de l'amnistie, aucun moyen légal de faire valoir ses droits vis-à-vis du Gouvernement Danois.

Par cette raison il est d'autant plus essentiel au Duc que l'arrangement en question sera conclu sous l'intermédiaire du Roi de Prusse. Le Duc espère que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne reconnaîtra la vérité et l'exactitude des opinions du Duc énoncées plus haut, et qu'il exercera son influence sur le Gouvernement Danois pour effectuer que M. Garlieb reçoive des

instructions qui lui permettent de conclure les affaires du Duc d'Augustenbourg sous l'intermédiaire du Roi de Prusse, dans le cas que le Duc trouve ceci nécessaire.

No. 309.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received July 22.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, July* 19, 1852.

I HAVE much satisfaction in acquainting your Lordship, in reference to my despatch of the 17th instant, inclosing the memorandum which I forwarded to your Lordship at the request of the Duke of Augustenburg, that his Highness has subsequently seen fit to take into consideration the proposals of the Danish Government made to him by M. Garlieb, and that, as M. de Bülow has informed me, there is reason to expect that an arrangement may be made, satisfactory to both parties, without any further need of the intervention of the Prussian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 310.

The Earl of Malmesbury to the Duke of Augustenburg.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 22, 1852.

BEFORE your Serene Highness' departure from England, you inclosed to me a Memorandum on the arrangement pending between you and the Crown of Denmark, which concludes with a request that in the event of your Serene Highness' discussions with M. Garlieb not leading to a satisfactory result, Her Majesty's Government would induce the Danish Government to commission M. de Bille to negotiate and conclude the business in question with your Serene Higbness here in London.

I have already stated to your Serene Highness that I am of opinion that His Majesty the King of Denmark is bound in honour to fulfil the stipulations which he has made with your Serene Highness, and I have likewise expressed this opinion to M. de Bille; but after perusing the Memorandum sent me by your Serene Highness I am equally obliged to state that there appears to me at present no reasonable grounds for apprehending that His Majesty will prove unmindful of his word. I am confirmed in this view by the most frank and positive assurances from M. de Bille that his Court is prepared to act in this matter with perfect sincerity.

Under these circumstances, and considering the previous events which relate to this subject, I did not feel it my duty to recommend to Her Majesty the course proposed by your Serene Highness, as regards an eventual negotiation in London.

I have now received from Sir A. Malet a further Memorandum from your Serene Highness, stating the nature of the differences which have arisen between your Serene Highness and M. Garlieb. These differences do not in any way change the opinion which I have expressed as to the intention of the Danish Government to act in accordance with the engagements contracted by the King; but should they unfortunately assume a shape calculated to warrant an apprehension of a contrary conduct, I agree in the opinion laid down by your Serene Highness' last Memorandum. that the Government of Prussia would be the most fitting agent to mediate in the matter, and that it would be most proper to transfer the negotiation to Berlin.

It will be of course for the Governments of Prussia and Denmark to decide whether the original consent of Prussia to mediate between the King of Denmark and your Serene Highness imposes on the former the obligation of continuing that mediation after the acceptance by your Serene Highness of the terms proposed by the King; but in the mean time I shall not hesitate to express the opinion to both Governments that such a course would be expedient if any real necessity for friendly interference should actually arise.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 311.

Mr. Bligh to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received July 26.)

My Lord, *Hanover, July* 23, 1852.

WHEN I was lately on a visit to the Grand Duke of Oldenburg I found from the Russian Minister at Hamburgh, who is accredited to His Royal Highness, that he had been furnished with instructions to act in concert with his colleagues (the Representatives of the Powers who have lately concluded the Treaty for regulating the Succession to the Danish Monarchy) for the purpose of carrying out, as regards the Grand Duke, that provision of the Treaty which prescribes that the Powers who were parties to it should invite the other States of Europe to accede to it.

I of course told M. Struve that being without any instructions upon the subject I was unable to take any step in it; and finding that the Representatives of Austria and Prussia were similarly circumstanced, M. Struve confined himself to confidentially informing both the Grand Duke and his Minister of the official communication which he should have eventually to make, in order that he might unreservedly in conversation combat any objections which they might have to make to the invitation which would have to be addressed to them, and have time calmly to consider the reasoning by which he was able to engage them to accept it.

As the question is one relating to the family interests of the Grand Duke rather than to those of the Grand Duchy, as might be expected little objection was made by M. de Rössing to the Danish Succession as now arranged, but M. Struve did not find anything like a ready compliance with it on the part of the Grand Duke, although his impression is that, when formally put before him, he will not be so unreasonable as to withhold his assent.

The Grand Duke does not appear to object to the individual upon whom has fallen the lot of Succession to the Danish Monarchy in default of the direct line, or to regret in the least that he or his family should not have been chosen; but he complains that in a matter in which he and his have no very indirect interest his opinion should not have been even asked until it is to be regarded as *un fait accompli*—his wounded *amour propre* making him forget, I suppose, how many would have had an equal claim with himself to have been admitted to the negotiations.

Whilst he does not deny that his distant prospective rights are secured by the Protocol of Warsaw, which was the basis of the London Conferences upon this matter, he objects that what he calls the rights of the Duchies are not guaranteed—rights upon the interpretation of which straw-splitting lawyers are so much at variance, and which cannot have much weight in the balance where a question of general European importance is at stake.

As I conclude that I shall at some time or other be instructed to demand from the Governments to which I am accredited their adhesion to the Treaty above alluded to, I have thought it might be as well to prepare your Lordship for the possibility of objections being raised by one of them, and to apprize you of the nature of them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

No. 312.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received July 30.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, July* 24, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch covering the Queen's answer to the letter addressed to Her Majesty by the King of Denmark on the occasion of the signature of the late Treaty.

Owing to the King's absence from Copenhagen, I had not till yesterday an audience for the purpose of presenting it. His Majesty received it very graciously, and repeated the expressions of gratitude for the friendly part taken by Her Majesty, which had so eminently contributed to the settlement of the Succession.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 313.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received July 30.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, July* 27, 1852.

I HAVE to acknowledge and to thank your Lordship for the private letter you did me the honour to write to me, acquainting me with what had passed relating to the Duke of Augustenburg's affairs during the Duke's stay in England between his Highness and your Lordship, and instructing me as to the line of conduct I am to observe during the further progress of this affair, to which instructions I shall closely adhere.

Your Lordship will have observed that I have in no way officially interfered; but in listening to the Duke of Augustenburg's observations, and receiving from him the memorandum he wished me to transmit to your Lordship, I merely ventured to say that I thought his Highness had no reason whatever to doubt that the Danish Government would loyally and strictly adhere to the execution of the proposals to which his Highness had given his general adhesion, and that I thought he could himself have no other wish than to terminate the affair as soon as possible.

It is needless to detain your Lordship with a repetition of the Duke's conversation, as there can be no doubt he expressed himself without reserve to your Lordship.

The matter now stands thus;—On Friday, the 23rd instant, the Duke met M. Garlieb at the Prussian Minister's. M. de Bismark proposed that as a commencement of negotiation had been made, it should not be carried on in writing; some notes of the Duke's to M. Garlieb having been of a rather petulant character, and M. Garlieb, who is a gentleman of great calmness and discretion, having thought it inexpedient to reply to them: but that either the Duke should come for some days to Frankfort, or M. Garlieb go to Homburg. The latter proposal was adopted, and M. Garlieb went yesterday to Homburg, where he will discuss the whole matter with the Duke, and such points as cannot be arranged will be referred by M. Garlieb to Copenhagen.

The Duke received on Friday from the hands of M. Garlieb a copy of the proposals he was empowered to make, and I understand that the points on which his Highness desires modifications are—1st. In the terms of payment proposed by the Danish Government as being to be spread over thirteen years; 2nd. In the amount to be paid him as the revenue of the four years since sequestration of his estates, which his Highness thinks too small in amount.

The Duke also presses for an examination of the accounts of administration of his property during this period.

On this latter point, and probably on the second, the Danish Government are not likely to give way, but on the first some arrangement may most probably be come to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

P.S.—Since writing the above despatch I have been at Homburg, where I saw the Duke of Augustenburg. His Highness complained that M. Garlieb was not empowered to settle anything, but would have to refer wholly to Copenhagen.

His Highness, in thanking me for having forwarded to him your Lordship's communication, told me he should shortly be enabled to send me his reply.

A. M.

No. 314.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received August 3.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, July* 31, 1852.

BARON DE BULOW has just called upon me with the information that the negotiation between the Duke of Augustenburg and M. Garlieb has gone on in a very satisfactory manner.

M. Garlieb left this place yesterday, on his return to Copenhagen, and takes with him full notes of all the modifications required by the Duke, which, in his own opinion and in that of M. de Bülow, are not of such a nature as to prove serious obstacles to the desired final settlement.

I had the honour in my previous communications to acquaint your Lordship with the progress of this affair, and of M. Garlieb being at Homburg to carry on personal negotiations with the Duke. Before going there he had mentioned to M. de Bülow that he entertained faint hopes of any good result; but on his first interview with the Duke on Monday evening last he found a great alteration in his Highness' tone, and that his demands would be more moderate than he (M. Garlieb) could have expected.

M. de Bülow is of opinion that the letter his Highness was then in possession of from your Lordship had much contributed to this favourable change.

On the following day M. Garlieb had a fresh interview, and the same dispositions on the Duke's part continuing (which M. de Bülow is good enough to attribute in part to the conversation I had myself had with the Duke, as mentioned in the postscript of my despatch of the 27th instant), M. Garlieb was enabled to terminate the negotiation, and is now, as above stated, on his road to Copenhagen with the result, which Baron de Bülow hopes and expects will be accepted by his Government.

His Excellency said that he was persuaded much gratitude would be felt at Copenhagen for the interest taken in this affair by Her Majesty's Government, and for the efficient manner in which your Lordship has so far contributed to a favourable solution.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 315.

*The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 3, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Hanover,† reporting what passed between him and the Duke of Oldenburg on the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 316.

The Duke of Augustenburg to the Earl of Malmesbury.

My Lord, *Hombourg, le* 10 *Août*, 1852.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la bienveillante lettre de votre Excellence et je me permets de vous exprimer ma plus sincère reconnaissance. Il m'a été très agréable d'apprendre l'opinion de votre Excellence sur la question pendante, et cette opinion est tout-à-fait analogue à mes désirs. Je suis parfaitement persuadé que Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse n'a pas l'intention de retirer sa médiation qu'il m'a offerte, si je n'y renonce pas de mon propre gré, et j'ai déclaré expressément, autant au Plénipotentiaire Danois, M. Garlieb, qu'à l'Envoyé de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse près de la Confédération Germanique, M. de Bismarck, que je ne voeux ni ne puis faire ceci. Le premier a encore dans la dernière conversation que j'ai eue avec lui peu de jours avant son départ, cherché à me persuader à renoncer à la médiation Prussienne, mais j'ai refusé ceci de la manière la plus décidée.

Quoique c'est le Gouvernement Danois qui de toutes les manières cherche à se défaire de la médiation Prussienne, je viens d'apprendre de Berlin qu'on cherche là à répandre l'opinion que c'est moi qui ne désire point l'intermédiaire du Roi de Prusse. J'ai aussitôt pris les mesures nécessaires pour faire connaître la fausseté d'une telle assertion. Mais votre Excellence voudra bien voir par ceci quelles grandes difficultés j'ai à combattre. Pour que vous soyez au fait des négociations avec M. Garlieb, et que vous puissiez voir par elles combien je m'efforce d'amener les affaires à une prompte conclusion, j'ai remis à Sir Alexander Malet une copie de ma correspondance avec M. Garlieb, avec la prière de la faire parvenir à votre Excellence. Je présume qu'elle sera entre vos mains en peu de jours. Pour mettre votre Excellence entièrement au fait, je me permettrai d'ajouter ici encore les remarques suivantes. D'après la plénipotence que M. Garlieb me présenta, et dans laquelle il était dit qu'il était envoyé ici pour continuer les négociations

* A similar despatch was addressed to Sir H. Wynn. † No. 311.

avec moi, je devais naturellement croire qu'il était autorisé à négocier avec moi sur toutes les différentes questions relatives à l'arrangement à conclure. Je regardai comme une telle question et une question de conséquence pour moi, le payement des revenus de mes terres pendant leur administration, qui m'était assuré d'après la proposition que j'avais acceptée, comme aussi les revenus de la somme qui était résultée de la vente d'une partie de ma propriété mobile. D'après mon calcul les sommes devaient se montrer au double de la somme que le Gouvernement Danois se déclara prêt à me payer comme surplus, et qui consistait en 224,000 écus. Sur ma prière de me donner des éclaircissements plus précis à cet égard, M. Garlieb me donna d'abord une réponse évasive, et quand je lui eu dit dans une lettre plus détaillée que je réclamais mes droits à cet égard, mais me déclarais en même temps prêt à accepter chaque arrangement équitable, je reçus pour réponse qu'il devait refuser chaque négociation concernant cette question-là. Ma surprise fut grande en recevant cette réponse, mais je me sentis d'autant plus provoqué à lui demander sur quelles questions il était donc autorisé à négocier avec moi. Sur ceci je reçus la réponse (comme votre Excellence le verra par la correspondance) que d'après ses instructions M. Garlieb n'étaient nullement autorisé à négocier avec moi, mais seulement autorisé à recevoir l'expression de mes désirs et mes propositions. En même temps il me communiqua que d'autres affaires le rappellaient à Copenhague et qu'il était donc obligé de me prier de lui remettre mes désirs et mes propositions par écrit.

D'envoyer ici un Plénipotentiaire qui présente une plénipotence par laquelle il est autorisé à négocier avec moi, et de lui donner en même temps des instructions par lesquelles on lui défend ceci et l'autorise uniquement à recevoir mes propositions, est un procédé si étonnant que je veux m'abstenir de toute réflexion à cet égard. Il n'est pas moins étonnant que le Plénipotentiaire déclare subitement être forcé à partir pour d'autres affaires. Pour ne point appeler sur moi le reproche que j'avais occasionné le rétard de la conclusion, j'ai rempli le désir de M. Garlieb, et dans une lettre par laquelle finit la correspondance envoyée à votre Excellence, j'ai formulé mes désirs. Votre Excellence verra par là que pour terminer la question, j'ai accepté, à quelques modifications près, les propositions du Gouvernement Danois. J'ai renoncé à mes réclamations sur le payement du montant entier des revenus de mes terres, ainsi qu'à la restitution du prix entier de cette partie de ma propriété mobile qui a été vendu par ordre du Gouvernement Danois, en me déclarant satisfait par la somme que ce Gouvernement m'a offerte à cet égard. J'ai seulement demandé que le Gouvernement Danois paye les 52,000 écus de dettes que j'ai été obligé de faire pendant les dernières années, ce qui est d'autant plus équitable que d'après les propositions qui m'ont été faites par le Gouvernement Prussien, et que j'ai acceptées, le Gouvernement Danois s'est engagé à prendre en possession mes terres avec les dettes qui reposeraient sur elles, et comme pendant l'administration 30,000 écus des susdites dettes ont été payés par les revenus des terres. Le Gouvernement Danois m'a communiqué un inventaire des personnes pensionnées, dont il veut se charger de payer les pensions. J'ai fait la condition que tous ceux qui en 1848 recevait des pensions de moi soient mis sur cette liste, comme aussi ceux de mes employés qui par le Gouvernement Danois ont perdu leurs emplois. Les autres conditions que j'ai faites, comme de me remettre les capitaux qui m'appartiennent, et dont les obligations se trouvent à Augustenbourg, ont déjà été concédées d'avance par le Gouvernement Danois, qui a déclaré vouloir me remettre tout ce que je possédais excepté mes terres. A l'égard du payement de la somme d'achat, j'ai, pour ne point faire de difficultés, accepté les propositions du Gouvernement Danois, quoique celles-ci sont fort à mon désavantage, comme le Gouvernement Danois dans le cours de treize années ne veut payer qu'une partie de la somme par année. Mais j'ai fait la condition que les obligations partielles, que le Gouvernement Danois est prêt à donner pour toute la somme, se rapportent à moi et à chaque possesseur, pour que par là il me devienne possible de les vendre et de me mettre ainsi en une fois en possession de la somme entière. Ceci ne peut faire au Gouvernement Danois ni gène ni difficultés, et s'il a bonne volonté il ne pourra trouver aucune excuse raisonnable pour refuser cette demande.

J'espère que votre Excellence sera convaincu par ceci que j'ai fait tout ce qu'on a pu demander de moi, afin de mener toute l'affaire à une prompte conclusion. On verra maintenant si le Gouvernement Danois élevera de nouvelles difficultés, ou s'il est de bonne foi dans ses assurances.

Je l'ai cru de mon devoir de mettre votre Excellence au fait de la position actuelle de toute la question, et je sera bien reconnaissant si vous auriez la bonté de tacher d'effectuer que le Gouvernement Danois accepte mes modifications.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) C. AUGUSTE, *Duc de Holstein.*

No. 317.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received August 17.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, August* 13, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch inclosing one from Her Majesty's Minister at Hanover, on the subject of the accession of the European Powers, and particularly of that of the Duke of Oldenburg, to the Treaty signed in London on the 8th May.

As your Lordship is better informed than I can be of the debates at Frankfort on the communication by the Austrian and Prussian Governments of the result of the trust confided to them, it will not be necessary for me to refer to them further than to the circumstance of the Ernestine Saxon *curie* and that of the Free Towns being the only dissentients, and that the Duke of Oldenburg, standing alone in his *curie*, composed of four other Princes, His Royal Highness' opposition was confined to a protest.

It would appear from Mr. Bligh's despatch that His Royal Highness complains that his opinion is only to be asked on what may be considered as a *fait accompli*, forgetting all the overtures which were made to him, and that the Succession (without any right) would have been secured to his family, instead of that of Prince Christian, had he and the hereditary Prince refrained from unnecessary hostility, both in declared opinions and facts.

No decisive determination has yet been taken in Council as to the mode of obtaining the accession of the European Powers; but I have reason to believe that the applications for that purpose will be confined to the Sovereigns (including the Grand Dukes) enjoying a Royal title; and that a simple communication will be made to the others.

Your Lordship is aware that the indirect interest in the affair of Succession claimed by the Duke of Oldenburg can only be recognized here after the extinction of every member of the Imperial family, nor even, in fact, then, as by the Treaty of 1763 the junior branch of Gottorp (that to which the Duke belongs) received a territorial accession in compensation for renouncing any eventual rights.

No. 318.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received August 30.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 27, 1852.

BARON MANTEUFFEL read to me to-day part of a despatch which he had received from M. de Bismarck, the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort, giving an account of a conversation which that Minister had had with the Duke of Augustenburg, respecting the settlement of his claims on the Danish Government, from which it appears that his Highness thinks the amount offered by the King of Denmark is inadequate, and that the securities proposed are not of that nature which would enable him to dispose of them in the money market, if he wished to invest them in the purchase of land or of other property.

According to this despatch, M. de Bismarck has been requested by the Duke of Augustenburg to suggest that a word in his favour, pronounced by the English and Russian Ministers at Copenhagen, might be of great service to him at the present moment; and Baron Manteuffel has begged me to mention this to your Lordship, in the hope that you would perhaps instruct Sir Henry Wynn to assist in obtaining fair and reasonable terms for his Highness, who appears to have at last made up his mind as to the necessity of consenting to the cession of all belonging to him in Denmark.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 319.

Lord Stanley to Lord Bloomfield.

Dear Lord Bloomfield, *Foreign Office, August* 31, 1852.

AS Lord Malmesbury has left town and will not therefore be able to answer your despatch of the 27th instant by this day's messenger, I think it as well to put you in possession of the views of Government, with respect to the question of the Duke of Augustenburg's indemnity.

Lord Malmesbury considers that there can be no further question as to the amount of that indemnity. The sum was proposed to the Duke under the mediation of Prussia, and was accepted by him, and if the King of Denmark fulfils the offers made by him through Prussia, nothing more can be required of him. Lord Malmesbury does not think that the differences on minor points which have arisen between the Duke of Augustenburg and M. Garlieb, in the course of their discussion, constitute any breach of promise on the part of the King. Should, however, a state of things arise calculated to warrant an apprehension of a contrary course on the part of His Majesty, Lord Malmesbury thinks that Prussia as mediating Power, and not England, would be bound to interfere.

It has, indeed, of late been the constant endeavour of the Duke to draw England into the negotiation, which has as invariably been resisted by Lord Malmesbury, and I cannot consider the proposition now transmitted through you as anything beyond another attempt to involve us.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 320.

M. de Séniavine to Baron Brunnow.—(Communicated to the Earl of Malmesbury by Baron Brunnow, September 14.)

M. le Baron, *St. Pétersbourg, le* 20 *Août*, 1852.

VOTRE Excellence a bien voulu transmettre au Ministère Impérial le Protocole qui a été signé à Londres le $\frac{7}{19}$ Juin, à l'occasion de l'échange des ratifications du Traité du 8 Mai. Notre Ministre à Copenhague m'informe qu'après avoir délibéré sur la marche à adopter pour donner suite aux conclusions de la Conférence, le Cabinet Danois a chargé son Représentant à Londres de se concerter à ce sujet avec votre Excellence. Comme le Ministère Impérial a été de son côté dans le cas de s'expliquer sur cette affaire, je crois utile, M. le Baron, de ne pas vous laisser ignorer les éclaircissements que j'ai cru pouvoir fournir au Gouvernement Danois. J'ai l'honneur de vous communiquer à cet effet la dépêche ci-jointe en copie, que je viens d'adresser au Baron d'Ungern-Sternberg.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) S. SENIAVINE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 320.

M. de Séniavine to Baron d'Ungern-Sternberg.

St. Pétersbourg, le 18 *Août*, 1852.

LA dépêche de votre Excellence du $\frac{2}{14}$ Août rend compte d'une conversation qu'elle a eue avec M. le Premier Ministre au sujet du Protocole signé à Londres à l'occasion de l'échange des ratifications du Traité du 8 Mai. Il paraît que le contenu de ce Protocole a fait naître quelques doutes dans l'esprit du Cabinet de Copenhague, et qu'il tient à les éclaircir dans les voies confidentielles avant de se porter aux démarches dont l'initiative lui a été réservée. M. le Baron de Plessen m'en avait entretenu, il y a quelque temps déjà, et depuis que je suis en possession de la dépêche de votre Excellence il est venu, par ordre exprès de son Gouvernement, s'aboucher plus amplement avec moi sur les diverses questions auxquelles le Protocole a pu donner lieu. C'est ce qui m'engage, M. le Baron, à vous adresser la présente dépêche.

Je crois devoir observer avant tout que je ne saurais partager l'opinion qui vous a été exprimée par M. Bluhme, savoir, qu'en réservant au Danemark l'initiative des démarches à faire en exécution de l'Article IV du Traité, le Protocole a placé le Gouvernement Danois dans une position en quelque sorte désavantageuse, puisque la communication qu'il ferait aux autres Puissances pour les inviter à accéder au Traité aurait l'apparence d'une demande de sa part et non le caractère imposant d'une démarche collective ou simultanée des grandes Puissances Europeénnes. Par l'Article IV du Traité les Parties Contractantes se sont réservé de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances. Votre Excellence voudra bien

observer que cette clause est facultative. Il dépend des Parties Contractantes de la mettre à exécution ou de ne pas y donner suite. Mais en adoptant l'Article IV la Russie, l'Autriche, la France, la Grande Bretagne, la Prusse, et la Suède se sont implicitement engagées envers le Danemark à se joindre à ses démarches et à les appuyer s'il jugeait à propos de se prévaloir de la dite clause. De tout temps les Puissances ont reconnu à Sa Majesté de Roi de Danemark le droit de prendre l'initiative des questions que le Traité du 8 Mai vient de régler. Sa Majesté s'est prévalue de ce droit en invitant les autres Puissances à conclure le Traité de Londres sur la base proposée par elle-même. Ce droit d'initiative est encore formellement reconnu et constaté dans l'Article I pour les evéntualités futures; et il semble qu'en étant d'avis de réserver à la Cour de Danemark l'initiative de l'invitation mentionnée à l'Article IV les Plénipotentiaires ont entendu reconnaître une fois de plus que le Danemark est la partie principalement intéressée dans cette affaire, et seule en droit de décider les questions qui peuvent encore s'y rattacher. Loin de présenter une contradiction même apparente seulement avec l'Article IV, ou de placer le Gouvernement Danois dans une position moins avantageuse, le Protocole du $\frac{7}{19}$ Juin n'est au contraire à nos yeux qu'une conséquence naturelle de la marche que la négociation a suivie dès le commencement, c'est-à-dire, qu'il est conçu dans l'intérêt des droits, et j'oserais dire de la dignité, du Gouvernement de Danemark. Il n'enlève rien, ce nous semble, au caractère imposant des démarches qu'il s'agira de faire ; car si ce Gouvernement se décide à se prévaloir de l'initiative qui leur réserve le Protocole, il peut être sûr de l'appui le plus empressé des Représentants de Russie auprès des Gouvernements auxquels il jugera utile d'adresser sa communication ; et le Ministère Impérial croit pouvoir l'assurer d'avance que le concours le plus efficace des Représentants des autres Puissances Contractantes ne fera point défaut aux démarches des Représentants du Danemark.

Votre Excellence veut bien m'informer que le Cabinet de Copenhague se proposait d'adresser sur cette affaire une instruction à son Ministre à Londres, et que M. de Bille reçevrait l'ordre de se concerter avec le Baron de Brunnow sur un projet de communication à remettre à la Conférence. Il se peut donc qu'à l'heure qu'il est ce Cabinet soit déjà pleinement rassuré sur l'objet qui semble l'avoir préoccupé un moment. Car le Baron de Brunnow aura été plus qu'aucun autre à même et se sera empressé de fournir à son collègue de Danemark les éclaircissements que le Protocole a pu exiger. Si néanmoins j'ai cru ne pas pouvoir laisser la dépêche de votre Excellence sans réponse, c'est pour attester de mon côté la sollicitude du Cabinet Impérial à dissiper, autant qu'il dépend de lui, les doutes du Cabinet de Copenhague, et pour répondre ainsi à la confiance dont il vient de nous donner une nouvelle preuve.

J'ai passé en révue dans la notice ci-jointe les diverses questions auxquelles l'exécution de l'Article IV peut donner lieu. M. le Baron de Plessen a pris lecture de cette pièce, et rien ne s'oppose à ce que vous en donnez connaissance également au Premier Ministre. Elle n'exprime que l'opinion du Ministère Impérial, la solution définitive des questions à résoudre étant réservé au Cabinet de Copenhague, qui chargera peut-être son Ministre à Londres de se concerter à ce sujet avec ses collègues.

M. le Baron de Plessen a désiré entr'autres connaître l'opinion du Ministère Impérial sur la question de savoir quelles sont les Puissances dont l'accession au Traité sera requise. Sans vouloir préjuger la décision du Cabinet de Copenhague, nous pensons que comme il s'agit d'un acte de reconnaissance Européenne l'invitation d'y accéder ne pourrait être adressé convenablement qu'aux principaux Etats de l'Europe. Il va sans dire que la Turquie, dont M. de Plessen a fait mention en passant, ne serait pas de ce nombre. Le Gouvernement Danois semble avoir eu d'abord l'idée de limiter les invitations aux seules Cours Royales ou ayant les honneurs de la Royauté, en comprenant dans ce nombre Oldenbourg et la Hesse Electorale. La notice dont j'ai fait mention plus haut exprime l'entier assentiment du Ministère Impérial, surtout à ce qui concerne la Cour d'Oldenbourg.

Indépendamment des démarches à faire auprès des principales Cours Allemandes il sera sans aucun doute indispensable de porter le Traité du 8 Mai à la connaissance de la Diète Germanique. Nous ne nous prononcerons pas sur la question de savoir s'il faudra en même temps inviter la Confédération, comme Puissance Europeénne, à donner son accession au Traité. Si le Gouvernement Danois croyait devoir se porter à une semblable démarche, il ne négligera pas sans doute de s'assurer au préalable de la co-opération des deux Cours de Vienne

et de Berlin à l'effet d'écarter les difficultés que ses ouvertures pourraient rencontrer de la part de l'un ou de l'autre des Etats Allemands.

A la demande de M. le Ministre de Danemark, je lui ai remis la liste des Missions Impériales auxquelles ont été adressées les Circulaires du 7 Juin et du 26 Juillet. Ce sont, à l'exception de la Mission à Constantinople, toutes nos Missions en Europe accréditées auprès des Gouvernements avec lesquels nous avons dans ce moment des relations diplomatiques et qui ne sont pas Parties Contractantes du Traité du 8 Mai. Le Ministère Impérial leur a fait parvenir les Circulaires à toutes indistinctement, parceque sans vouloir préjuger les déterminations du Cabinet de Copenhague, il tenait à ce que chacune des Missions de l'Empereur fût éventuellement instruite de la marche qu'elle aurait à suivre le cas échéant.

Les explications que renferme la présente dépêche ont été avec plus ou moins d'étendue fournies à M. le Baron de Plessen, et je réserve à votre Excellence de les offrir de son côté à M. le Premier Ministre.

Recevez, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 320.

Memorandum.

L'ARTICLE IV du Traité de Londres porte ce qui suit :—

"Les Hautes Parties Contractantes se réservent de porter le présent Traité à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder."

Le Protocole de l'échange des ratifications porte entr'autres :—

"Prenant en considération le mode d'exécution de l'Article IV, les Plénipotentiaires ont été d'avis de réserver à la Cour de Danemark l'initiative de l'invitation mentionnée au dit Article."

Le Plénipotentiaire Danois, sans préjuger la décision de son Gouvernement, a prévenu Messieurs ses collègues "qu'il était dans la nécessité de demander à cet égard des instructions spéciales."

En adoptant la décision consignée au Protocole, la Conférence de Londres a voulu réserver au Cabinet de Copenhague de délibérer sur les diverses questions auxquelles l'exécution de l'Article IV pourra donner lieu, de s'entendre à ce sujet avec les Puissances co-signataires, et de convenir avec elles des démarches ultérieures à faire auprès des Gouvernements dont l'accession sera jugée nécessaire.

Les questions à résoudre paraissent être :—

1. Quel est le mode d'après lequel les autres Puissances seront invitées à accéder au Traité du 8 Mai ?
2. Dans quelle forme leur accession aura-t-elle lieu ?
3. Quelles seront les Puissances dont l'accession sera requise ? Et
4. A quelle époque auront lieu les démarches pour les inviter à accéder ?

Ad 1. Le Protocole de Londres ayant réservé au Cabinet de Copenhague l'initiative de l'invitation, il semble que le Cabinet pourrait préscrire à ses Représentants auprès des Gouvernements dont l'accession sera requise de s'acquitter auprès d'eux de la démarche exprimée à l'Article IV. Les Représentants, avant de se porter à cette démarche, en préviendraient leurs collègues les Représentants des autres Puissances Contractantes, et ceux-ci s'empresseraient de s'associer à la démarche Danoise, pour l'appuyer au nom de leurs Gouvernements respectifs par des notes formelles.

Ad 2. Quant à la forme de l'accession. Les Traités pour la repression de la Traite des Nègres ou pour la protection de la propriété littéraire fournissent des exemples qu'il sera utile de suivre dans le cas présent. Comme le Traité du 8 Mai a été conclu par le Danemark avec la Russie, l'Autriche, &c., il semble que chacune des Puissances accédantes ne délivrera qu'un seul Acte d'Accession, destiné à être déposé aux archives de Copenhague, et que la Cour de Copenhague délivrera de son côté des Actes d'Acceptation.

Pour simplifier la marche de cette affaire, il sera peut-être jugé utile à Copenhague d'inviter les Gouvernements qui accéderont à transmettre leurs Actes d'Accession à Londres, ou ils seraient échangés en présence des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Contractantes, contre les Actes d'Acceptation Danois.

Ad 3. Quelles sont les Puissances dont l'accession sera requise ?

Il est entendu d'abord, ainsi que le Gouvernement Danois paraît en être convenu lui-même (voir la dépêche du Baron d'Ungern-Sternberg du $\frac{2}{14}$ Août), qu'il ne s'agit ici

que des Puissances Européennes. Pour ce qui concerne la question de savoir quelles sont les Puissances Européennes auxquelles s'adressera l'invitation, il semble que la solution dépend de la Cour de Danemark, comme la plus directement intéressée. Si elle jugeait à propos de limiter les démarches à faire aux seules Cours Royales en y ajoutant la Maison Grand-Ducale d'Oldenbourg et la Maison Electorale de Hesse, il n'y aurait peut-être aucune objection. Le Cabinet Impérial applaudirait même vivement à l'idée d'adresser l'invitation dont il s'agit à Monseigneur le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg. Mais il resterait à observer qu'à Madrid, à Turin, et à Bruxelles, comme en Suisse, le Représentant du Danemark ne rencontrera pas l'appui d'un Représentant Russe.

Quant à la question de savoir si la Confédération Germanique, comme Puissance, sera invitée à accéder au Traité du 8 Mai, il semble que le Cabinet de Copenhague fera bien de s'entendre à ce sujet avec les Cours d'Autriche et de Prusse, et si elles opinent pour l'affirmative, de s'assurer de leurs concours, à l'effet d'obtenir l'accession de la Confédération.

Ad 4. Pour ce qui regarde l'époque, il semble qu'il est dans l'intérêt du Danemark de ne pas trop retarder les démarches qu'il se propose de faire.

No. 321.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received September 14.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, September* 9, 1852.

THE demolition of the works of the fortress of Rendsburg on both sides of the Eider will be commenced next week.

Although the King in this respect, as well as in the dislocation of the troops, is only exercising an undoubted right, it could hardly have been expected last year that two such measures, which were then so strongly opposed by the hostile party in Germany, should now have been adopted without any remark except those in the newspapers. The fortress, whilst it affords a strong base of attack against Schleswig, is not equally so for defence, which is found in a superior degree in the lines of the Dannevirke and Bau. The demolition is therefore as politic as the dislocation of the troops. The only point now remaining, subject to discussion, is the command of the troops belonging to the Confederation being given in German, which if considered necessary for the complete unity of the army, but in which the King has not, as in the other points, the vantage-ground of following the example of the other Sovereigns who have States independent of the Confederation, and whose language (with the exception of the King of Holland) is German.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 322.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received September 17.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, September* 13, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which has been addressed by M. de Bluhme to M. de Bille on the subject of the accession of the different Powers of Europe to the Treaty of the 8th May.

Your Lordship will observe that the Danish Minister is very anxious that an application from Her Majesty's and the other Governments co-signators of the Treaty should take place as nearly as possible at the same time as that which proceeds from hence.

Some difficulty seems to be foreseen as to the form to be adopted to the German Confederation, whether it is to be an application for accession, or a simple notification.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 322.

M. de Bluhme to M. de Bille.

Monsieur, *Copenhague, ce 9 Septembre*, 1852.

JE vous prie d'agréer mes remerciments les plus empressés du rapport que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser. Je n'ai pas tardé à mettre cette pièce interéssante sous les yeux du Roi, et Sa Majesté, en adoptant toutes les vues qu'elle renferme, vient de me charger de procéder immédiatement à donner suite à la stipulation contenue dans l'Article IV du Traité du 8 Mai dernier; stipulation à l'égard de laquelle l'initiative a été réservée à Sa Majesté par le Protocole du 19 Juin dernier.

Je me permettrai de vous préciser le détail des démarches que je me propose de faire en conformité de cet ordre.

Vous trouverez ci-près, Monsieur, une liste contenant l'indication des Souverains que le Gouvernement du Roi invitera à accéder au Traité du 8 Mai en conformité de l'Article IV de cet Acte. Cette invitation sera adressée aux Cours près lesquelles le Roi est diplomatiquement représenté, par l'organe des Agents respectifs de Sa Majesté ; aux Cours près lesquelles il ne se trouve pas d'Agent Diplomatique, directement par moi, en ma qualité de Ministre des Affaires Etrangères. Le Gouvernement du Roi est, comme vous, de l'avis que l'Acte d'Accession pourra le plus convenablement s'accomplir moyennant une déclaration Ministérielle. Les Actes d'Acceptation qui suivront les Accessions respectives seront également rédigés en forme de déclarations Ministérielles faites au nom du Roi.

Je n'ai pas besoin de signaler à votre attention combien il serait désirable au Roi, et utile pour parvenir promptement au but, que les Puissances co-signataires du Traité du 8 Mai dernier se décidassent à suivre exactement la même voie que je viens de tracer. Dans mes dépêches antérieures je me suis appliqué à faire ressortir comme un point essentiel que l'invitation à accéder n'émane pas du Danemark seul, mais qu'elle soit accompagnée, ou du moins suivie du près, d'invitations analogues et conformes de la part des autres Hautes Parties Contractantes. La forme d'une démarche collective au nom de la Conférence de Londres n'ayant pas trouvé l'approbation unanime de toutes les Puissances signataires, celle que je viens d'indiquer ici me paraît la plus simple et sous plusieurs rapports préferable à une invitation faite par le Gouvernement Danois seul, bien qu'au nom des autres Parties Contractantes et appuyée par elles. Nous croyons donc pouvoir nous livrer à l'espoir que le Gouvernement Britannique n'hésitera pas à adopter la ligne de conduite proposée, et voudra bien, si cela est encore nécessaire, charger les Répresentants respectifs de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne de se joindre aux démarches qui seront faites au nom du Roi notre auguste Souverain, auprès des Gouvernements où ils sont accrédités, en adressant nommément à ces Gouvernements des notes d'invitation aussi analogues que possible aux nôtres. Vous êtes expressément appelé à vous rendre l'interprète de ce vœu auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, et vous voudrez bien en même temps exprimer le désir d'être informé de l'époque où les Représentants de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne pourront être munis de ces instructions ultérieures définitives, afin que vous puissiez me mettre à même de juger de l'époque la plus opportune pour faire partir d'ici les notes d'invitation Danoises, dont la remise ne devrait pas précéder de trop longtemps celle des ouvertures semblables des autres Parties Contractantes.

Il me reste à vous parler de la ligne de conduite qui sera observée plus spécialement vis-à-vis de la Confédération Germanique. La Confédération ne se trouve pas parmi les Etats énumérés sur la liste ci-jointe, parcequ'il y a lieu de croire dès à présent que les Puissances Contractantes seront moins unanimement d'accord à l'égard de l'invitation de ce Corps Politique. D'après ce que vous me mandez, il paraît ainsi certain que le Gouvernement Britannique, qui regarde une simple notification comme suffisante, ne se décidera pas à adresser une demande d'accession à la Confédération Germanique. Mais cependant, et bien que la Grande Bretagne ne soit pas peut-être la seule des Puissances signataires du Traité qui envisage la question de cette manière, le Roi notre auguste Souverain, par déférence pour les deux Grandes Puissances Allemandes, ne se refuse nullement à adresser une invitation formelle à la Confédération si ces deux Puissances sont d'accord pour désirer une telle démarche.

Par conséquent vous êtes chargé de déclarer à ce sujet au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, que le Ministre du Roi à Frankfort a reçu l'ordre de se

concerter en cas supposé avec ses collègues d'Autriche et de Prusse sur la forme qui, suivant l'usage établi et les antécédents de la Diète, pourrait le plus convenablement et le plus utilement être adoptée vis-à-vis de la dite Assemblée. Le résultat de ces délibérations sera immédiatement porté à la connaissance du Cabinet de St. James, afin que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique puisse juger s'il lui est possible de se rendre à nos désirs, en se prêtant également, par rapport la Confédération Germanique, à des démarches simultanées et conformes aux nôtres. Il est évident que nous ne saurions que de cette manière éviter le double danger de discussions désagréables au sein de la Diète, conduisant peut-être même à la non-accession de la Confédération, et d'une fausse interprétation de notre démarche éventuelle, comme si elle eût eu pour but d'obtenir une sanction de la part de la Diète. Je vous engage donc, Monsieur, à n'épargner dès à présent aucun effort pour faire agréer nos vues au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, qui en effet rendrait le plus grand service au Roi en s'associant de la manière la plus efficace aux démarches concertées éventuellement entre le Danemark et les deux Grandes Puissances Allemandes pour obtenir l'accession de la Confédération Germanique. Je ne doute pas que M. de Brunnow secondera volontiers vos efforts, Monsieur, et vous voudrez bien en tenant ce diplomate distingué au courant de toutes vos démarches, lui exprimer d'avance notre vive reconnaissance des services qu'il ne cesse de nous rendre par ses conseils et par son constant appui. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que les instructions dont le Ministre du Roi à Frankfort se trouvera muni sous peu, partent de la supposition que l'Autriche et la Prusse sont d'accord entre elles pour demander que la Confédération soit invitée à accéder, et qu'elles donnent l'assurance positive—se portent en quelque sorte garants—d'obtenir par leurs efforts un résultat satisfaisant.

En portant cette dépêche à la connaissance du Cabinet de Sa Majesté Britannique, vous voudrez bien, Monsieur, appuyer avant tout sur le désir du Roi de voir bientôt l'affaire dont il s'agit terminée d'une manière conforme au but que les Puissances respectives se sont posé par le Traité du 8 Mai dernier.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) BLUHME.

Inclosure 2 in No. 322.

List of the Sovereigns to whom the Government of His Majesty the King of Denmark proposes to address Invitations to accede to the Treaty of May 8, 1852.

Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière.
„ le Roi des Belges.
„ le Roi des Deux Siciles.
„ la Reine d'Espagne.
„ le Roi de Grèce.
„ le Roi de Hanovre.
„ le Roi des Pays-Bas.
„ la Reine du Portugal.
„ le Roi de Sardaigne.
„ le Roi de Saxe.
„ le Roi de Wurtemberg
Son Altesse Royale l'Electeur de Hesse.
„ le Grand Duc de Bade.
„ le Grand Duc de Hesse-Darmstadt.
„ le Grand Duc de Mecklenbourg-Schwerin.
„ le Grand Duc de Mecklenbourg-Strelitz.
„ le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg.
„ le Grand Duc de Saxe-Weimar.
Son Altesse Impériale et Royale le Grand Duc de Toscane.

No. 323.

M. de Bille to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received September 21.)

Légation de Danemark, ce 20 Septembre, 1852.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark près Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, a l'honneur de prévenir son Excellence M. le Comte de Malmesbury, Principal Secrétaire l'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique, de l'intention de son Gouvernement de donner suite à la stipulation contenue dans l'Article IV du Traité du 8 Mai dernier, stipulation à l'égard de laquelle l'initiative a été réservé à Sa Majesté Danoise par le Protocole de la Conférence de Londres du 19 Juin dernier.

L'extrait d'une dépêche du 9 du courant, que le Soussigné prend la liberté de joindre sous ce pli, indique la marche que le Gouvernement Danois se propose de suivre à cette occasion, et qu'il désire également suivie par les autres Hautes Parties Contractantes.

Le Soussigné ose prier son Excellence M. le Comte de Malmesbury de bien vouloir l'informer de l'époque à laquelle les Agents respectifs de l'Angleterre se trouveront en possession des instructions nécessaires pour procéder au nom de Sa Majesté Britannique, à peu près simultanément avec les Agents de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, aux invitations d'accessions au Traité du 8 Mai.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) BILLE.

Inclosure in No. 323.

M. de Bluhme to M. de Bille, September 9, 1852.

[See Inclosure 1 in No. 322.]

No. 324.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received September 27.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September* 24, 1852.

M. DE BIELKE, the Danish Minister at this Court, has communicated to Baron Manteuffel a despatch and inclosures which he has received from his Government upon the subject of the execution of the IVth Article of the Treaty of May, which regulated the Succession in Denmark, and requested his Excellency to consider the best mode of carrying out the stipulations of this Treaty.

I inquired this morning, in the course of conversation with Baron Manteuffel, what he had done in consequence of this communication, and was informed by his Excellency that no decision had yet been taken in the matter by the Prussian Government, but that they had forwarded the papers to Chevalier Bunsen, with directions to communicate on the subject with your Lordship and Baron Brunnow, and report the result of his interviews; and that after the receipt of these Reports they would be prepared to take the Danish proposition into consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 325.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 3.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, September* 27, 1852.

WHEN I last saw M. de Bluhme he complained of the unnecessary delays on the part of the Duke of Augustenburg in the final settlement of his affairs, which are the more extraordinary as the distant chance of anything turning up in his favour cannot be counterbalanced by the non-payment of money, of which his Highness is so much in want to satisfy those who have claims on him.

The chief obstacle now is the cessation of the *fidéicommis*, which the King has promised to sanction, but which, it is maintained, must be applied for in the usual form,

whilst the Prince expects that the King should take the initiative, and thereby incur the responsibility of future demands from the Agnats, which ought, naturally, to be settled by the Prince.

This Government declines any participation in the arrangements which his Highness declares it is his intention to make on the purchase of an estate out of the Danish dominions.

M. de Bluhme expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the line taken by the Prussian Government, declining any official interference in what is considered private arrangements, and confining themselves to good offices.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 326.

*The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 5, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, copies of despatches from M. de Séniavine to Baron Brunnow,† on the question of the accession of the several Powers of Europe to the Treaty of the 8th of May, regulating the Danish Succession. I likewise inclose a copy of a note from M. de Bille on the same subject.‡

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 327.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 5, 1852.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 13th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a despatch addressed by M. de Bluhme to M. de Bille on the subject of the accession of the several Powers of Europe to the Treaty of the 8th of May last, regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, I have to inform you that on my return to London about the middle of the present month, I shall be ready to enter into communication with M. de Bille and the other Plenipotentiaries on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 328.

The Earl of Malmesbury to M. de Bille.

Foreign Office, October 5, 1852.

THE Earl of Malmesbury presents his compliments to M. de Bille, and with reference to his note of the 20th ultimo, on the subject of the accession of the several Powers to the Treaty of the 8th of May, regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, has the honour to state to M. de Bille that, on his return to London, Lord Malmesbury will have the honour to receive M. de Bille and his colleagues on this subject.

No. 329.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 11.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, October* 6, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the speech with which M. de Bluhme in the King's name, opened the session of the Diet.

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* Similar despatches were addressed to Sir E. Lyons and Sir H. Wynn.
† No. 320 ‡ No. 323.

Inclosure in No. 329.

Speech delivered by M. de Bluhme on opening the Diet.

Danois!

RECEVEZ le salut de votre Roi!

C'est la première fois après des années de fortes épreuves qu'en possession incontestée de notre autorité légitime dans toutes les parties de la Monarchie, le Tout Puissant nous a accordé la faveur de vous adresser la parole à l'ouverture de la Diète. Après l'aide de Dieu nous devons cette faveur à la fidélité et à la constance de notre peuple Danois, à la concorde et à la confiance réciproque du Roi et du peuple.

Le maintien de cet état de paix et de l'égalité, son affermissement contre et dans les orages que l'avenir pourrait réceler dans son sein, tel est l'objet de nos plus graves efforts, pour lesquels nous nous attendons à votre concours et à votre aide.

Quant à l'indivisibilité de la Monarchie, et à sa base, l'unité de la Succession, laquelle nous avons le dessein d'établir au moyen d'une modification de la Succession existante, pour le cas où la descendance mâle actuellement régnante viendrait à s'éteindre—modification sur laquelle nous cherchons à nous entendre avec vous par la voie constitutionnelle—nous avons réussi à en obtenir la sanction par un Traité avec les grandes Puissances de l'Europe, et avec le Roi de Suède et de Norwège. Les deux Chambres collectives reçevront notre Message Royal sur cet objet.

Les relations compliquées existant depuis longtemps vis-à-vis de la Confédération Germanique ont été réglées d'une manière que nous avons trouvée satisfaisante.

En ce qui concerne les résolutions que nous avons fait connaître dans notre Manifeste du 28 Janvier dernier nous avons cherché, en tant que possible, à les mettre en exécution par la voie administrative. Nous avons également l'intention en suivant la voie constitutionnelle de concentrer nos efforts pour l'arrangement définitif de l'union intérieure de la Monarchie, tel qu'il a été désigné dans le dit Manifeste.

L'état des finances est rassurant. Par suite du rétablissement de notre autorité Royale dans tous les pays soumis à notre sceptre, il sera possible de les faire tous partager, en proportions égales, aux revenus et aux dépenses communs de l'Etat, et en ce qui concerne les subventions aux besoins de l'Etat collectifs pour la Monarchie entière, nous pourrons, à partir de l'année prochaine, restreindre les contributions du Royaume à celles qui équitablement devront être à sa charge.

Un projet touchant les changements aux lois de douane nécessaires au Royaume pour effectuer l'unité douanière dans la Monarchie sera soumis à la Diète.

Nous prions Dieu que nos efforts réunis amènent la prospérité de notre patrie, et nous vous recommandons à la sauvegarde du Tout Puissant.

Sa Majesté m'a également ordonné d'inviter la Diète, quand les Chambres seront constituées, de se réunir en une seule Diète, conformément à la Loi Fondamentale, Article 4, pour recevoir le Message Royal relativement à l'organisation de la Succession.

De plus il m'a été chargé de porter à votre connaissance, que vu l'importance et la nature particulière de cette question, il sera à désirer qu'elle soit discutée et activée avant toute autre question, et qu'en conséquence la discussion d'aucun projet ne la précédera.

No. 330.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord, *Berlin, October* 8, 1852.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that M. de Bjelke is gone to Copenhagen on a short leave of absence, and did not, previously to his departure, make any further communication to the Prussian Government respecting the execution of Article IV of the Treaty which regulates the Succession in Denmark, and told me that he should do nothing further until the result of the new communications which are taking place in London shall be known.

I allude to the subject in order that I may inform your Lordship that I hear that the Prussian Government, which at first was inclined to communicate the Treaty to the

German Diet, is now disposed to adopt the line which is said to be desired by Her Majesty's Government, and that the Prussian Government wishes to prevent, as much as possible, any unnecessary discussions with the smaller German States, feeling satisfied that they will only take advantage of the importance attached to them to impede the settlement of the question.

Baron Manteuffel, in speaking to-day on this affair, said that he did not know how the matter would be finally arranged, and that he had been told that Denmark wished not to make any communication to the Diet, but he could assure me that nobody was more anxious than himself to see it concluded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 331.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 15.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, October* 11, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the announcement made by the Prime Minister, in the King's name, to the two Chambers, that, in compliance with the Treaty of the 8th May, the line of Succession had been settled on Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his male descendants by Princess Louise of Hesse.

The repugnance of the King to take any personal part in the question of the Succession is particularly unfortunate, as it will occasion fresh difficulty in carrying the measure through the two Chambers. The Opposition have already gained ground by the election of M. Clausen, a decided Eider Dane, as President of the two Chambers, united *ad hoc*, and advantage will of course be taken by the party of the King's indisposition towards Prince Christian. I understand that their first endeavour will be to force on the Prince, previously to any declaration in his favour or any grant of money, a promise that his Highness will maintain the Constitution as it at present exists. This, even were he so disposed, would be impossible, as it would in all probability be retracing steps. Prince Ferdinand, the next in succession, has never sworn to its maintenance; His Royal Highness seeing the necessity of revising the Constitution.

Inclosure in No. 331.

Message.

NOUS, Frédéric VII, par la grâce de Dieu Roi de Danemark, des Vandales et des Goths, Duc de Slesvig, de Holstein, de Stormanie, de Ditmarsie, de Lauenbourg, et d'Oldenbourg,

A la Diète notre salut Royal.

Attendu que par un Protocole signé à Varsovie le $\frac{24 \text{ Mai}}{5 \text{ Juin}}$, 1851, avec Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie, Chef de la ligne ainée de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp, de même qu'avec le consentement et par suite de nos parents et plus proches héritiers du Trône, ses actes de renonciation et de cession signés par eux le 18 Juillet, 1851; enfin, attendu que par la sanction d'un Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai de la présente année, et ratifié plus tard entre nous et Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine des Royaumes Unis de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, il a plu au Tout Puissant de bénir les efforts paternels que nous avons faits pour acquérir la garantie que la Monarchie Danoise dans son étendue actuelle pourra rester réuni sous un seul sceptre lors même que viendraient à s'éteindre les descendants mâles issus en ligne masculine du Roi Frédéric III, de glorieuse mémoire, et successibles au Trône: Nous avons en conséquence résolu, en conformité des actes susmentionnés, d'établir pour tous les pays soumis à notre sceptre une forme de Succession telle que dans le cas où viendraient à s'éteindre les descendants mâles issus du Roi Frederic III, en ligne masculine, qui en vertu de la Loi Royale rendue par ce Roi le 14 Novembre, 1665, ont les droits de Succession au trône de Danemark. Toute Succession selon les Articles 27 à 40 de cette Loi Royale devra dès lors être supprimée, et la Succession au trône pour tous les pays réunis sous notre sceptre sera dévolue à notre cher et bien-aimé parent Son Altesse

le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, et à ses descendants mâles issus du mariage avec son épouse notre chère et bien-aimée cousine Son Altesse la Princesse Louise Wilhelmina Frédérique Caroline Auguste Julie de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, née Princesse de Hesse, en sorte que le trône passera à cette postérité par droit de primogéniture et par la Succession linéale agnatique, le mâle issu de mâle dans un mariage légitime succédant au mâle.

En conséquence et vu l'Article 4 de la Loi Fondamentale du 5 Juin, 1849, nous invitons, en ce qui concerne le Royaume, la Diète Danoise à donner son adhésion à cette forme de Succession qui dans la suite sera mise en exécution par nous au moyen d'une Acte qui embrassera toute la Monarchie Danoise.

Nous avons autorisé notre Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à communiquer à la Diète les actes propres à donner les éclaircissements nécessaires à l'égard de la teneur du present Message.

Nous conservons la Diète notre grace et notre affection, &c.

(Signé) FREDERIC LE ROI.

No. 332.

M. de Bille to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 16.)

Légation de Danemark, le 15 *Octobre*, 1852.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark près la Cour de St. James, a l'honneur de prévenir M. le Comte de Malmesbury, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique, qu'il vient de recevoir des instructions de sa Cour qui portent quelques modifications aux vues développées dans l'extrait d'une dépêche que le Soussigné a eu l'honneur de transmettre à son Excellence avec une note en date du 20 Septembre dernier.

D'abord le Gouvernement Danois croit devoir renoncer au désir énoncé dans la dépêche précitée, que des Actes séparés d'Accession soient délivrés de la part de chaque Gouvernement accédant au Traité du 8 Mai, à chacune des Puissances signataires de cet Acte. Le Gouvernement du Roi consent ainsi à ce qu'un seul Acte d'Accession lui soit délivré par chaque partie accédante.

Quant à la démarche éventuelle à faire auprès de la Diète Germanique, le Gouvernement du Roi était prêt à adresser, conformément au désir des Cabinets de Vienne et de Berlin, une demande d'accession à cette Assemblée, à condition que ces deux Cabinets lui en garantissaient l'acceptation. Cette condition cependant ne paraissant pas réalisable, le Gouvernement Danois croit, pour le moment, devoir se borner à l'essai de s'entendre avec les deux Cabinets Allemands co-signataires du Traité du 8 Mai, sur une marche à suivre vis-à-vis de la Diète, qui, tout en excluant la possibilité d'un refus d'accession, impliquerait autant que possible les égards dus à cette Assemblée.

Les Cabinets de St. Pétersbourg et de Stockholm ayant déjà donné l'ordre à leurs Missions respectives d'appuyer par des notes la demande d'Accession que le Gouvernement Danois va adresser, en vertu de l'offre de l'initiative qui lui a été fait par la Conférence du 19 Juin, aux Cours Royales et Grand-Ducales non-signataires du Traité du 8 Mai, le Soussigné ose prier son Excellence M. le Comte de Malmesbury de vouloir bien adresser aussitôt que possible des instructions à cette même fin aux Missions Britanniques près les Gouvernements indiqués sur la liste que le Soussigné a déjà eu l'honneur de soumettre à son Excellence avec sa note du 20 Septembre.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) BILLE.

No. 333.

The Earl of Malmesbury to M. de Bille.

Foreign Office, October 21, 1852.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed to him on the 15th instant by M. de Bille, &c., announcing that the Danish Government had in so far modified its previous intention as regards the invitation to be addressed to the Regal and Grand Ducal Courts of Europe, to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May, 1852, as to be now content to receive one Act of Accession only from each acceding party; and stating that, as regards the communication to be addressed to the

Diet of the Germanic Confederation, the Danish Government was about to concert the mode of such communication with the Governments of Austria and Prussia.

As regards the first of these points, the Undersigned has the honour to inform M. de Bille that Her Majesty's Government consider that the modification proposed by the Danish in respect to the form of accession is a prudent one, and that instructions will be addressed to Her Majesty's Representatives at the Courts specified in M. de Bille's note of the 20th of September last, to support the invitation of the Danish Government when such shall have been made.

With respect to the communication to the Diet of the Germanic Confederation, the Undersigned has the honour to inform M. de Bille that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would be sufficient to confine that communication to a simple notification of the conclusion of the Treaty, The Undersigned thinks it at the same time necessary to repeat to M. de Bille what he has already had the honour to state to him personally, that under no circumstances would Her Majesty's Government consent to reopen Conferences on any point connected with the Treaty in question.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 334.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October* 21, 1852.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 8th instant, on the subject of the execution of the IVth Article of the Treaty which regulates the Succession in Denmark, I have to inform your Lordship that it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it will suffice to notify that Treaty to the Diet, after a request for adhesion has been made to the different States by Denmark.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 335.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir A. Malet.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 22, 1852.

I HAVE to inform you that the Danish Government have decided to limit the invitation to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May to the Regal and Grand Ducal Courts of Europe, and that you are consequently not to take any steps in this respect as regards any Court of lesser rank to which you may be accredited.

As regards the communication to be made to the Diet of the Germanic Confederation, I have to inform you that the Danish Government have decided to concert with the Governments of Austria and Prussia the course to be pursued. Her Majesty's Government are, however, of opinion that a simple notification to the Diet, by the Danish Government, of the fact of the Treaty having been concluded, would be sufficient, and Her Majesty's Government would on no account consent to reopen Conferences on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 336.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Bligh.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 22, 1852.

I HAVE to inform you that the Danish Government have decided to limit the invitation to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May to the Regal and Grand Ducal Courts of Europe, and that you are consequently not to take any steps in this respect as regards the Courts of less rank to which you are accredited.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 337.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 22, 1852.

I HEREWITH inclose, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Berlin,* relative to the anxiety of the Prussian Government to see Article IV of the Danish Treaty carried into execution. I likewise inclose a copy of my reply.†

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 338.

Circular Despatch addressed to Her Majesty's Ministers at the Regal and Grand-Ducal Courts of Europe.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 22, 1852.

I HAVE to communicate to you herewith copies of the Treaty which was concluded at London on the 8th of May last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part; and Denmark, on the other part; the principal object of which is to ensure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

For this purpose, and in conformity with the intention in this respect expressed by the King of Denmark, the High Contracting Powers have engaged to recognize in such an event the right of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and of his male descendants by his marriage with Her Highness the Princess Louisa of Hesse, to succeed to the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

This Treaty having been ratified, and the High Contracting Parties having by Article IV engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers, and to invite them to accede to it, I have to instruct you to take the necessary steps, in conjunction with your colleagues the Representatives of Austria, Denmark, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, to bring this Treaty to the knowledge of the Government, and to invite its accession.

Should no Danish Minister be accredited at the Court of , you will postpone the execution of this instruction, as regards the Court so situated, until you shall have ascertained that a direct communication on that subject has been made to the Government by the Government of Denmark.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 339.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Wynn.‡

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 22, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you a copy of a note which I have received from the Danish Minister at this Court,§ announcing the modification which the Danish Government have adopted as regards the invitation to be addressed to the Regal and Grand Ducal Courts of Europe to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May. I likewise inclose to you copies of my reply, and of the instruction which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Representatives at those Courts,‖ in conformity with the wishes of the Danish Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

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* No. 330. † No. 334.

‡ Similar despatches were addressed to the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Bloomfield, and Sir E. Lyons.

§ No. 332. ‖ Nos. 333 and 338.

No. 340.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 23.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, October* 17, 1852.

IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch I had informed the Danish Minister that your Lordship would be ready about this time to settle with the different signers of the Treaty of the 8th of May the manner of communicating it to the other Governments of Europe.

M. de Bluhme said that the only difficulty likely to occur was the light in which the German Confederation was to be considered, and whether it was a Power whose accession was requisite. He expressed his persuasion that Her Majesty's Government would join in the recommendations not to risk any discussion at Frankfort without being sure of the support of Austria and Prussia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 341.

Lord Howard de Walden to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 29.)

My Lord, *Brussels, October* 28, 1852.

IN execution of your Lordship's instructions I have applied to my colleagues the Representatives of Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Norway, and Denmark, to co-operate with me in bringing the Treaty relative to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, of the 8th of May last, to the knowledge of the Belgian Government, and in inviting its accession to it.

None of them, with the exception of the French and Swedish Ministers, have received any instructions on the subject, and must necessarily await the issue of a reference to their Governments.

The instructions to the French Minister only authorize him to afford his co-operation on the demand of the Danish Minister, to whom it is expressly declared the initiative with the Belgian Government was agreed to be left at the time of the signature of the Treaty.

The Swedish Chargé d'Affairs has received a draft of a note from his Government, which he is instructed to present after the Danish Representative shall have expressed a desire for his support.

The Danish Chargé d'Affaires has received no instructions from his Government, but as the Danish Minister, M. Coopmans, who has been on leave of absence for some time, is expected at Brussels in a few days, he may perhaps be bearer of an authority to act in this affair.

I am informed, however, by the Danish Chargé d'Affaires that this Treaty not having as yet been adopted by the Danish Chambers, it is probable some further delay will occur before any step can be taken in making the official communication of the Treaty to the Belgian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HOWARD DE WALDEN AND SEAFORD.

No. 342.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 29, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Brussels,* on the subject of the accession of the Belgian Government to the Danish Treaty of the 8th May.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

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* No. 341.

No. 343.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received October 31.)

My Lord, *Berlin, October* 29, 1852.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd instant, directing me to take the necessary steps, in conjunction with the Representatives of Austria, Denmark, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, to bring the Treaty which was concluded on the 8th of May last relative to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark to the knowledge of the Governments of their Royal Highnesses the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, and to invite their accession to it, I have the honour to inclose the copy of an instruction received by my Russian colleague on the subject, and to request your Lordship to inform me whether it will be advisable that I should address to the two Grand Ducal Courts a note similar to the one of which your Lordship will find the draft inclosed herewith, marked No. 2.

M. de Bjelke, the Danish Minister to this Court, who, as I have had the honour to inform your Lordship, was absent from his post on leave, is expected here in a few days, when I shall lose no time in concerting with him and my other colleagues on the subject of your Lordship's above-mentioned despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 343.

M. de Séniavine to Baron Budberg.

M. le Baron, *St. Pétersbourg, le* 13 *Septembre*, 1852.

LORSQUE j'adressai ma dépêche circulaire du 26 Juillet aux Missions Impériales nous attendions les Résolutions que prendrait le Cabinet de Copenhague à la suite du Protocole de Londres, qui lui réservait l'initiative des démarches à faire en l'exécution de l'Article IV du Traité du 8 Mai. Ayant, depuis, reçu communication d'une note que le Cabinet de Copenhague, après s'être concerté avec les autres Parties Contractantes, se propose adresser aux Cours qu'il s'agira d'inviter à accéder au Traité, j'ai l'honneur de vous engager, M. le Baron, à vous joindre à cette démarche, au nom de la Cour Impériale, en remettant à la Cour auprès de laquelle vous êtes accrédité, la note dont vous trouverez ci-joint la minute.

La note Danoise sera remise à cette Cour par le Représentant de Danemark qui s'y trouve, et il ne manquera pas de vous prévenir, ainsi que les Représentants des autres Puissances Contractantes, de l'époque où il s'acquittera de cette démarche, afin que vous puissiez vous y associer conformément aux intentions l'Empereur exprimées dans les Circulaires du 7 Juin et du 26 Juillet. Pour les Cours où le Danemark n'a pas de Représentant, la note Danoise leur sera adressée directement par M. Bluhme, Premier Ministre du Roi et son Ministre des Affaires Etrangères ; et dans ce cas notre Ministre à Copenhague aura l'honneur de vous donner avis de l'expédition de la note.

L'essentiel est, que la démarche de la Mission Impériale soit faite en même temps que la démarche Danoise, ou, du moins, qu'elle la suive de près.

Il est entendu que la note dont j'ai l'honneur de vous faire parvenir la minute serait adressée à la Cour de Hanovre, comme aux deux Cours Grand Ducales de Mecklembourg.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) S. v. SENIAVINE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 343.

Draft of Note.

LE Soussigné a reçu l'ordre d'adresser à la communication uivante.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de

Prusse, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, d'autre part, ont conclu à Londres, le $\frac{26 \text{ Avril}}{8 \text{ Mai}}$, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité rélatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

Par l'Article IV de ce Traité les Hautes Parties Contractantes se sont réservé de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder.

En conséquence de cette stipulation, et au moment où la Cour de Copenhague, de concert avec les autres Parties Contractantes, procède à l'exécution de l'Article IV, le Soussigné a reçu l'ordre de s'y associer au nom de la Cour Impériale. Il a donc l'honneur de communiquer le texte du Traité du $\frac{26 \text{ Avril}}{8 \text{ Mai}}$, au Gouvernement de et de l'inviter, au nom de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, à y accéder.

Le Soussigné, &c.

No. 344.

Mr. Bligh to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 1.)

My Lord, *Hanover, October* 29, 1852.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging receipt of your Lordship's despatches giving me instructions as to the mode of proceeding for the purpose of obtaining the accession of the Governments of Hanover and Oldenburg to the Treaty for regulating the Succession to the Danish Crown which was concluded at London on the 8th of May last, which instructions I shall not fail to fulfil so soon as those of my colleagues whom it may concern shall have received instructions to the same effect, which as yet has not been the case with any of them except the Russian Minister.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

No. 345.

Sir J. Milbanke to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 4.)

My Lord, *Munich, October* 31, 1852.

THE messenger Haviland delivered to me your Lordship's despatch of the 27th instant.

In conformity with the instructions therein conveyed to me, I proceeded to make inquiries whether the Ministers of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, had received any communication from their respective Governments on the subject of the Treaty concluded at London, having for object the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and regulating the Succession to the Throne in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning Dynasty.

There is no Danish Minister accredited to this Court, neither is any Representative of the Swedish Court permanently resident here. Of my other colleagues not one except the Russian Minister had received any orders on the subject, and he is desired to await a communication from his colleague at Copenhagen previously to taking any steps in the matter.

I subsequently ascertained that nothing had passed between the Courts of Denmark and Munich in reference to the accession of the latter to the Treaty, and I shall therefore postpone the execution of your Lordship's instructions until I hear that a direct communication has been made by the Government of Denmark to that of Bavaria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

No. 346.

Lord Howard de Walden to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 5.)

My Lord, *Brussels, November* 3, 1852.

THE Duke de Bassano having referred to his Government for instructions as to how to act in consequence of my invitation to him, made under your Lordship's instructions, to join in bringing to the knowledge of the Belgian Government the Treaty of the 8th of

May, relative to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, has received an answer from M. Drouyn de Lhuys, by which he is desired to await the initiative being taken by the Danish Government, and then to present a note, a draft of which is sent to him, to the Belgian Government, in conformity with the IVth Article of the Convention signed in London on the 8th of May, 1852, and no notice is taken by M. Drouyn de Lhuys of any co-operation or act simultaneously with the Representatives of Great Britain, Austria, Denmark, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, the other Contracting Powers.

M. Coopmans, the Danish Minister, has just returned to Brussels, and I received a visit from him to day; he informs me, with reference to the desired invitation to the Belgian Government, that he has not as yet received instructions to take any step in this sense, in consequence of the Convention of the 8th of May not having yet been adopted by the Danish Chambers; but that he expects that, in the course of a fortnight, he shall know what he is to do, when he will immediately communicate to me the instructions he may have received from his Government for his guidance in this affair.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HOWARD DE WALDEN AND SEAFORD.

No. 347.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 5,* 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Brussels,* reporting that the French Minister had received instructions not to take any steps relative to the Treaty settling the Danish Succession until the initiative has been taken by Denmark, and that the Danish Minister had returned to Brussels without instructions.

I have likewise to inform you that it appears, from accounts received by Her Majesty's Government, that very few of the Ministers of the Powers who signed the Treaty, accredited at the European Courts, have received any instructions at all upon the matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 348.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 5.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, November* 1, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches of the 22nd instant, inclosing respectively the correspondence between M. de Bille and your Lordship, and the instructions which have in consequence been sent to Her Majesty's Ministers at the different Courts to support the application on the part of His Danish Majesty for accession to the Treaty of the 8th May.

M. de Bluhme, when I last saw him, was in possession of a copy of your Lordship's note to M. de Bille, with which he expressed himself highly gratified, and especially with the concluding paragraph, stating the determination of Her Majesty's Government not to consent, under any case, to reopen the Conferences.

His Excellency said, that similar instructions having been sent by the Governments of Austria, Russia, France and Sweden, to their respective Ministers, he was now only waiting for a notification of Prussia having also done so, to make the different applications in question. Of this he was in daily expectation, as from the reports of the Danish Minister at Berlin he did not anticipate any difficulty, unless there was truth in the report that a previous reference to M. de Bunsen on some points was thought necessary.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN

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* No. 346.

No. 349.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 15.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, November* 8, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch, inclosing one from Lord Howard de Walden, reporting that the Prussian Minister at Brussels had not received any instructions to support the application for the accession to the Treaty of the 8th May, and that even the Danish Minister had not taken any steps on the occasion.

I have already had the honour to account for the latter delay, but I am happy to say that that no longer exists, the long-expected communication of the support of Prussia having been received, and M. de Bluhme thus enabled to send off to-day or to-morrow the necessary application to the different Courts.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 350.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 15.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, November* 8, 1852.

GREAT sensation has lately been created here by a pamphlet printed as an MSS. and sent by the author, M. Wegner, to the Members of both Chambers.

M. Wegner is keeper of the public archives, and during the late insurrection published part of the correspondence, found at Augustenburg, between the Duke, his brother and others, showing their long-existing traitorous designs against their Sovereign. Being a public officer it is to be wondered that M. Wegner should have ventured to give publicity, however limited, to opinions, on some points, diametrically opposed to those of the present Government, and to the sense, if not to the direct provisions, of the IInd Article of the Treaty of the 8th of May.

M. Wegner does not object to the Succession being vested in Prince Christian, his descendants, and even collaterals of the House of Glücksburg; but maintains that, with this exception, the *Lex Regia* ought to remain in force, to the exclusion of those whose German rights were reserved by the Emperor, and thus risking the possibility of a female succession, and the recurrence of the obstacles to the integrity of the Danish dominions which after so much trouble have been got over by the intervention of the Great Powers.

This pamphlet would have been little noticed had it not gained importance by its being now thrown as a torch of discord into the Chambers and the Committee now sitting on the question of the Succession, and also by its being dedicated to M. de Steman, who under the late King and his predecessor was Minister of Justice and the Interior.

Notwithstanding his advanced age of 89, and its natural infirmities, he is still intriguing for power. In a late conversation with the Hereditary Prince, who remonstrated with him on the line he was taking, he did not conceal his avowed opposition to the present Cabinet, or his readiness to put himself at the head of another, on the ultra-Danish principle of attaching Holstein to Denmark, and not the Kingdom to the Duchy.

It is to be hoped that His Danish Majesty will still open his eyes to the danger to which he is exposing the country by listening to the advice of a man who may now be considered in his second childhood.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 351.

*The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.**

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November* 17, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen,† reporting that the Danish Government were about to despatch instructions to their Representatives at the different Courts to apply for the accession of those Courts to the Danish Treaty of the 8th of May.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 352.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 18.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, November* 14, 1852.

WITH reference to my last despatch I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, if there was any ground for the report that the King had countenanced M. Wegner's pamphlet, and the support given to it by M. Steman, His Majesty has taken timely warning by the general disapprobation expressed on the occasion.

In an audience which Baron Sternberg yesterday had of the King to notify the death of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, His Majesty declared that neither he nor his wife had any previous knowledge of M. Wegner's pamphlet; that he had received a copy from M. Steman, and that he could only ascribe the present conduct of an old and faithful servant to senile childhood.

He begged M. de Sternberg to assure the Emperor that the opinions laid down were quite foreign to his, that he was determined to support the present Administration, and to adhere strictly and conscientiously to the engagements which, with their advice, he had contracted with the great Powers

This assurance, which His Majesty had previously given to the Hereditary Prince, will of course have a good effect; but it will require more to counteract that produced by M. Wegner's pamphlet, and the unaccountable delay in obtaining the accession of the different European Powers. It has shown itself in the Committee, which was supposed to be well composed, but in which the Government can now only reckon, or perhaps hope, for a majority of one. M. de Bluhme had last week to undergo a severe examination of four hours from the ultra-Danish party without any assistance from his friends. Should the report turn out different from what was expected, and the favourable effect equally expected on the Chambers, the Government can only look for support to Colonel Tchernung, who, though at the head of a dangerous party, that of the peasants ("Bond Wenner"), opposed to Government, goes with them on this question of the Succession.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

P.S.—I have omitted to mention that M. Wegner has been called upon to account, before a tribunal, for having, as a public officer, made a communication to the States without the approbation of his superiors.

No. 353.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 20.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, November* 17, 1852.

I WAS called upon yesterday by M. de Glinka, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Darmstadt, who informed me that the Danish Government had made the proposed communication relating to the Treaty signed in London on the 8th of May, to the Governments of Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt.

M. de Glinka also showed me a copy of the note he had himself written to the Darmstadt Government, in conformity with the orders he had received from his Government, making the communication of the Treaty in a mode precisely similar to that which I was instructed to adopt by your Lordship's despatches of the 22nd of October.

* A similar despatch was addressed to Sir E. Lyons. † No. 349.

M. de Glinka assuring me of his knowledge of the Danish communication having been made, I have not thought it necessary to await similar information through M. de Bülow, but have addressed to the Governments of Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt the note, a copy of which I have the honour to annex, forwarding the copies of the Treaty with which I had been furnished by your Lordship's orders.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 353.

*Sir A. Malet to M. de Dalwygk.**

Frankfort-au-Maine, November 17, 1852.

The Undersigned, &c., has received instructions from his Government to communicate to Baron Dalwygk a copy of the Treaty signed in London on the 8th of May, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part; and Denmark, on the other part; the principal object of which is to ensure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

This Treaty having been ratified, and the High Contracting Parties having engaged by Article IV to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers, and to invite them to accede to it, the Undersigned is directed to make this communication to the Grand-Ducal Government of Hesse-Darmstadt, to which he has the honour of being accredited, and to invite the accession of the Grand-Ducal Government to the said Treaty.

In making, &c.

(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 354.

Sir A. Magenis to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 27.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, November* 23, 1852.

BARON DE NEURATH having informed me that the communication, from the Cabinet of Copenhagen, of the Treaty of the 8th of May last, regulating the Succession to the Danish Crown in the event of the extinction of the male line of the present reigning family, reached him yesterday, I addressed to his Excellency, this day, a note, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, inviting, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, the accession of the Wurtemburg Government to that Act.

My Russian, French, and, I believe, Austrian colleagues will, on their side, address similar invitations to the Wurtemburg Government to-day.

Count Chotek, attached to the latter Mission, and charged with its direction during Baron Handel's absence at Vienna, where he presides over the Customs Union Conferences, informed me that he received, on the 20th instant, from his Government instructions to act under the IVth Article of the Treaty of the 8th of May, and, I conclude, will do so at once.

I informed Baron de Neurath that I knew that M. de Savigny, the Prussian Minister at Carlsruhe, had received instructions from his Government to invite the accession of the Baden Government to the Treaty in question, and that I supposed M. de Seckendorff would bring with him here similar instructions. His Excellency answered that this Government would not wait for the Prussian invitation, and, I conclude, from the tone of his remarks, that no unnecessary delay will occur on the part of the Wurtemburg Government in acceding to the Treaty.

Whether the receipt of the Danish communication was concealed here till the views of the Austrian Government on the subject were known, it is not for me to say: but it appears strange that Prince Gortchakoff should have received a despatch, on the 16th instant, from the Russian Minister at Copenhagen, announcing to him that the Danish communication had been sent off on the 12th instant, whereas it appears it only Stuttgardt on the 22nd.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

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* The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to Baron Baumbach, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hesse-Cassel.

Inclosure in No. 354.

Sir A. Magenis to the Baron de Neurath.

Stuttgardt, November 23, 1852.

THE Undersigned, &c., is instructed by his Government to bring to the knowledge of the Government of His Majesty the King of Wurtemburg the Treaty concluded at London on the 8th of May last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark on the other part, the principal object of which is to insure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

For this purpose, and in conformity with the intention in this respect expressed by the King of Denmark, the Contracting Powers have engaged to recognize, in such an event, the right of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and of his male descendants by his marriage with Her Highness the Princess Louisa of Hesse, to succeed to the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

This Treaty having been ratified, and the High Contracting Parties having, by the IVth Article, engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers, the Undersigned has the honour to inclose herewith to his Excellency the Baron de Neurath, &c., a copy of the Treaty in question; and, in conformity with the instructions of his Government, to invite the accession of the Government of His Majesty the King of Wurtemburg to that Act.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 355.

M. de Bille to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 27.)

Légation de Danemark, le 26 *Novembre*, 1852.

LE Soussigné, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à son Excellence M. le Comte de Malmesbury, Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique, copie d'une dépêche en date du 11 du courant, par laquelle le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à Copenhague lui annonce que les invitations d'accession au Traité du 8 Mai, motivées par l'Article IV de cet Acte, ont été expédiées ce même jour à leurs destinations respectives.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) BILLE.

Inclosure in No. 355.

M. de Bluhme to M. de Bille.

Monsieur, *Copenhague, le* 11 *Novembre*, 1852.

EN me référant à ma dépêche du 9 Septembre dernier, j'ai l'honneur de vous prévenir que les expéditions motivées par l'Article IV du Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852, ont été transmises aujourd'hui à leur destinations respectives.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ayant de son côté, et avec un empressement que nous ne saurions assez apprécier, muni ses Représentants d'instructions analogues, tout paraît augurer un prochain et satisfaisant accomplissement de cette dernière partie d'une négociation qui intéresse si essentiellement le Nord de l'Europe.

Votre Excellence est invitée à se rendre auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique l'interprète de la plus sincère reconnaissance du Gouvernement du Roi pour sa co-opération loyale dans toute cette affaire.

Le Gouvernement du Roi s'estimerait heureux de pouvoir compter sur une continuation de ces mêmes sentiments, dans le cas surtout, si après l'accueil favorable de la part des Puissances Allemandes, invitées à accéder au Traité de Londres, le Roi notre auguste Maître se décidait définitivement à adresser, de concert avec les deux Grandes Puissances Allemandes, une invitation formelle d'accession à la Confédération Germanique, éventualité dont je ne manquerai pas de vous prévenir dans le temps.

Prenant en considération les liens de parenté qui unissent sa Maison Royale avec celle du Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg, et animé par le désir de manifester par un témoignage

public les égards que Sa Majesté aime à avoir pour un Agnat de l'auguste Maison d'Oldenbourg et pour le Chef d'une des branches cadettes de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp, le Roi a ordonné à son Ministre en mission extraordinaire près la Cour Grand Ducale, le Baron de Dirckinck-Holmfeld, de se rendre en personne à Oldenbourg pour notifier officiellement à Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Grand Duc la conclusion du Traité de Londres et pour l'engager à y accéder.

Recevez, &c.

No. 356.

Mr. Bligh to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 29.)

My Lord, *Hanover, November* 27, 1852.

I HAVE been waiting to carry out the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatches until (as I was further instructed by your Lordship) my Danish colleague should have intimated to me his readiness to take the initiative in demanding from the Governments to which we are accredited their accession to the Treaty signed in London on the 8th May last, and since ratified, by which Her Majesty's Government, together with those of Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, have regulated the Succession to the Danish Monarchy.

M. Dirckinck d'Holmfeld having at length sent a note to this effect to Baron Schele, and having proceeded to Oldenburg for the purpose of backing up his demand by personal communication with the Grand Duke of Oldenburg and with his Ministers, and having requested me to concert measures with my Austrian, French, and Prussian colleagues, in order to make quasi-simultaneous communications upon the subject to the Hanoverian Government, I have forwarded to Baron Schele the note of which I have the honour to inclose copy; and Baron Koller, Count Reculot, and Prince Yssenbourg have addressed communications of a similar purport to that Minister.

I have written to Baron Budberg, Russian Minister at Berlin, who is also accredited here, informing him of what has been done in this matter here, and begging him, if he should think proper, to lose no time in taking a step similar to that of his colleagues at this Court. I have sent the same note as that of which the inclosed is a copy, *mutatis mutandis*, to M. Rössing, the Minister at Oldenburg.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

Inclosure in No. 356.

*Mr. Bligh to Baron Schele.**

M. le Baron, *Hanover, November* 23, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to bring to your notice that a Treaty was concluded at London on the 8th of May last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark on the other part; the principal object of which is to ensure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family,

For this purpose, and in conformity with the intention in this respect expressed by the King of Denmark, the Contracting Parties have, by this Treaty, engaged to recognize, in such an event, the right of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and of his male descendants, by his marriage with Her Highness the Princess Louisa of Hesse, to succeed to the whole of the States actually under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

This Treaty, having been ratified, and the High Contracting Parties having by the IVth Article engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers, and to invite them to accede to it, I have the honour, in conformity with that Article, and in obedience to instructions which I have received to that effect, to inclose herewith a copy of the said Treaty, and, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, to invite the Hanoverian Government to add their sanction to this arrangement of a matter of such general interest by signifying their accession to the Treaty in question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

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* The same, *mutatis mutandis*, to M. de Rössing, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Oldenburg Government.

No. 357.

Sir J. Milbanke to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received November 29.)

My Lord, *Munich, November* 24, 1852.

HAVING been informed yesterday, by the Baron de Pelkhoven, that the expected communication of the Treaty relative to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark had been received from the Danish Government, and having also ascertained that all my colleagues, Representatives of the High Contracting Powers, were furnished with the requisite instructions, I proceeded at once, in concert with them, to carry out the orders conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch, and I have this day transmitted to the Baron de Pelkhoven, in the note a copy of which is herewith inclosed, a copy of the Treaty in question, at the same time inviting the accession of the Bavarian Government to it.

The only remark made by the Baron de Pelkhoven was an expression of surprise that the invitation had not been addressed to the Diet at Frankfort, instead of to the Federal Governments individually and separately; but I reassured him on this point by informing him that a similar course had been pursued on a former occasion.

The notes of my colleagues to the Bavarian Government on this subject will, in pursuance of an agreement amongst us, bear the same date as mine.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

Inclosure in No. 357.

Sir J. Milbanke to the Baron de Pelkhoven.

Munich, November 24, 1852.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs instructions to communicate to the Bavarian Government the Treaty which was concluded at London on the 8th of May last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark, on the other; the principal object of which is to ensure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family. For this purpose, and in conformity with the intentions in this respect expressed by the King of Denmark, the High Contracting Powers have engaged to recognize the right of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and of his male descendants by his marriage with Her Highness the Princess Louisa of Hesse, to succeed to the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

This Treaty, a copy of which the Undersigned has the honour to inclose herewith to the Baron de Pelkhoven, &c., having been ratified, and the High Contracting Parties having by the IVth Article engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers and to invite them to accede to it, the Undersigned, in obedience to instructions to that effect, has further the honour, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to invite the accession of the Bavarian Government to it.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

No. 358.

M. de Bluhme to M. de Bille.—(Communicated to the Earl of Malmesbury by M. de Bille, December 1.)

Monsieur, *Copenhague le* 24 *Novembre*, 1852.

DES rapports parvenus à mon Ministère me faisant supposer que les discussions auxquelles a donné lieu le Message Royal adressé, le 4 du mois passé, à la Diète du Royaume concernant la mise à exécution de l'arrangement définitif de la question de succession, se sont attirées une attention démesurée de la part des Cabinets des Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres, je dois vous inviter, Monsieur, à vouloir bien, toutes les fois que votre Excellence jugera une telle démarche nécessaire ou convenable, donner le démenti le plus formel aux bruits qu'on aurait peut-être voulu accréditer par rapport à l'attitude que le Cabinet dont j'ai l'honneur d'être membre a prise et compte observer dans cette affaire. Le Message Royal du 4 Octobre, qui prend pour point de

départ et pour base de ses propositions les transactions passées le 2 et 23 Août, 1850, à Londres, le Protocole de Varsovie, et le Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852, indique clairement la politique du Gouvernement du Roi, et le Cabinet actuel est trop pénétré de ses devoirs envers le Roi, envers le pays, et envers les Puissances alliées du Danemark, pour vouloir s'en écarter.

Du reste nous croyons que la Diète a, au bout du compte, trop de bon sens et trop de patriotisme pour se laisser entrainer à des résolutions précipitées et mal avisées.

Vues de loin ces choses offrent toujours un aspect plus grave, mais les esprits troublés un instant commencent déjà à se calmer et j'ai tout lieu de croire que le résultat prouvera que les idées qu'on se forme dans l'étranger sur toute cette affaire ont été fort exagérées.

Le Roi notre auguste Maître a été profondément indigné de la conduite de M. Wegner, et Sa Majesté approuve fortement les mesures dictées dans l'intérêt de la morale publique surtout et prises par le Ministère contre ce fonctionnaire. L'action intentée contre M. Wegner a principalement pour but d'infliger un blame public et mérité à sa manière d'agir en cette circonstance.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BLUHME.

No. 359.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 1.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, November* 27, 1852.

IN the usual weekly conference the day before yesterday M. de Bluhme spoke not only to me but to my Russian and Prussian colleagues of a conversation in which your Lorship had expressed to M. de Bille your fear that intrigues existed here which would delay the due execution of the Treaty of the 8th of May, and otherwise embarrass the Ministry.

On M. de Bluhme taking this occasion of repeating to me the assurances which the King had given both to himself and my Russian colleague of not having had any previous knowledge of M. Wegner's pamphlet, and of his firm intention of giving every support to his Ministers in carrying through the question of the Succession, I stated that he must have heard, as well as I, that to other persons His Majesty had expressed himself far differently, and had not concealed his preference to change his Ministry than to dissolve the Chambers, if there was not the necessary majority of three-fourths. I took the liberty of remarking that if the King was sincere in his disapprobation of Wegner's pamphlet, the natural course would have been to dismiss him at once without subjecting him to a tribunal, where conviction, if attained, will only be attended with slight reproof; that, with respect to the King's support of his present Administration, it could not but be considered as ambiguous as long as His Majesty retained as his private confidential Secretary M. de Rosenorn (M. de Steman's nephew), for a short time Minister of the Interior, and who, as a member of the Diet and of the Committee now sitting, was one of their most decided opponents. M. de Bluhme regretted that such a person should have constant access to His Majesty, but said that every member of the Diet was bound by oath to act and vote conscientiously. I said that this might be an excuse for M. de Rosenorn, but none for the Sovereign employing persons whose conscience dictated a different course from that recommended by his responsible Ministers.

M. de Bluhme seems confident of a majority, the opposition not being directed to the Succession of Prince Christian, as established by the Treaty of the 8th of May, but to the Russian reservations in the Warsaw Protocol, in preference to a female Succession and a revival of the *Lex Regia* in failure of Prince Christian's descendants.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 360.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 2.)

My Lord, *Berlin, November 27, 1852.*

IN conformity with the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd ultimo, I have this day communicated to the Governments of their Royal Highnesses the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz the Treaty which was concluded on the 8th of May last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway on the one part, and Denmark on the other part, and I have the honour to inclose a copy of the notes which I addressed to Count Bülow and M. de Bernstorff, inviting the Grand Ducal Governments to accede to it.

Before executing your Lordship's instruction, I did not fail to ascertain that the Danish Minister accredited at the Courts of Schwerin and Strelitz had already communicated the Treaty to the Governments of their Royal Highnesses; and I have since learned that the Ministers of Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, have made similar communications.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 360.

*Lord Bloomfield to Count Bülow.**

Berlin, ce 27 Novembre, 1852.

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu l'ordre d'adresser à son Excellence M. le Comte de Bülow, &c., la communication suivante.

Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume-Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et Bohème, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, d'autre part, ont conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession eventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

Par l'Article IV de ce Traité les Hautes Parties Contractantes se sont réservées de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder.

En conséquence de cette stipulation et au moment où la Cour de Copenhague, de concert avec les autres Parties Contractantes, procède à l'exécution de l'Article IV, le Soussigné a reçu l'ordre de s'y associer au nom de sa Cour. Il a donc l'honneur de communiquer le texte du Traité du 8 Mai au Gouvernement de Son Altesse Royale M. le Grand Duc de Mecklenburg-Schwerin, et de l'inviter, au nom de Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, à y accéder.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 361.

Mr. Magenis to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 4.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, November 27, 1852.*

THE communication from the Cabinet of Copenhagen of the Treaty of the 8th May last having reached the Baden Government on the 23rd instant, I addressed on the 25th to M. de Rüdt, the Grand Ducal Minister for Foreign Affairs, anote, dated the preceding day, of the same tenour as that which I had addressed to the Wurtemburg Minister, inviting, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, the Baden Government to accede to that Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

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* The same, *mutatis mutandis,* to M. de Bernstorff, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

No. 362.

Mr. Magenis to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 4.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, November* 30, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a note dated the 28th instant from Baron de Neurath, in reply to the note which I addressed to him on the 23rd, copy of which was transmitted in my despatch of the 22nd instant.

His Excellency announces to me in his reply the accession of His Majesty the King of Wurtemburg to the Treaty of the 8th May last, regulating the Succession to the Danish Monarchy, in the event of the extinction of the male line of the present reigning family.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 362.

The Baron de Neurath to Mr. Magenis.

Stuttgardt, le 28 *Novembre*, 1852.

LE Soussigné a eu l'honneur de recevoir l'office par lequel Mr. Magenis, &c., lui a transmis, sous la date du 23 Novembre dernier, un exemplaire du Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, entre Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale l'Empereur l'Autriche, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, d'autre part, dans le but d'assurer le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité actuelle, ainsi que d'établir l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, et par lequel il a été chargé au nom de son Gouvernement d'inviter le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Wurtemburg à y accéder.

Le Soussigné a la satisfaction d'annoncer à Mr. Magenis que Sa Majesté le Roi son auguste Souverain, se rendant au désir qui lui a été exprimé, l'a autorisé d'informer le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Danoise qu'il accédait au susdit Traité.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) NEURATH.

No. 363.

Mr. Waller to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 4.)

My Lord, *Brussels, December* 3, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a note I have received from the Chevalier Coopmans, the Danish Minister resident at this Court, informing me that he has been directed to invite the Belgian Government to accede to the Treaty signed at London on the 8th of May last, relative to the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, and requesting the support of Her Majesty's Government, in common with that of the other Powers who signed this Treaty, to this invitation.

In obedience to your Lordship's instructions I addressed the note a copy of which is inclosed, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and notes of the same tenor have been addressed to his Excellency in support of the invitation of the Danish Minister, by the Representatives of the Powers who signed the Treaty of the 8th of May, accredited at this Court.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. W. WALLER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 363.

M. Coopmans to Mr. Waller.

Bruxelles, le 30 Novembre, 1852.

EN vertu du Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai de cette année dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise et de fixer l'ordre de la Succession éventuelle dans la totalité des Etats actuellement sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, suivi au jour de l'échange des ratifications d'un Protocole signé le 19 Juin dernier, portant entr'autres que prenant en considération le mode d'exécution de l'Article IV, les Plenipotentiaires ont été d'avis de conserver à la Cour de Danemark l'initiative de l'invitation mentionnée au dit Article, le Soussigné, Ministre Résident de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark près Sa Majesté le Roi des Belges, a l'honneur d'informer MM. les Représentants des Cours signataires accrédités auprès de Sa Majesté le Roi des Belges, qu'il a reçu de son Gouvernement l'ordre d'adresser au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté l'invitation d'accéder au Traité précité.

En s'empressant de donner à leurs Excellences connaissance préalable de cette démarche, que le Soussigné propose de faire le 1 Décembre, il espère que MM. les Représentants des Cours signataires voudront bien de leur côté l'appuyer auprès de la Cour de Belgique.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) CHEVR. DE COOPMANS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 363.

Mr. Waller to M. de Brouckère.

Brussels, December 1, 1852.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* at the Court of Brussels, has been instructed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to invite the Government of His Majesty the King of the Belgians to accede to a Treaty concluded at London on the 8th of May last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark, on the other part, the principal object of which is to insure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

An invitation to this effect having been lately made to his Excellency M. de Brouckère, &c., by the Minister Resident of Denmark, the Undersigned has been directed to give support to this invitation, and trusts that he may be enabled, within a short time, to communicate to Her Majesty's Government an answer in conformity with the desire which, by their order, he has thus expressed.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) J. W. WALLER.

No. 364.

Sir J. Milbanke to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 6.)

My Lord, *Munich, December* 1, 1852.

I AM apprehensive that some delay will occur in obtaining the accession of this Government to the Treaty concluded in London on the 8th of May last, relative to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

I have arrived at this conclusion in consequence of a conversation with the Baron de Pelkhoven, in the course of which he gave me to understand that it was his own and M. von der Pfordten's opinion that, as the arrangement come to involved a question of the territorial rights of the Germanic Confederation, it ought to be first submitted to and sanctioned by the Diet at Frankfort, and that it would not be proper for the Federal States separately to take any step to prejudge the decision which the official organ of the Confederation might pronounce upon it.

The Baron de Pelkhoven said that he conceived the principal point to be examined was, whether the renunciation of the Duke of Augustenburg had really the force attributed to it.

I find upon inquiry among my German colleagues that the course above indicated is very likely to be that pursued by other Federal Governments. I have, however, urged upon all those with whom I have spoken on the subject the expediency of acting with promptitude, so as, if possible, to put at end at once to the polemics of the public journals, which are again beginning to contain articles calculated to keep up agitation upon it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

No. 365.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 7.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, December 2, 1852.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a French translation of M. Wegner's pamphlet: it has given rise to a mass of others answering and supporting the arguments contained in it.

Of the former, that which had most effect is one by M. Oerstedt, one of M. de Steman's former colleagues, and whose reputation as a lawyer stands as high as that of his late brother in chemistry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure in No. 365.

Pamphlet by M. Wegner, entitled "Défense du Droit de Succession intégral selon la Lex Regia des Rois et de la Maison Royale de Danemark, nommément de celui du Prince Christian et de son Epouse."

No. 366.

Mr. Otway to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 13.)

My Lord, *Madrid, December 7, 1852.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 27th ultimo, I have now the honour to inclose copy and translation of a note which I have just received from Señor Bertran de Lis, acquainting me, in answer to my communication to his Excellency upon the subject, that the Queen of Spain had been pleased to accede to the Treaty relative to the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, concluded at Londón the 8th of May last, and that the Act declaring such accession had yesterday been handed over to the Danish Minister resident at this Court.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. C. OTWAY.

Inclosure in No. 366.

Señor Bertran de Lis to Mr. Otway.

Muy Señor mio, *Palacio, 6 de Diciembre, 1852.*

EN contestacion á la nota que se ha servido V.S. dirigirme con fecha 26 del mes proximo pasado, tengo la honra de participarle que habiendose prestado la Reina mi Señora á acceder al Tratado concluido en Londres, el 8 de Mayo anterior, relativo al orden de Sucesion eventual á la totalidad de los Estados que actualmente se hallan reunidos à la Corona Dinamarquesa, he entregado, en el dia de hoy, al Señor Ministro Residente de Su Magestad Danesa en esta Corte, el Acta que asi lo declara.

Aprovecho, &c.
(Firmado) MANUEL BERTRAN DE LIS.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Madrid, December* 6, 1852.

IN reply to the note which you have been pleased to address to me under date of the 26th ultimo, I have the honour to inform you that the Queen my Sovereign having been graciously pleased to accede to the Treaty concluded in London on the 8th of May last, relative to the order of eventual Succession to the totality of the States which are at present annexed to the Danish Crown, I have this day delivered into the hands of the Minister Resident of His Danish Majesty at this Court, the Act containing this declaration.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) MANUEL BERTRAN DE LIS.

No. 367.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 14, 1852.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 27th ultimo, reporting what passed between M. de Bluhme and yourself, relative to the reports which had reached Her Majesty's Government as to the wish of certain parties in Denmark to retard, if not to prevent, the execution of the Treaty of the 8th of May last. I have likewise received from M. de Bille communication of a despatch, a copy of which I inclose for your information,* in which that Minister seeks to dispel any apprehension which these reports may have engendered. You will explain to M. de Bluhme that, whatever may be the value of these reports, Her Majesty's Government are in no manner called upon to pronounce themselves in regard to the intrigues which have led to them. The course to be pursued by Her Majesty's Government is clear and simple. After the most anxious and deliberate consideration of the several points in dispute, as regards the Succession to the Crown of Denmark and the integrity of the Danish dominions, the Treaty of the 8th of May was agreed upon as affording the best, indeed the only practicable, solution of the questions at issue. That Treaty received the ratification of the Danish Crown. It is no concern of Her Majesty's Government if such ratification was given by the King of Denmark without due consideration of the feelings in this respect entertained by an important section of His Majesty's subjects. The obligation of His Majesty towards England and the other Contracting Powers to carry it into execution, both in its letter and spirit, remains the same, and Her Majesty's Government have no intention to release His Majesty from that obligation, or to consent to reopen discussions as to matters which have already received such ample consideration.

You will, therefore, not conceal from M. de Bluhme, and from all persons called upon to exercise an influence in the decision of the question, that if His Danish Majesty should, from whatever cause, find himself unable to carry out the engagements he has contracted, Her Majesty's Government must hold His Majesty and that section of the Danish people who will have been the cause of such inability, alone responsible for any dangers which may thence arise to the security of Denmark and the integrity of the Danish dominions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 368.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.†

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 14, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen,‡ on the subject of reports which had reached Her Majesty's Government of the wish of certain parties in Denmark to prevent the execution of the Treaty of the 8th May. I likewise inclose a copy of an instruction which I have addressed to Sir H. Wynn in reply, together with a copy of the note from M. de. Bluhme to M. de Bille referred to therein.§

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

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* No. 358. † A similar despatch was also addressed to Sir E. Lyons.
‡ No. 259. § Nos. 358 and 367.

No. 369.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir G. H. Seymour.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 14, 1852.

I INCLOSE, for your information, copies of a despatch from Sir Henry Wynn, of a despatch from M. Bluhme to the Danish Minister at this Court, and of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir Henry Wynn,* relative to a design supposed to be entertained at Copenhagen to delay the execution of the Treaty respecting the Danish Succession.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 370.

Sir H. Bulwer to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord, *Florence, December* 6, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of October 22nd, transmitting to me copies of the Treaty that has lately been concluded between Great Britain and the chief Powers of Europe on the one part, and Denmark on the other part, for the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family; and instructing me as to the manner in which I should proceed to bring this Treaty to the knowledge of the Tuscan Government, and to invite its accession to it.

In reply I beg leave to inform your Lordship that, having ascertained that a direct communication on this subject had been made to the Government of Tuscany by the Government of Denmark, I addressed to the Duke of Casigliano the note a copy of which is herewith inclosed; similar communications being at the same time made to the Duke of Casigliano by the Representatives of Austria, France, and Prussia. There is no Representative of Russia or Sweden resident at this Court.

I have further the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a note which I have received from the Duke of Casigliano, notifying the accession of the Grand Ducal Government to the before-mentioned Treaty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 370.

Sir H. Bulwer to the Duke of Casigliano.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour by direction of his Government to inform his Excellency the Duke of Casigliano, &c., that Her Britannic Majesty, in conjunction with His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the Prince President of the French Republic, and their Majesties the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and His Majesty the King of Denmark, on the other part, concluded at London on the 8th of May, 1852, a Treaty with a view to maintain the Danish Monarchy in its present integrity by a joint recognition on the part of the different Powers of the eventual order of Succession established by His Danish Majesty for the whole of the dominions now united under his sceptre.

By Article IV of this Treaty the High Contracting Powers have undertaken to invite the accession thereto of other Powers; in consequence of this stipulation, and at the suggestion of the Government of Copenhagen, to which was reserved the initiative in the invitations to be made on this subject, the Undersigned is charged to invite, in the name of Her Majesty his august Sovereign, the Government of His Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany to accede to the before-mentioned Treaty, of which he has herewith the honour to transmit a copy to the Duke of Casigliano.

In making the foregoing communication, the Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

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* Nos. 358, 359, and 367.

Inclosure 2 in No. 370.

The Duke of Casigliano to Sir H. Bulwer.

LE Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat au Département des Affaires Etrangères, a l'honneur d'accuser réception de la note que son Excellence Sir Henri Lytton Bulwer, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, a bien voulu lui adresser touchant le Traité signé à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, ayant pour but d'assurer le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité, et de donner à cet effet par la reconnaissance des Puissances une sanction Européenne à l'ordre éventuel de Succession établi par Sa Majesté Danoise pour la totalité des Etats réunis sous son sceptre.

Le Cabinet de Copenhague, en exerçant le droit d'initiative qui lui avait été réservé, avait déjà procédé envers le Gouvernement Grand-Ducal à une communication semblable, et l'avait directement invité à accéder au Traité ci-dessus nommé.

Le Soussigné, après avoir pris les ordres de son auguste Souverain, s'est empressé de transmettre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Danoise une déclaration Ministérielle constatant l'accession la plus formelle du Gouvernement Toscan au Traité dont il s'agit.

Cette détermination du Gouvernement Grand-Ducal répondant entièrement au désir exprimé par son Excellence Sir Henri Lytton Bulwer dans sa note ci-dessus louée, et à l'invitation qui en était la suite, le Soussigné se fait un devoir de la lui communiquer sans retard, avec prière de vouloir bien la porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) LE DUC DE CASIGLIANO.

No. 371.

Mr. Hudson to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord, *Turin, December* 6, 1852.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd October last, communicating to me copies of the Treaty which was concluded at London on the 8th of May last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark on the other part, the principal object of which is to insure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family; and instructing me to take the necessary steps in conjunction with my colleagues the Representatives of Austria, Denmark, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, to bring this Treaty to the knowledge of the Sardinian Government, and to invite its accession to it, I have now the honour to report to your Lordship that there being no Danish Representative at this Court I put myself upon the above subject in communication with my colleagues who were present at Turin, and also with the Sardinian Government. To this end I addressed a note to the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs (a copy of which I have the honour to inclose), inviting its accession to the Treaty of the 8th of May; and I have now the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of the reply of the Sardinian Government, from which your Lordship will perceive that it gives its formal adhesion to the Treaty of the 8th of May by a Ministerial Act addressed to the Danish Secretary of State, and to be exchanged by that Minister for a similar instrument of acknowledgment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAMES HUDSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 371.

Mr. Hudson to General Dabormida.

Turin, November 23, 1852.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acquaint General Dabormida, &c., that on the 8th of May last a Treaty was concluded at London between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the other part, and Denmark, on the other part, the principal object of which is to insure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

For this purpose, and in conformity with the intention in this respect expressed by the King of Denmark, the Contracting Powers have engaged to recognize in such an event the rights of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and of his male descendants by his marriage with Her Highness the Princess Louisa of Hesse, to succeed to the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

This Treaty having been ratified, and the High Contracting Parties having by the IVth Article engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers, and to invite them to accede to it, the Undersigned is instructed to bring this Treaty to the knowledge of the Sardinian Government, and to invite its accession to it.

The Undersigned in thus fulfilling the orders of his Government takes the opportunity of inclosing to General Dabormida a copy of the Treaty in question, and avails himself, &c.

(Signed) JAMES HUDSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 371.

General Dabormida to Mr. Hudson.

Turin, le 5 Décembre, 1852.

LE Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne, a reçu la note que M. James Hudson, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser en date du 22 Novembre dernier pour communiquer au Gouvernement du Roi, en l'invitant à y accéder, le texte du Traité ayant pour but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise relativement à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunies sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, et conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, entre Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohème, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, d'autre part.

Le Soussigné s'est fait un devoir de porter ce Traité à la connaissance du Roi son auguste Souverain, et il a été autorisé à déclarer que Sa Majesté y accède formellement. Cette déclaration a eu lieu en effet au moyen d'un Acte Ministériel que le Soussigné a signé, et qu'il vient d'adresser au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Danemark pour être échangé contre un Acte d'Acceptation analogue signé par ce Ministre. Le Soussigné s'empresse en conséquence de transmettre à M. James Hudson en réponse à sa note précitée le texte de l'Acte mentionné ci-dessus, en le priant de le porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement; et il saisit, &c.

(Signé) DABORMIDA.

Inclosure 3 in No. 371

Act of Accession of the King of Sardinia.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohème, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part; et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de l'autre part; ayant conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de sa Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, et les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'étant reservé par l'Article IV du dit Traité de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder, elles ont fait adresser cette invitation à Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne. Sa Majesté, après en avoir eu communication, a autorisé le Soussigné, son Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, à déclarer qu'elle accède formellement au susdit Traité, dont le texte se trouve ci-annexé.

En foi de quoi le Soussigné a signé le présent Acte d'Accession, et y a apposé le cachet de ses armes.

Fait à Turin, le 4 Décembre, l'an de grace 1852.

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères,

(Signé) DABORMIDA.

No. 372.

Mr. Forbes to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 16.)

My Lord, *Dresden, December* 13, 1852.

IN compliance with the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd of last October, I addressed a note to the Baron de Beust on the 25th of the preceding month, in which I transmitted to his Excellency a copy of the Treaty concluded lately in London for the regulation of the eventual Succession to the Danish Throne. I need not trouble your Lordship with a copy of this note, for it was framed on the contents of the despatch.

I have now the honour of transmitting a copy of the answer which I have received from M. de Beust, in which he intimates that His Saxon Majesty is ready to comply with the wishes of his allies, and to accede to the Treaty.

At the same time the note contains a reservation of certain rights of Saxony to the Duchy of Lauenburg, in the event of the extinction of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg. This claim is very ancient, and dates from the seventeenth century, when there was a Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg. M. de Beust said at once, that as a Minister of the Crown he could not but make the reservation, but that he would instruct the Saxon Minister to the Germanic Confederation to recommend their accession to the Treaty whenever it came before the Frankfort Diet.

The exclusion of females from the Succession to the Danish Crown has created considerable sensation in Germany, from its entailing the possibility of a Russian Prince becoming King of Denmark, although the right has been already twice resigned on the part of the Imperial Family; still the fact has given rise to many comments.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS R. FORBES.

Inclosure in No. 372.

M. de Beust to Mr. Forbes.

Dresde, ce 9 *Décembre,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Saxe, s'est empressé de soumettre au Roi son auguste Maître la note en date du 25 Novembre passé, par laquelle l'Honorable M. Francis R. Forbes, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, d'après les ordres de Sa dite Majesté Britannique, a invité le Gouvernement Royal de Saxe à accéder au Traité signé à Londres le 8 Mai de l'année courante, entre la Grande Bretagne, la Russie, l'Autriche, la France, la Prusse, et la Suède et Norvège, d'une part, et le Danemark de l'autre part, concernant les arrangements relatifs à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle dans les Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté Danoise.

Sa Majesté ayant pris connaissance de ces arrangements ainsi que des stipulations destinées à en garantir la stabilité, se plait à reconnaître la sagesse des vues, et la sollicitude pour les grands intérêts politiques de l'Europe, dont les Hautes Parties Contractantes ont donné, dans cette circonstance, un nouvel et éclatant témoignage. Animé de ces sentiments, Sa Majesté veut bien se prêter au désir manifesté par ses hauts ailiés, et croire que les intérêts bien fondés de sa Maison Royale n'y mettent pas obstacle. Ces intérêts ayant principalement rapport aux droits éventuels de Succession appartenant à la branche Albertine de la Maison de Saxe sur le Duché de Lauenbourg, pour le cas où la Maison de Brunswic-Lünebourg se trouvant en 1697 en possession du dit Duché viendrait à s'éteindre, il ne s'agit en effet que de droits éventuels, mais qui ne sauraient être altérés par le Traité du 8 Mai passé.

C'est dans cette supposition, et sous la réserve de ces mêmes droits éventuels, que le Gouvernement du Roi, sans prétendre au reste anticiper sur les résolutions que la Confédération Germanique par l'organe de la Diète pourrait être amené à prendre dans cette

question, n'hésite pas à déclarer son assentiment au Traité signé à Londres le 8 Mai passé, et à s'associer ainsi à une combinaison servant à maintenir l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et à assurer en même temps la conservation de la paix générale.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) BEUST.

No. 373.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord. *Copenhagen, December* 19, 1852.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 14th ultimo, giving an account to your Lordship of an audience which the Russian Minister had had of the King, in which His Majesty had given every assurance of his intention to support his present Ministers, I have to inform your Lordship that Baron Sternberg has received an answer to his report, in which Count Nesselrode expressed the pleasure with which the Emperor had thereby been further convinced of His Majesty's wish to act up to the Treaty of the 8th May, and not to countenance the intrigues of a party attempting to overturn what was now the public right of Europe; adding, with reference to the Russian reservations, "Quant à ce qui regarde l'Empereur, Sa Majesté saura le défendre."

Baron Sternberg was authorized to give M. de Bluhme a copy of this despatch; the latter, after having allowed me to read it, asked me whether I had not something of a similar nature to communicate from your Lordship, as in a despatch from M. de Bille of the 10th instant, he mentioned having heard that it was your Lordship's intention to send me an ostensible instruction on the subject. I said that I had not received any, nor was it perhaps necessary, as your Lordship could hardly express yourself stronger than in your note addressed to M. de Bille on the 21st of October.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 374.

Sir A. Malet to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 25.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, December* 22, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of a note which I have received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Electoral Hesse, notifying the adhesion of the Elector to the Treaty of the 8th of May, signed in London, for regulating the Succession to the Throne of Denmark; and inclosing a copy of the Act of Adhesion which is also herewith subjoined.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 374.

Baron Baumbach to Sir A. Malet.

(Translation.) *Cassel, December* 16, 1852.

THE Undersigned, Chief of the Electoral Ministry and Minister for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of his Excellency Sir A. Malet, Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, bearing date the 17th of November, relative to the Treaty regulating the Succession to the Danish Throne, agreed to in London on the 8th of May of this year.

He did not delay communicating the same to His Royal Highness, and has the honour to inform his Excellency that His Royal Highness accedes to the Treaty, and has authorised the Undersigned to declare this his accession.

In consequence the Undersigned has drawn up a Protocol of Adhesion (a copy of which is herewith inclosed) and has transmitted the same to the Danish Government.

The Undersigned avails, &c.

(Signed) BAUMBACH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 374.

Act of Accession of the Elector of Hesse.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohème, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de l'autre, ayant conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, et les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'étant réservé par l'Article IV du dit Traité de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder, elles ont fait adresser cette invitation à Son Altesse Royale l'Electeur de Hesse.

Et Sa dite Altesse, après avoir eu communication du dit Traité, a autorisé le Soussigné, Préposé au Ministère Electoral des Affaires Etrangères et de la Maison Electorale, à déclarer que Son Altesse Royale l'Electeur de Hesse accède formellement par le présent Acte au susdit Traité, dont copie se trouve ci-annexée.

En foi de quoi le Soussigné a signé le présent Acte d'Accession et y a apposé le cachet de ses armes.

Fait à Cassel, le seize Décembre l'an de grâce mil huit-cent cinquante-deux.

(Signé) BAUMBACH.

No. 375.

Sir R. Abercromby to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 26.)

My Lord, *The Hague, December* 24, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a note I have received from his Excellency the Baron de Zuylen de Nyevelt, relative to the Accession of His Netherland Majesty to the Treaty signed in London, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark, on the other part, with regard to the integrity of and Succession to the States now united under the sceptre of His Danish Majesty, and forwarding to me a certified copy of the Act of Accession of His Netherland Majesty to the above-mentioned Treaty.

I likewise herewith inclose copy of the answer I have received to the communication of the Netherland Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In a matter of such consequence as the Act of Accession to this Treaty on the part of His Netherland Majesty, I have thought it right to transmit to your Lordship's Department the original certified copy of the Act of Accession, as communicated to me by his Excellency the Baron de Zuylen de Nyevelt, retaining a copy of that document for preservation in the archives of this Mission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 375.

The Baron de Zuylen to Sir R. Abercromby.

La Haye, le 20 *Décembre*, 1852.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la communication que par sa note du 8 de ce mois, M. le Chevalier Ralph Abercromby, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, a bien voulu lui adresser, concernant le Traité que son auguste Souveraine, conjointement avec Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohème, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, d'autre part, ont conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852 dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et de régler l'ordre de la Succession eventuelle à la totalité des Etats

actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark ; la susdite note contenant, en outre, l'invitation au nom de Sa Majesté la Peine de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, pour que Sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas accédât au Traité susmentionné.

La même invitation ayant également eu lieu, d'après l'Article IV du dit Traité, de la part de Sa Majesté Danoise, le Soussigné a l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de Sir Ralph Abercromby qu'il a été accédé au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas au Traité dont il s'agit.

En joignant à la présente une copie vidimée de l'Acte d'Accession qui a été délivré à la Légation de Sa Majesté Danoise, le Soussigné saisit, &c.

(Signé) J. DE ZUYLEN DE NYEVELT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 375.

Act of Accession of the King of the Netherlands.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohème, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de l'autre, ayant conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark ; et les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'étant réservé par l'Article IV du dit Traité de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder, elles ont fait adresser cette invitation à Sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas.

Et Sa dite Majesté, après avoir eu communication du dit Traité, a autorisé le Soussigné, son Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, à déclarer que Sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas accède formellement par le présent Acte au susdit Traité, dont copie se trouve ci-annexée.

En foi de quoi le Soussigné a signé le présent Acte d'Accession, et y a apposé le cachet de ses armes.

Fait à la Haye, le 20 Décembre, 1852.

(Signé) DE ZUYLEN DE NYEVELT.
(L.S.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 375.

Sir R. Abercromby to the Baron de Zuylen.

The Hague, December 23, 1852.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which his Excellency the Baron de Zuylen de Nyevelt, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, addressed to him on the 20th instant, on the subject of the accession of His Netherland Majesty to the Treaty signed in London on the 8th of May last, between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Prince President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and His Majesty the King of Denmark, on the other part, for the purpose of securing the integrity of the Kingdom of Denmark, and of regulating the order of Succession to the States now united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, and transmitting to him therewith a certified copy of the Act of Accession of His Netherland Majesty to the above-mentioned Treaty.

The Undersigned, in expressing his thanks to his Excellency the Baron de Zuylen de Nyevelt for the communication of the Act of Accession of His Netherland Majesty, begs to acquaint his Excellency that he will lose no time in forwarding the same to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, and avails, &c.

(Signed) R. ABERCROMBY.

No. 376.

Sir J. Milbanke to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 29.)

My Lord, *Munich, December* 23, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a note which I have received from the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to that which I addressed on the 24th ultimo to the Baron de Pelkhoven, inviting the accession of the Bavarian Government to the Treaty concluded at London on the 8th of May last, relative to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

Your Lordship will perceive that the apprehensions of delay on the part of the Bavarian Government in complying with the wishes of the Great Powers who were parties to the Treaty, which I ventured to express in my despatch of the 1st instant are entirely confirmed by the doctrine laid down in M. von der Pfordten's note; but the preponderance which Austria and Prussia exercise in the bosom of the Diet will, it cannot be doubted, eventually overcome any scruples which may be entertained by the minor States of the Confederation, and ultimately lead them to concur in the arrangement concluded in London.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

Inclosure in No. 376.

M. von der Pfordten to Sir J. Milbanke.

Munich, ce 20 *Décembre*, 1852.

LE Baron de Pelkhoven, Conseiller d'Etat, chargé par intérim du portefeuille des Affaires Etrangères, a reçu dans le temps la note par laquelle M. J. R. Milbanke, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, lui a communiqué le Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai de l'année courante, relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle dans la Monarchie Danoise, et l'a invité en même temps, en raison de l'Article IV de ce Traité, à accéder au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière à ce même Traité. Le Baron de Pelkhoven s'est empressé de placer cette communication sous les yeux de Sa Majesté, et comme le Soussigné, Ministre d'Etat de la Maison du Roi et des Affaires Etrangères, a depuis repris le portefeuille de son Département, il a reçu l'ordre du Roi de faire à M. le Ministre la déclaration suivante.

Le Roi de Bavière, son auguste Souverain, a pris connaissance de ce document important avec tout l'intérêt qu'il mérite; Sa Majesté ne croit cependant pas devoir devancer la Diète de Francfort dans les décisions qu'elle pourra prendre dans cette affaire.

Selon l'avis du Roi, cette Succession éventuelle dans la Monarchie Danoise est un point qui, aux termes de l'Article VI de l'Acte Final du Traité de Vienne concernant les changements de droits de souveraineté sur des territoires Allemands, est déféré à la totalité des Etats Allemands.

Il est notoire que jusqu'à présent toutes les questions relatives aux rapports de droit public résultant de l'union du Slesvig et du Holstein ont été de la compétence de la Diète et ont été jugées par elle.

Sa Majesté le Roi, vu ses engagements basés sur le Pacte Fédéral, ne saurait donc préjuger la décision à prendre par un organe qui, par le texte même de ce Pacte, ainsi que par les précédents établis, est appelé à connaître cette question.

Le Soussigné, en priant M. le Ministre de vouloir bien porter le contenu de la présente dépêche à la connaissance du Gouvernement Britannique, profite, &c.

(Signé) VON DER PFORDTEN.

No. 377.

Mr. Bligh to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 29.)

My Lord, *Hanover, December* 24, 1852.

I HAVE the honour of inclosing herewith copy of a note from Baron Schele, in answer to one by which, in obedience with your Lordship's instructions, I invited the

Hanoverian Government to accede to the Treaty agreed to in London in May last, by the Plenipotentiaries of the five great Powers and of Denmark and Sweden, and subsequently ratified, for securing the integrity of and succession to the Danish Monarchy.

As your Lordship will see by Baron Schele's note, the Hanoverian Government acknowledges in the handsomest manner the wisdom of the policy which dictated the course pursued by the Parties to this Treaty, and by the inclosure in his note, which I have also the honour of forwarding herewith, that the formal accession of this Government to the Treaty in question has been duly executed.

I have written to Baron Schele a few words, acknowledging thankfully the receipt of these documents, of which I have also the honour to inclose a copy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 377.

Baron Schele to Mr. Bligh.

Hanovre, ce 18 *Décembre,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil des Ministres, et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Hanovre, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note par laquelle M. Bligh a bien voulu lui communiquer le Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, et inviter le Gouvernement du Roi son auguste Maître à y accéder.

Le Soussigné n'a pas tardé à porter cette importante communication à la connaissance du Roi, qui, après en avoir fait l'objet d'un examen tout consciencieux, l'a autorisé à signer en son nom un Acte d'Accession.

Le Soussigné, en même temps qu'il a l'honneur de ci joindre une copie de cet Acte d'Accession, dont l'original vient d'être transmis à M. le Ministre de Danemark, se permet d'accompagner cette communication des observations suivantes:—C'est avec une véritable satisfaction que le Roi, qui de tout temps a prêté une vive attention à l'ordre de Succession en Danemark, a puisé dans le Traité de Londres la certitude de ce qu'une question qui, dans l'état d'incertitude où elle se trouvait antérieurement, pouvait compromettre l'équilibre Européenne et menacer jusqu'à la paix générale, a été tranchée en définitive par les résolutions de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark et par l'unanimité des Puissances appelées à régler les destinées de l'Europe. Sa Majesté le Roi, fort sensible au procédé amical des Grandes Puissances, ne saurait vouloir rester en dehors de la volonté Européenne. Au grand acte qui vient de s'accomplir à Londres elle s'associe donc pour des raisons d'autant plus légitimes que les droits et les obligations réciproques de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark et de la Confédération Germanique, droits et obligations qui ont de si justes titres à la sollicitude des Gouvernements Allemands, se trouvent, en vertu des dispositions de l'Article III du Traité, expressément sauvegardés et munis d'une nouvelle garantie solennelle.

Le Soussigné, en ayant recours à l'obligeant intermédiaire de M. Bligh pour faire part de cette note au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre, saisit, &c.

(Signé) SCHELE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 377.

Act of Accession of the King of Hanover.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohème, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norwège, d'une part; et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de l'autre; ayant conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark; et les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'étant réservé par l'Article IV du dit Traité de la porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances en les invitant à y accéder, elles ont fait adresser cette invitation à Sa Majesté le Roi de Hanovre.

Et Sa dite Majesté, après avoir eu communication du dit Traité, a autorisé le Soussigné, Président du Conseil des Ministres et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, a déclarer que Sa Majesté le Roi de Hanovre accède formellement par le présent Acte au susdit Traité, dont copie se trouve ci-annexée.

En foi de quoi le Soussigné a signé le présent Acte d'Accession, et y a apposé le cachet de ses armes.

Fait à Hanovre le 11 Décembre, l'an de grâce 1852.

(Signé) SCHELE.
(L.S.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 377.

Mr. Bligh to Baron Schele.

M. le Baron, *Hanover, December* 21, 1852.

YOUR note of the 18th instant has just reached me, and I lose no time in having the honour of expressing to you the gratification which I have experienced in learning from it how fully the Hanoverian Government acknowledges the good policy which dictated to the Powers who were parties to it the Treaty of May last, by which the integrity of and the succession to the Danish Monarchy has been assured.

I shall not fail to send a copy of the note and of the formal accession of the Hanoverian Government to the Treaty in question which was inclosed in it, to Her Majesty's Government, who will, I feel assured, receive these documents with satisfaction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

No. 378.

Mr. Bligh to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 29.)

My Lord, *Hanover, December* 24, 1852.

I HAVE the honour of inclosing in translation copy of a note from the Oldenburg Minister for Foreign Affairs, covering a note (of which a copy is also herewith inclosed) from the same Minister to the Danish Envoy Extraordinary, Baron Dirckinck d'Holmfeld.

By the latter, as your Lordship will see, the notification is formally given of the adhesion of the Grand Duke to the arrangement of the Succession to the Crown of the Danish Monarchy, which was secured by the Treaty signed at London on the 8th of last May, by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden; which Treaty has subsequently been ratified by their respective Sovereigns.

I understand that the Grand Duke has been much pleased by a note which the Russian Minister, according to his instructions, has communicated to His Royal Highness, which embodies a strong commendation on the part of the Emperor of Russia of the readiness and goodwill with which the wishes of the Powers who were parties to the Treaty of May 8, 1852, have been met by the Grand Duke, and of the abnegation of his own feelings which he has shown in a matter in which he and his family had an indirect interest.

I have consequently in the note by which I acknowledged the receipt of this communication, and of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, ventured to express my assurance that Her Majesty's Government will have feelings of the same nature as regards this matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 378.

M. de Rössing to Mr. Bligh.

Your Excellency, *Oldenburg, December* 13, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your Excellency's obliging note of the 23rd ultimo, respecting the Treaty concluded at London on the 8th May last, and I lost no time in laying it before his Royal Highness the Grand Duke my gracious Master.

Now that His Royal Highness has come to a decision on this weighty subject, I do myself the honour to bring it to your Excellency's knowledge, and transmit the inclosed copy of a note which was addressed on the 10th instant in reply to his Excellency Baron Dirckinck von Holmfeld, Envoy Extraordinary of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government will, I doubt not, do justice to the readiness with which the Grand Duke has subscribed to the wishes expressed by them, and I hope by the declaration now made by His Highness, this affair, as far as my gracious Master was concerned, may be now looked upon as concluded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) V. RÖSSING.

Inclosure 2 in No. 378.

M. de Rössing to Baron Dirckinck.

Oldenbourg, ce 10 *Décembre*, 1852.

LE Soussigné, Conseiller d'Etat de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg, Chef du Département de la Maison Grand Ducale et des Affaires Etrangères, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note que son Excellence M. le Baron Dirckinck d'Holmfeld, Envoyé en Mission Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a bien voulu lui adresser sous la date du 11 Novembre, 1852, pour lui communiquer la texte du Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai dernier, et n'a pas manqué de placer cet Acte sous les yeux de son auguste Maître.

Le Soussigné est chargé aujourd'hui de répondre. Si, d'une part, Son Altesse Royale rend pleine justice aux motifs qui ont guidé les Puissances Contractantes en signant un Traité destiné à garantir le repos du Nord de l'Europe, d'autre part elle ne saurait méconnaître les graves difficultés d'une Succession éventuelle dans le Royaume de Danemark et dans les Duchés. Son Altesse Royale fait non seulement les vœux les plus sincères pour que le dit Traité serve à applanir ces difficultés, mais encore est-elle prête à y contribuer de son côté, et à répondre aux intentions des Hautes Puissances, ainsi qu'aux ouvertures qui lui ont été faites à cet égard en n'hésitant pas à déclarer qu'elle se désiste pour elle et ses descendants de ses droits éventuels de son Succession en faveur de Son Altesse le Prince de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, et des descendants mâles issus en ligne directe du mariage de ce Prince avec Son Altesse Madame la Princesse Louise, née Princesse de Hesse. Dans le cas où Son Altesse le Prince Christian monterait sur le Trône de Danemark, et aussi longtemps que ce Trône serait occupé par sa descendance mâle. Son Altesse Royale se réfère du reste à la teneur des Traités conclus entre le Danemarc et la Russie à Copenhague, le 11 Avril, 1767, et a Tsarsko-Selo le 21 Mai, 1773, par rapport à l'échange des Comtés d'Oldenbourg et de Delmenhorst.

En s'acquittant ainsi des ordres de son auguste Maitre, le Soussigné profite, &c.
(Signé) V. ROSSING.

Inclosure 3 in No. 378.

Mr. Bligh to M. de Rössing.

Sir, *Hanover, December* 21, 1852.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging your note of the 13th instant, covering a note to the Danish Envoy Extraordinary, Baron Dirckinck-d'Holmfeld, by which a formal adhesion is given by the Grand Duke of Oldenburg to the arrangement of the Danish Succession, as secured by the Treaty concluded in London on the 8th May last, by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, which communication I shall not fail to transmit without delay to Her Majesty's

Government, who will doubtless feel gratified by this prompt acquiescence in their wishes in this particular on the part of His Royal Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. D. BLIGH.

No. 379.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 30.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, December 23, 1852.*

SINCE the date of my last despatch I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's despatch, conveying the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government respecting the intrigues in the Diet and elsewhere against the due execution, on the part of His Danish Majesty, of the Treaty of the 8th May.

I have taken an early opportunity of communicating its contents to M. de Bluhme; and although not distinctly so authorized, I had no hesitation in complying with his request to have a copy, as I felt convinced that your Lordship could have no objection to give the Danish Minister the advantage of being able to submit it to His Majesty at the same time as the Russian despatch, of which I have already spoken to your Lordship. His Excellency seemed much pleased at having such a document, and putting it into his pocket said, "Je m'en servirai;" and in the meantime he desired me to repeat to your Lordship his assurances, contained in his despatch to M. de Bille, that so long as the present Government was in power the line of policy laid down in the King's Message of the 4th October would be strongly adhered to. The Chambers have adjourned for the Christmas holidays without the Committee on the question of the Succession having yet made any Report. It has, however, been drawn up, and I understand from some of the members that it may, altogether, be considered as favourable, as it does not (as M. Wegner) recommend any recurrence to the *Lex Regia;* but instead of confining themselves to the simple question referred to them, the different parties of which the Committee is composed have introduced various reserves and resolutions which will entail much unpleasant discussion in the Chamber, and render it more difficult for the Government to obtain the necessary majority. This delay seems to have had a prejudicial effect with respect to the accession of the different Powers, the Kings of Wurtemburg and Saxony being the only German Powers who have yet acceded. The accessions received from Spain, Naples, and Tuscany are of course of minor importance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 380.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received December 30.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, December 23, 1852.*

I AM happy to inform your Lordship that the points at issue with the Duke of Augustenburg are now likely to be satisfactorily settled, and that a courier was dispatched the day before yesterday with the different papers for the signature of the Duke and his sons, and of M. de Bülow on the part of His Danish Majesty.

The arrangement has, as your Lordship knows, been delayed by the objection of the Duke to apply to the King for the release of the obligations of the *fidéicommis*. This matter of form has been settled by the mediation of the King of Prussia, through whom the application to His Danish Majesty is to come, accompanied by a declaration from the Duke and his sons, that it is their intention to invest the money received in a purchase in Germany out of His Majesty's dominions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 381.

Renunciation of the Duke of Augustenburg, December 30, 1852.*

Acte de Renonciation du Duc Chretien Auguste d'Augustenbourg.—Nous Chrétien Auguste, héritier en Norvège, Duc de Slesvig, de Holstein, de Stormarn, des Dithmarschen, ainsi que d'Oldenbourg, faisons savoir et reconnaissons par le présent que nous avons pris, aux conditions suivantes, pour nous, nos héritiers et nos descendants, relativement à la cession respective et à la prise de possession de toutes les terres et propriétés Ducales des Augustenbourg situéee dans l'Ile d'Alsen et le Duché de Slesvig, un arrangement avec le très auguste, très puissant Prince et Seigneur Fréderic VII, Roi de Danemark, des Wendes et des Goths, Duc de Slesvig, de Holstein, de Stormarn, des Dithmarschen, et de Lauenbourg, ainsi que d'Oldenbourg, &c., notre très gracieux Roi et Maître.

1. Nous cedons et transmettons, pour nous, nos héritiers et nos descendants, tous les droits qui nous reviennent sur les terres et propriétés Ducales des Augustenbourg dans l'Ile d'Alsen et sur la terre ferme du Duché de Slesvig, c'est-à-dire, notamment sur les terres d'Augustenbourg et de Rumohrsgaard; puis sur Evelgunde, Gammelgaard, Gundstrup, Kekenisgaard, Langenvorwerk, Maibullgaard, Rönhave, et Werthemine, avec le château de Sonderbourg qui en dépend; et enfin sur Aubüllgaard, Aarup, Kielstrup, Fischbeck, Gravenstein, et Kieding, avec leurs dépendances dans les limites et démarcations où sont situées les dites terres et propriétés, avec tous les châteux, palais et édifices qui se trouvent sur ces terres et appartiennent aux propriétaires de ces dernières, et avec tout ce qui, dans ces terres, tient au sol, aux murs, à fer et à clou, notamment aussi avec le total de l'inventaire en bétail et matériel de labour et d'exploitation nous appartenant, ainsi qu'avec tous les immunités et privilèges attachés à ces terres, aussi bien qu'avec tous les droits et privilèges dont nous disposons à l'égard des gens faisant partie de ces terres, et dans ce nombre il faut comprendre les fermiers temporaires—que ces droits et privilèges soient fondés sur des contrats ou sur la tradition, ou de toute autre manière—et avec tous les droits et immunités se rattachant aux terres et propriétés susdites, particulièrement avec le *jus patronatus*, mais aussi avec toutes les impositions, corvées et charges qui reposent sur ces terres; tout cela, nous le cédons et transmettons à Sa Majesté Royale de Danemark et à ses héritiers, de telle manière que Sa Majesté et ses successeurs au Trône posséderont ces terres et propriétés à partir d'aujourd'hui, tranquillement et sans conteste, percevront intégralement tous les droits, prix de ferme et autres revenus à échoir dès à présent et useront librement du tout sans entrave aucune, tout comme des autres propriétés de la Couronne.

2. En outre, non seulement nous nous engageons par le présent, en ce qui concerne notre personne et notre famille, à établir désormais notre séjour en dehors du Royaume et pays de votre Majesté Royale, pays où, comme il s'entend de soi-même, nous et nos descendants nous ne pouvons ni ne voulons acquérir des propriétés foncières; mais

3. Nous faisons vœu et promettons encore, sur notre parole et notre honneur de Duc, pour nous et notre famille, de ne rien entreprendre qui puisse troubler ou mettre en péril la tranquillité dans le Royaume et pays de votre Majesté, et aussi de ne nous opposer en aucune manière aux mesures prises ou à prendre par votre Majesté Royale relativement à l'ordre de Succession pour tous les pays actuellement réunis sous son sceptre, ou à l'organisation éventuelle de la Monarchie Danoise.

4. La cession et la transmission susmentionnées des droits qui reviennent à nous et à nos héritiers sur les terres et propriétés Ducales des Augustenbourg, dans l'Ile d'Alsen et sur la terre ferme du Duché de Slesvig, de même que les obligations assumées par nous, comme il est indiqué plus haut, à l'égard de votre Majesté Royale, et les promesses solennelles et assurances faites à votre Majesté. tout cela votre Majesté Royale l'accepte expressement pour elle, ses héritiers à la Couronne et ses successeurs, et nous fait, en revanche, pour elle et ses successeurs, les promesses et assurances suivantes:—

5. Votre Majesté consent à nous faire remettre, comme indemnité pour les terres et propriétés plusieurs fois mentionnées que nous avons cédées à la Couronne de Danemark de notre plein gré,—successivement 1,500,000 doubles rixdales dont $9\frac{1}{4}$ pièces font un marc d'argent fin de Cologne. Pour cette somme, qui remplace les propriétés Ducales mentionnées des Augustenbourg dans l'Ile d'Alsen et sur la terre ferme du Duché de Slesvig, votre Majesté, en tant que la somme n'est point encore payée, nous soldera une rente semestrielle de 2 pour cent, et le montant total sera versé entre nos mains de telle sorte que de six en six mois, à la St. Jean et à la St. Nicolas, et cela pour la première fois à la St. Nicolas 1852, il nous sera payé une somme de 75,000 doubles rixdales,

* Laid before Parliament with Correspondence, "Denmark and Germany, No. 3 (1864)," p. 259.

lisez soixante-quinze mille doubles rixdales, dont on déduira les intérêts échus, en sorte que le reste sera considéré comme à compte sur le capital. Ainsi, le dernier terme restant de la dette sera payé à la St. Jean 1865, et par là la dette totale de 1,500,000 doubles rixdales devra être complétement amortie et réglée.

Votre Majesté Royale a émis en conséquence, conformément à l'annexe sub lit. A, une obligation principale, signée de sa propre main et paraphée par son Conseil d'Etat secret, pour 1,500,000 doubles rixdales, et cette obligation votre Majesté nous la fera tenir contre remise de l'Acte de Cession et de Renonciation à dresser par nous conformement à l'Annexe sub lit. B.

En outre, votre Majesté Royale consent, selon notre désir, à ce que, en égard à l'obligation principale mentionnée, des obligations partielles qui devront étre signées par les Ministres de votre Majesté pour les finances et le Duché de Slesvig, soient émises jusqu'à concurrence du montant de l'obligation principale, à ce que chaque obligation partielle soit de 2,000, lisez deux mille doubles rixdales, et pourvue d'un coupon à intérêts au porteur; de plus, à ce qu'un tirage semestriel devant avoir lieu à Copenhague, six semaines au plus tard avant le plus prochain terme, et dont résultat sera publié par un journal de Hambourg, détermine les obligations qui devront être payées lors du terme qui suivra le tirage; enfin votre Majesté consent à ce que l'obligation principale, après que les obligations partielles auront été préparées, et avant qu'elles ne nous soient remises, soit déposée par nous dans l'établissement de la Compagnie Maritime de Prusse, avec autorisation pour cet établissement, non seulement de déduire le montant des obligations partielles remboursées et annulées de l'obligation principale, au moyen d'indications sur cette dernière, mais aussi de transmettre au Ministre des Finances de votre Majesté, ou à toute autre personne qu'elle désignera, l'obligation principale, avec toutes les obligations partielles remboursées, après que le montant de la somme totale aura été payé au moyen du remboursement et de la remise de toutes les obligations partielles. Votre Majesté consent en même temps à ce que le dit dépôt ne puisse être révoqué par nous, excepté dans le cas où nous aurons fourni la preuve à la Banque respective que le tirage fixé n'à pas eu lieu, ou que les obligations partielles tirées n'ont pas été remboursées, à leur présentation, selon les stipulations arrêtées.

6. De plus, votre Majesté Royale se charge des dettes contractées par nos ancêtres ou par nous, lesquelles sont exactement indiquées dans l'annexe sub lit. C, et qui s'élèvent à 418,569 thalers 28½ schilling, lisez quatre cent dix-huit mille, cinq cent soixante-neuf thalers 28½ schilling, ce qui équivaut à 334,855 doubles rixdales 40½ schilling. En conséquence votre Majesté fera remettre aux créanciers désignés sub lit. C, les actes de reconnaissance nécessaires, et cela par l'intermédiaire de son Ministre pour le Duché de Slesvig ou par toute autre personne,—à moins que votre Majesté ne préfère amortir quelques-unes de ces dettes.

Les intérêts des différentes dettes lesquelles écherront après le jour de la signature de l'acte dressé par votre Majesté relativement au présent arrangement, de même que les impôts, taxes et charges reposant sur les terres et propriétés transmises à votre Majesté, comme il est dit plus haut, votre Majesté les acquittera envers qui de droit, en tant qu'ils écherront après le jour susmentionnée.

7. Votre Majesté Royale consent aussi à ce que les excédants qui résulteront jusqu'au 21 Mai de cette année, d'après l'annexe sub lit. D, de l'administration de votre Majesté, des terres et propriétés que nous lui avons transmises, excédants se montant à 224,161 rix-dales 51 schilling, ou 112,080 doubles rix-dales 46 schilling, ainsi que les excédants qui se produiront du 21 Mai de cette année au jour de la signature de l'acte dressé par votre Majesté Royale relativement au présent arrangement—excédants au sujet desquels votre Majesté nous rendra en temps utile des comptes détaillés, que nous reconnaissons d'avance comme exacts, en renonçant formellement à toute objection à soulever, soient versés entre nos mains au comptant. Le paiement des excédants déjà constatés aura lieu aussitôt que nous aurons fait remettre à votre Majesté l'acte solennel de cession et de renonciation relativement à la cession et à la transmission à votre Majesté des terres et propriétés en question; le paiement des excédants non encore constatés aura lieu, par contre, six semaines plus tard, ou aussitôt que la clôture des comptes aura eu lieu.

8. Votre Majesté Royale a consenti aussi à ce que les pensions et gratifications allouées jusqu'ici par nous aux personnes nommées dans l'annexe sub lit. E continuent à être accordées par la suite; votre Majesté voudra donc faire payer ces pensions et gratifications au jour de l'échéance.

9. Enfin, votre Majesté consent à ce que les biens mobiliers qui nous appartiennent, et qui sont désignés dans l'annexe sub lit. F, soient livreés à la personne que nous désignerons pour en prendre livraison.

10. Les concessions mentionnés ci-dessus dans les chapîtres 5 à 9 inclusivement, concessions que nous a faites votre Majesté Royale, nous les acceptons, et nous nous engageons ici, conformément à l'annexe susdite sub lit. B, à dresser un acte solennelle de cession et de renonciation relativement aux biens cédés et transmis, ainsi qu'il est dit plus haut, et à faire parvenir cet acte à votre Majesté; et nous renonçons, par le présent, contre accomplissement fidèle des promesses et assurances que votre Majesté a daigné nous faire, comme on l'a fait remarquer ci-dessus, à tous droits que nous pourrions déduire, pour les faire valoir contre votre Majesté ou ses fonctionnaires, de l'occupation par votre Majesté ou de l'administration, instituée par votre Majesté, des biens souvent indiqués, ou enfin de l'administration, de la jouissance ou de l'aliénation, ayant eu lieu dans l'intervalle, de nos biens mobiliers qui se trouvaient dans nos terres depuis le 23 Mars, 1848.

En conséquence, nous faisons vœu et promettons ici, pour nous, nos héritiers et nos descendants, de la manière la plus précise, d'observer, de notre côté, fidèlement toutes les stipulations concertées et arrêtées dans le susdit arrangement, et de ne jamais permettre que les nôtres agissent contrairement à ces stipulations ou entreprennent rien contre elles.

En foi de quoi, nous avons signé de notre main cet acte et l'avons revêtu de notre sceau princier.

Fait à Francfort-sur-Maine, le 30 Décembre, 1852.

(Signé) C. AUGUSTE, *Duc de Slesvig-Holstein.*

No. 382.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 31, 1852.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Munich,* announcing that the Bavarian Government decline to accede to the Treaty regulating the Danish Succession, until it shall have been referred to the Diet of the Confederation.

I have at the same time to inform you that Her Majesty's Ministers at the Courts of Spain, Sardinia, Holland, Hanover, Belgium, Saxony, Tuscany, Oldenburg, and Electoral Hesse have reported the accession of the several Sovereigns to whom they are accredited.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 383.

Lord Howard de Walden to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 1, 1853.)

My Lord, *Brussels, December* 30, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note which I have received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, transmitting to me the Act of Adhesion on the part of the King of the Belgians to the Treaty signed in London by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part; and Denmark, on the other part; having for object to ensure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HOWARD DE WALDEN AND SEAFORD.

Inclosure in No. 383.

M. de Brouckère to Lord Howard de Walden.

Bruxelles, le 28 *Décembre,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi des Belges, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note que M. Waller a bien voulu lui adresser, au nom de

* No. 376.

son Gouvernement, en date du 1 de ce mois, pour exprimer le désir que Sa Majesté le Roi des Belges accédât au Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, relativement à l'ordre de Succession à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

Après avoir pris les ordres de son Souverain, le Soussigné, pour se conformer à ce désir, a l'honneur d'adresser à son Excellence Lord Howard de Walden l'Acte d'Accession ci-annexé.

En s'acquittant ainsi de l'ordre de Sa Majesté, le Soussigné saisit, &c.

(Signé) H. DE BROUCKERE.

No. 384.

Sir W. Temple to the Earl of Malmesbury.—(Received January 3, 1853.)

My Lord, *Naples, December* 22, 1852.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd October, inclosing copies of the Treaty concluded at London on the 8th of May last, the object of which was to ensure the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and to regulate the eventual Succession to the Danish Throne, and instructing me, in accordance with the IVth Article of that Treaty, to take the necessary steps, in conjunction with my colleagues the Representatives of the Governments who were parties to it, to bring the Treaty to the knowledge of the Neapolitan Government, and to invite its accession to it, I ascertained from these Representatives that they had received instructions from their Governments similar to those conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch. As soon, therefore, as we learnt from the Minister of Foreign Affairs that a direct communication on the subject had been made to the Government of the Two Sicilies by that of Denmark, there being no Danish Minister accredited to this Court, we each addressed a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs communicating to him the Treaty, and inviting the Government of His Sicilian Majesty to accede to it.

I have the honour therefore of inclosing to your Lordship a copy of the note which I addressed to M. Carafa upon the subject, together with a copy and translation of M. Carafa's note in reply to it, dated the 4th instant, by which your Lordship will see that he informs me that he had been authorized by His Sicilian Majesty to sign on that day a Ministerial Declaration by which the accession to the Treaty on the part of the Government of the Two Sicilies has been carried into full effect.

My colleagues have also received similar answers to the notes which they addressed to M. Carafa upon the subject, and the accession to the Treaty by this Government has been communicated to that of Denmark.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 384.

Sir W. Temple to M. Carafa.

Naples, November 28, 1852.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to inform the Commendatore Carafa, &c., that a Treaty was concluded at London on the 8th of May, last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark, on the other part, the principal object of which is to ensure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

For this purpose and in conformity with the intention in this respect expressed by the King of Denmark, the Contracting Powers have engaged to recognize, in such an event, the rights of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and of his male descendants by his marriage with Her Highness the Princess Louise of Hesse, to succeed to the whole of the estates actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

This Treaty having been ratified and the High Contracting Parties having by the IVth Article engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers, and to invite them to accede to it, the Undersigned, in pursuance of the instructions which he has received from his Government, has the honour to transmit a copy of the

above-mentioned Treaty to the Commendatore Carafa, and to request him to communicate it to the Government of His Sicilian Majesty and to invite their accession to it.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) W. TEMPLE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 384.

M. Carafa to Sir W. Temple.

Napoli, 4 Decembre, 1852.

SUA Eccellenza il Cavaliere Temple, &c., nel rimettere con pregevole nota del 28 del decorso Novembre al Sottoscritto, &c., il testo di un Trattato stipulato a Londra il dì 8 Maggio, 1852, nel fine di assicurare l'integrità della Monarchia Danese e regolare l'ordine di Successione eventuale alla totalità degli Stati attualmente riuniti sotto lo scettro di Sua Maestà il Re di Danimarca, ha invitato, in nome di Sua Maestà la Regina d'Inghilterra, il Governo delle Due Sicilie ad accedervi.

Il Sottoscritto essendosi fatto il dovere di renderne consapevole il Re suo augusto Padrone, la Maestà Sua si è compiacuta autorizzarlo a poter sottoscrivere con questa data stessa una dichiarazione Ministeriale per la quale l'accessione al Trattato anzidetto per parte del Real Governo ha avuto pieno ed intero effetto.

Egli dunque ha l'onore di darne conoscenza all'Eccellenza sua in replica all' enunciata nota; e profitta, &c.

(Firmado) CARAFA.

(Translation.)

Naples, December 4, 1852.

HIS Excellency the Chevalier Temple, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy, &c., in transmitting in his esteemed note of the 28th November last to the Undersigned, &c., the text of a Treaty negotiated in London on the 8th day of May, 1852, for the purpose of securing the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and of regulating the order of eventual Succession to the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, has invited, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen of England, the Government of the Two Sicilies to accede thereto.

The Undersigned having made it his duty to inform the King his august Master thereof, His Majesty has been pleased to authorize him to sign under this present date a Ministerial declaration by which the accession on the part of His Majesty's Government to the aforesaid Treaty has had full and complete effect.

He has therefore the honour to bring this to his Excellency's knowledge in reply to his note: and avails himself, &c.

(Signed) CARAFA.

No. 385.

Sir H. Wynn to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January .)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, January* 7, 1853.

WHEN last I saw M. de Bluhme he announced to me, with much pleasure, the final settlement of the arrangement with the Duke of Augustenburg, His Serene Highness and his sons having signed all the required papers, and received, immediately, a sum of 200,000 specie dollars on account of rents and other sums received by the Danish authorities.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 386.

Sir H. Wynn to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 13.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, January* 7, 1853.

THOUGH your Lordship will probably have been informed, by Her Majesty's Minister at Munich, of the refusal of the King of Bavaria to acknowledge the new order of Succession to the Danish Monarchy till this arrangement shall have been sanctioned

by the Diet at Frankfort, it is, perhaps, incumbent on me to send your Lordship a copy of the letter by which this determination was announced by the Bavarian Minister to M. de Bluhme, and which the latter has communicated to my colleagues and myself

Answers have been received from all the German Powers excepting the two Mecklenburgs, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Baden.

Inclosure in No. 386.

M. von der Pfordten to M. de Bluhme.

Munich, ce 22 *Décembre*, 1852.

LE Soussigné, Ministre d'Etat de la Maison du Roi et des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note en date du 11 Novembre dernier, par laquelle son Excellence M. le Conseiler intime de Conférence Bluhme, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a bien voulu lui communiquer le texte du Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai de l'année courante, relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle dans la Monarchie Danoise, en l'invitant, à raison de l'Article IV de ce Traité, à y accéder au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière.

Le Soussigné, qui s'est empressé de placer cette communication sous les yeux du Roi son auguste Souverain, a reçu l'ordre de faire à son Excellence M. le Conseiller intime de Conférence Bluhme la déclaration suivante :—

Sa Majesté a pris connaissance de ce document important avec tout l'intérêt qu'il mérite: elle ne croit toutefois pas devoir dévancer la Diète de Frankfort dans les décisions qu'elle pourra prendre dans cette affaire.

Selon l'avis du Roi, cette Succession éventuelle dans la Monarchie Danoise est un point qui, aux termes de l'Article VI de l'Acte Final du Traité de Vienne concernant les changements de droits de souveraineté sur des territoires Allemands, est déféré à la totalité des Etats Allemands.

Il est notoire que jusqu'à présent toutes les questions relatives aux rapports de droit public résultant de l'union du Slesvig et du Holstein ont été de la compétence de la Diète et ont été décidées par elle.

Sa Majesté le Roi, vu ses engagements basées sur le Pacte Fédéral, ne saurait donc préjuger la décision à prendre par l'organe qui, par le texte même de ce Pacte ainsi que par les précédents établis, est appelé à connaître de cette affaire.

Le Sousssigné, &c. (Signé) VON DER PFORDTEN.

No. 387.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Brunnow.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Baron Brunnow, January 18.)

M. le Baron, *St. Pétersbourg, le* 28 Decembre, 1852 / 9 Janvier, 1853.

DEPUIS l'expédition de ma dépêche du 1 Novembre j'ai reçu des communications de la part des Cabinets de Vienne et de Copenhagne sur la question de savoir si et dans quelle forme les Puissances qui ont concouru au Traité du 8 Mai auraient à s'acquitter auprès de la Diète Germanique de la démarche prévue dans l'Article IV. Ces communications m'ont engagé à adresser à notre Chargé d'Affaires à Vienne la dépêche dont votre Excellence trouvera la copie ci-jointe. En même temps j'ai muni le Ministre de l'Empereur près la Confédération Germanique des directions éventuelles dont il pourrait avoir besoin, ainsi que vous le verrez, M. le Baron, par la dépêche également ci-annexée.

Les explications que M. de Tonton est chargé d'offrir au Ministère Autrichien ne font que confirmer les idées que votre Excellence a déjà échangées avec Lord Malmesbury, et qui ont, dans le temps, obtenu l'entier suffrage de notre auguste Maître.

Pour ce qui regarde la ligne de conduite que le Prince Gortchakoff sera dans le cas de suivre, il me reste à vous prier, M. le Baron, de vouloir bien, en tems et lieu, l'informer directement des intentions du Ministère Britannique, et de lui faire savoir nommément si le nouveau Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères persiste dans la résolution que son prédécesseur vous a annoncée, de ne point intervenir dans les formalités d'une démarche auprès de la Diète, même quand elle n'aurait pour objet qu'une simple notification du Traité de Londres.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) NESSELRODE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 387.

Count Nesselrode to M. de Tonton.

St. Pétersbourg, le 23 *Décembre,* 1852.

LE Cabinet Impérial a reçu de M. l'Envoyé d'Autriche communication de deux dépêches de sa Cour, l'une du 30 Novembre, l'autre du 2 Décembre, et qui concernent, l'une et l'autre, l'exécution de l'Article IV du Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai dernier.

Par sa dépêche du 2 Décembre le Cabinet de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Autrichienne a bien voulu nous faire connaître l'instruction dont il a muni les Missions d'Autriche, pour les mettre à même d'associer aux démarches du Danemark destinées à obtenir l'accession des Cours Royales et Grand Ducales auxquelles la demande a dû en être adressée. Je ne puis que vous engager, Monsieur, à remercier M. le Comte de Buol pour cette communication. Il aura déjà eu connaissance des directions que les Représentants de notre auguste Maître ont reçu sur le même sujet. Elles sont entièrement conformes à celles du Cabinet de Vienne, de sorte que les Représentants des deux Cours Impériales auront pû procéder dans le plus parfait accord.

La dépêche Autrichienne du 30 Novembre répond à la communication dont vous avez été chargé de vous acquitter sous la date du $\frac{1}{13}$ du même mois. Elle a plus particulièrement trait à la démarche qu'il s'agirait de faire auprès de la Diète Germanique.

Par ma dépêche du $\frac{1}{13}$ Novembre je vous annonçai que selon l'opinion du Cabinet Impérial il appartient aux Cours de Vienne, de Berlin, et de Copenhague, en leur qualité de Membres de la Confédération Germanique, de se concerter sur la démarche qu'il y aurait à faire auprès de la Diète, soit pour lui notifier seulement le Traité du 8 Mai, soit pour l'inviter à y accéder. J'ajoutais qu'en cela nous sommes d'accord avec le Cabinet Britannique.

Le Ministre Autrichien, dans sa dépêche à M. le Comte de Mensdorff, convient que l'examen de la question de savoir si, et dans quelle forme, les Puissances auraient à communiquer le Traité de Londres à la Confédération Germanique appartient exclusivement aux Gouvernements qui font partie de cette Confédération; mais il pense que si, à la suite d'une délibération qui aurait eu lieu à ce sujet, il était question d'inviter la Confédération à accéder au Traité, il faudrait qu'aux termes de l'Article IV pareille invitation lui fût adressée par toutes les Puissances signataires. A l'appui de son opinion M. le Comte de Buol observe que l'Autriche et la Prusse n'ont signé le Traité de Londres, ni en leur qualité de Puissances Allemandes, ni en vertu d'un mandat de la Confédération; et que par conséquence elles ne sauraient se reconnaître la faculté d'inviter les Etats Allemands à l'accession, ni de provoquer en général l'accession d'une nouvelle Partie Contractante sans le concours des autres Puissances signataires.

Le Cabinet de Copenhague s'étant de son côté prononcé pour une démarche auprès de la Diète à l'effet d'obtenir l'accession formelle de la Confédération, le Ministère Autrichien témoigne le désir que le Représentant de l'Empereur près la Confédération Germanique soit éventuellement autorisé à s'associer, le cas échéant, aux Représentants des autres Puissances Contractantes. Une demande semblable vient de nous être exprimée par le Cabinet de Copenhague.

En répondant à ces différentes ouvertures, je crois devoir observer avant tout que je ne saurais partager entièrement la manière de voir de M. le Comte de Buol, lorsqu'il soutient que le concours de toutes les Puissances qui ont pris part au Traité de Londres est nécessaire pour l'admission d'une nouvelle Partie Contractante. Le Traité de Londres a été conclu entre six Puissances, agissant en commun, d'une part, et le Danemark, stipulant pour lui-même, de l'autre. Par l'Article IV les Puissances Contractantes se sont réservé de porter le Traité à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder. Elles n'ont pris aucun engagement à cet égard, car la clause est facultative; mais elles ont réservé à la Cour de Copenhague l'initiative de l'invitation mentionnée au dit Article. La Cour de Copenhague s'est prévalue de cette faculté que lui réservait le Protocole du 19 Juin. Elle a désigné les Puissances auxquelles elle communiquerait le Traité. En se décidant à inviter les Cours Royales et Grand Ducales à y accéder formellement, elle n'ignorait pas que dans ce nombre il y en a plusieurs où la Russie ne serait par en mesure d'appuyer ses démarches. Celles-ci n'en ont phs moins en lieu, auprès des Gouvernements de Belgique, d'Espagne, et de Sardaigne; et si

nous sommes bien informés, elles ont eu un plein succès au moins à Bruxelles et à Madrid. Ce fait prouverait à lui seul que le concours de toutes les Puissances co-signataires n'est pas de rigueur pour que le Danemark obtienne l'accession d'une nouvelle Partie Contractante.

Pour ce qui concerne plus particulièrement une démarche formelle à faire auprès de la Diète de Francfort, afin de l'inviter à accéder au nom de la Confédération Germanique au Traité de Londres, le Cabinet Impérial y aurait, pour sa part, au moins plus d'une objection. Il ne nous est pas démontré jusqu'à présent que l'accession de la Confédération Germanique puisse être obtenue dans les conditions requises par la Loi Fédérale. Les Représentants d'Autriche, de Prusse, et de Danemark à Francfort-sur-Maine ont été chargé de sonder à cet égard les dispositions des différents Etats. En attendant le résultat de ces informations préalables nous avons déjà pu nous convaincre par nous-mêmes que les Cours Royales et Grand Ducales qui ont été invitées à accéder au Traité n'ont pas accueilli cette communication avec une égale faveur. Le Cabinet de Vienne en aura eu connaissance directement. Les dispositions que plusieurs de ces Cours ont manifesté jusqu'à présent, les réserves et les précautions qu'elles ont cru devoir prendre en se prononçant sur le Traité, ne sont guère de bon augure pour le résultat de leurs votes au sein de la Diète, d'autant plus que leur exemple trouvera de nombreux imitateurs sans aucun doute parmi les Etats des 15, 16 et 17 curies. Or, serait-il prudent, ou seulement convenable, d'exposer à leur appréciation un Traité conclu entre les Grandes Puissances Européennes, non dans un intérêt exclusif, mais dans l'intérêt de la paix et de l'équilibre Européen? Pour sa part au moins le Cabinet Impérial n'y consentirait pas, et il pense qu'aucune des Puissances qui ont concouru au Traité de Londres ne saurait admettre que cette transaction Européenne devienne le sujet de discussions, qui pourraient faire révoquer en doute la validité des engagements qu'elles ont si solennellement contractés.

Si elles se sont réservé de porter le Traité à la connaissance des autres Puissances en leur invitant à y accéder, ce n'est pas à dire qu'elles aient supposé que la combinaison qui était le résultat de leurs négociations, et qu'elles venaient de prendre définitivement sous leur sauvegarde, eût besoin encore d'une autre garantie quelconque; mais elles ont voulu entr'autres ménager à Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, comme membre de la Confédération Germanique, le moyen de se mettre en régle envers ses co-Etats Allemands.

D'après ces considérations il semble que les Puissances Contractantes devraient se borner à notifier simplement à la Diète Germanique le Traité qui a éventuellement réglé l'ordre de Succession dans la Monarchie Danoise. Le Cabinet de Vienne est d'opinion que si ce mode était adopté en dernière analyse, il appartiendrait exclusivement à Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark de s'acquitter de la communication qu'il s'agirait de faire à Frankfort sur-Maine. Quoiqu'il en soit, et pour le cas où les autres Puissances Contractantes, et nommément la Grande Bretagne, se déciderait à s'associer à cette démarche, le Ministre de l'Empereur serait autorisé à s'y joindre également au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale.

Je vous engage, Monsieur, à vous expliquer dans ce sens envers M. le Comte de Buol, en lui communiquant la présente dépêche. Le Ministre de l'Empereur à Copenhague sera informé de son côté des résolutions du Cabinet Impérial pour en donner connaissance au Ministère Danois.

Recevez, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 387.

Count Nesselrode to Prince Gortchakoff.

St. Pétersbourg, le 23 *Décembre,* 1852.

LES communications que nous avons reçues de Vienne et de Copenhague ont mis le Ministère Impérial dans le cas d'ajouter de nouvelles explications à celles que renfermait ma dépêche du 1 Novembre, sur les démarches auxquelles le Traité du 8 Mai pourrait donner lieu auprès de la Diète Germanique. Votre Excellence trouvera ci-jointe la copie d'une dépêche que je viens d'adresser à notre Chargé d'Affaires à Vienne. Elle se résume en ce peu de mots.

Si l'Autriche, la Prusse, et le Danemark, en leur qualité de Membres de la Confédération Germanique, jugent nécessaire de l'inviter à accéder au Traité de Londres, le Cabinet Impérial ne saurait naturellement s'opposer à une pareille démarche, mais il s'abstiendra d'y prendre part.

Si les trois Puissances Allemandes préfèrent se borner à communiquer simplement le Traité à la Diète pour son information, le Cabinet Impérial se joindra à cette notification, dans le cas où les autres Puissances, et nommément l'Angleterre, voudraient s'y joindre également.

Le Cabinet Français serait tout disposé, à ce que M. de Castelbajac vient de m'annoncer, même à inviter la Confédération à une accession formelle. Quant au Cabinet Britannique, à en juger au moins par les explications que notre Ministre a eues encore avec Lord Malmesbury, il s'abstiendra d'intervenir même dans les formalités d'une simple notification. Nous ne saurions, pour le moment, connaître à cet égard les dispositions du nouveau Cabinet. Quelles qu'elles soient, votre Excellence trouvera dans ma dépêche à M. de Tonton les directions éventuelles dont elle aura besoin. Si les autres Puissances Contractantes, et nommément la Grande Bretagne, se décident à prendre part à une démarche qui aurait pour but de notifier simplement le Traité de Londres à la Diète Germanique, vous seriez autorisé mon Prince, à vous joindre à vos collègues pour vous acquitter d'une notification semblable au nom du Cabinet Impérial. J'invite le Baron de Brunnow, en lui communiquant la présente dépêche, à informer directement votre Excellence, en temps et lieu, des intentions du nouveau Ministère Anglais.

Recevez, &c.

No. 388.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1853.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 7th instant, announcing the final settlement of the arrangement with the Duke of Augustenburg, I have to instruct you to express to the Danish Minister the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have received this intelligence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 389.

Lord J. Russell to Sir J. Milbanke.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1853.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 23rd ultimo, inclosing the reply of the Bavarian Government to the invitation which you had addressed to them to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May last, regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government learn with regret from that reply that it is not the intention of the Bavarian Government to accede to that Treaty until it shall have received the sanction of the Diet of the Germanic Confederation.

Her Majesty's Government had hoped that as the Governments of Austria and Prussia had not considered it incompatible with their Federal obligations to become original Contracting Parties to this engagement, the Government of Bavaria would, on its part, likewise have considered itself at liberty to accede to an European arrangement which was intended to set at rest a question pregnant with danger to the peace of the world. It must be obvious to the Bavarian Government that if the question is to be made dependent on the forms observed in the Diet for the settlement of purely German questions, it may happen that, owing to a divergence of opinion on the part of some of the members of the Confederation not especially interested in or affected by the settlement of the question, such settlement might be indefinitely postponed. But in any such result Her Majesty's Government will be unable to acquiesce. Their obligation to the Crown of Denmark is a complete obligation, and cannot be affected by any course which the Government of Bavaria or any other Government may deem it justifiable or expedient to pursue, and they must hold those other Powers who with them were parties to the Treaty of the 8th of May responsible for its full and due execution; and Her Majesty's Government will on no account consent to re-open any discussion whatever on the matter.

You will point out to the Bavarian Government that, looking upon the fact of the accession of the great majority of the States of Europe, it may happen that Bavaria will,

by the course it is at present pursuing, establish a precedent injurious to her independence of action in other matters.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 390.

Lord J. Russell to Sir J. Milbanke.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1853.

I HEREWITH transmit to you, for your information, copy of a despatch which has been received from Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen,* on the subject of the refusal of Bavaria to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May before the sanction of the Diet of the Germanic Confederation to that Treaty has been given.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 391.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Bloomfield.†

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1853.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Lordship, for your information, copy of an instruction which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Munich on the subject of the refusal of the Bavarian Government to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May.‡

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 392.

Lord J. Russell to Baron Brunnow.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 22, 1853.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, inclosing despatches from Count Nesselrode, respecting the course to be pursued for making known to the Diet at Frankfort the Treaty of the 8th of May last, on the subject of the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, and requesting to be informed whether Her Majesty's present Government concur with their predecessors in declining to be a party to any such communication.

In returning to you at your request Count Nesselrode's despatches, I have the honour to inform you that Her Majesty's Government adhere to the decision announced to you by the Earl of Malmesbury, and do not propose to take any part in communicating the Treaty to the Diet at Frankfort.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 393.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 23.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January* 19, 1853.

WITH reference to my despatch to the Earl of Malmesbury of the 27th of November last, in which I inclosed the copy of a communication which I had, by his Lordship's directions, addressed to the Government of their Royal Highnesses the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, inviting them to accede to the Treaty concluded on the 8th of May last, respecting the Danish Succession, I have now the honour to forward herewith copies of the answers which I have received from Count Bulow and M. de Bernstorff.

* No. 386. † A similar despatch was addressed to Sir E. Lyons. ‡ No. 389.

These answers, which your Lordship will observe are identical, are not quite satisfactory. The two Grand Ducal Governments declare that they fully appreciate the motives which had led to the signature of this Treaty, but they nevertheless decline giving their formal and isolated accession to an act of European importance, in consequence of the affair itself being one of especial interest to the Germanic Confederation, to which Body the Grand Ducal Governments appear to consider that all political questions affecting the general interests of Germany ought to be referred.

I have thought it advisable to express to the Mecklenburg Chargé d'Affaires at this Court my regret at the communications which I had received from Schwerin, and he endeavoured to explain that he believed his Government would not offer any opposition to the measures when communicated to the Diet; that it merely wished to guard itself from responsibility by committing itself to an act upon which the Confederation had not yet been called to express an opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 393.

Count Bülow to Lord Bloomfield.

Schwerin, le 10 *Janvier,* 1853.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, &c., a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note du 27 Novembre dernier par laquelle son Excellence Lord Bloomfield, &c., a bien voulu lui communiquer le Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et inviter le Gouvernement du Grand Duc à y accéder.

Le Soussigné n'a pas manqué de placer ces documents sous les yeux du Grand Duc son auguste Maître, qui, après en avoir pris connaissance avec tout l'intérêt que l'importance de cette communication mérite, l'a chargé de la réponse suivante.

Son Altesse Royale ne saurait méconnaître les motifs généreux qui ont de engager les Puissances signataires de cette Acte à s'occuper, dans un intérêt tout Européen, de la solution d'une question qui dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché aurait pu amener des difficultés et même devenir un sujet de troubles pour le Nord de l'Europe. Elle se plait à reconnaître dans cet Acte un nouveau témoignage de la sollicitude que les grandes Puissances placées à la tête du concert Européen ne cessent de vouer, dans l'accomplissement de leur haute vocation, au maintien de la tranquillité générale, en ayant soin d'écarter d'avance tout ce qui pourrait en compromettre la durée.

Son Altesse Royale n'est pas moins sensible au procédé obligeant du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, qui a bien voulu lui donner connaissance du dit Traité et lui faire l'honneur de l'engager à y accéder.

Cependant en examinant consciencieusement à quel titre le Grand Duc doit se voir appelé à participer à cet Acte d'une portée Européenne, Son Altesse Royale a cru devoir prendre en considération avant tout sa position comme membre de la Confédération Germanique. Cette position lui semble impliquer le devoir de ne pas se prononcer par une déclaration isolée dans une affaire qui intéresse la totalité de la Confédération, et dans laquelle le Grand Duc pour sa part se trouve principalement intéressé dans sa qualité de membre du Corps Germanique.

Toute démarche isolé semblerait à Son Altesse Royale une déviation du principe de solidarité qui forme la règle immuable de la conduite du Gouvernement Grand Ducal dans toutes les questions politiques qui peuvent toucher les intérêts généraux de la Confédération.

C'est par suite de ces considérations que Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc croit devoir s'abstenir de procéder à une accession formelle au Traité conclu à Londres, tout en regrettant vivement que ces considérations l'empêchent de répondre aux intentions bienveillantes que les Cours signataires du dit Traité ont bien voulu lui témoigner en cette occasion. En priant son Excellence Lord Bloomfield de vouloir bien porter le contenu de cette note à la connaissance du Cabinet Royal, le Soussigné profite, &c.

(Signé) BULOW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 393.

M. de Bernstorff to Lord Bloomfield, January 13, 1853.

This is identic with the preceding note from Count Bülow, dated January 10, 1853.

No. 394.

Sir J. Milbanke to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 24.)

My Lord, *Munich, January* 17, 1853.

NOTWITHSTANDING the statement made in the note addressed by the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs to myself and the other Representatives of the Powers who were parties to the Treaty signed in London on the 8th of May last, relative to the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family, copy of which was forwarded to the Earl of Malmesbury in my despatch of the 23rd of December last, it seems by no means certain that it is really the intention of any of the Federal Powers to bring the question of their accession to it formally before the Diet.

Their hesitation in adopting a course which this Government from the first pronounced to be the only one which would be consistent with its Federal duties is founded, I understand, upon a doubt as to whether it would be possible to count upon that unanimity in the Diet which is essential in questions of this description.

I have reason to believe that the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets have been of late unsuccessfully endeavouring to ascertain in what sense the instructions from this and other Governments of the smaller States of the Confederation to their Ministers at the Diet would be drawn up, in the event of the matter being brought before that Assembly; and I am told that upon the result of these inquiries will mainly depend the further proceedings of the two Great Powers, since, should the prospect of obtaining an unanimous vote be at all problematical, as appears with reason to be apprehended, neither of them would be disposed to incur the responsibility of moving in an affair on which so much difference of opinion prevails throughout Germany.

In such case it is by no means unlikely that the accession of this Government to the Treaty would be either sought to be evaded or withheld altogether; for although no final decision has yet been come to on the subject, the language of M. von der Pfordten, as reported to me, goes far to justify me in the expression of such an opinion.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

No. 395.

Mr. Forbes to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 25.)

My Lord, *Dresden, January* 21, 1853.

IN compliance with the instructions conveyed to me in a despatch from the Earl of Malmesbury dated the 22nd of last October, I addressed, on the 26th of December last, a note to M. de Watzdorf, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, in which I transmitted to him a copy of the Treaty concluded in London for the regulation of the eventual Succession to the Danish Throne, and requested him to submit it to the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and to express the wishes of Her Majesty's Government that His Royal Highness should accede to it.

I have now the honour of inclosing to your Lordship a copy of that Minister's answer, in which he states that the Grand Duke prefers not giving his own declaration on the subject until the Germanic Diet has come to a decision.

M. de Beust said to me that he thought it better that the Germanic Diet should not be consulted, and gave his answer without delay; but it seems strange that Weimar, so much under the influence of Prussia, should have any hesitation in following the example of Saxony. There exists a great intimacy as well as relationship between the Grand Ducal families of Weimar and Oldenburg, which may be partly the reason. And Saxe-Weimar makes a similar reservation of rights with regard to the Duchy of Lauenburg, as well as protests against any infringement of its "just" rights and pretensions.

My colleagues here have received exactly the same answer from Weimar.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS R. FORBES.

Inclosure in No. 395.

M. de Watzdorf to Mr. Forbes.

Weimar, ce 31 *Décembre,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Ministre d'Etat et des Affaires Etrangères de Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Grand Duc de Saxe, a eu l'honneur de recevoir, dans le temps, l'office que son Excellence Mr. Forbes, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, a bien voulu lui adresser en date du 25 du mois passé, pour inviter le Gouvernement Grand Ducal à accéder au Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise en réglant l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

Le Soussigné a été empêché jusqu'alors, à ses vifs regrets, par une longue et sérieuse maladie de son auguste Maître, de porter cette communication importante à la connaissance de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc.

Mais après l'heureux rétablissement de Son Altesse Royale, il s'est hâté de prendre ses ordres, et par suite de cela Son Altesse Royale l'a chargé de remercier son Excellence M. l'Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la communication faite par elle, et de lui dire que Son Altesse Royale croit devoir préférer de ne pas donner sa déclaration sur une question qui sera traitée, comme on doit le supposer, selon la nature des choses devant la Diète Germanique, avant que la Diète n'ait donné sa décision.

Le Soussigné, en remplissant ces ordres, est également chargé de faire mention déjà maintenant, que le Gouvernement Grand Ducal est obligé de réserver les droits de succession que la Maison Ernestine de Saxe prétend au Duché de Lauenbourg, et de protester contre tout ce qui pourrait être de nature à contrarier le succès de ces justes prétensions.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) DE WATZDORF.

No. 396.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 25.)

My Lord, *Berlin, January* 21, 1853.

BARON RUDBERG having communicated to me the copy of an instruction which he has lately received from Count Nesselrode, on the subject of the notification of the Danish Treaty of Succession to the German Diet, I have taken copies of these papers, and have the honour to inclose them herewith, in case they should not be already known to Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship will perceive, from a perusal of these documents, that the Russian Government are desirous to avoid all participation in a step having for its object to invite the Diet to accede, in the name of the Confederation, to the Treaty of the 8th of May.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 396.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Budberg.

M. le Baron, *St. Pétersbourg, le* 22 Decembre, 1852 / 4 Janvier, 1853.

LA présente dépêche fait suite à celle que je vous ai adressé le 1 Novembre, pour vous informer que le Cabinet Impérial est d'accord avec le Cabinet Britannique sur les questions auxquelles l'Article IV du Traité de Londres a donné lieu par rapport à la Confédération Germanique. Une communication du Ministère Autrichien m'ayant fourni l'occasion de m'expliquer plus amplement sur cet objet, je crois devoir vous faire parvenir, M. le Baron, la dépêche ci-jointe que je viens d'adresser à M. de Tonton. Vous y trouverez, en cas de besoin, des arguments pour décliner toute participation du Cabinet Impérial à une démarche qui aurait pour objet d'inviter la Diète à accéder, au nom de la Confédération Germanique, au Traité qui a réglé l'ordre de Succession éventuel dans la Monarchie Danoise.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) NESSELRODE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 396.

Count Nesselrode to M. de Tonton, December 23, 1852 / January 5, 1853.

[See Inclosure 1 in No. 387.]

No. 397.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 25, 1853.

I HAVE to inform you that the Danish Minister at this Court has communicated to me the reasons which induce the Government of Denmark to desire to postpone a communication to the Diet of the Germanic Confederation of the Treaty of the 8th of May, and that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of this course.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 398.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 25, 1853.

WITH reference to your despatches of the 21st instant, on the question of the communication to the Diet of the Treaty of the 8th of May, I inclose to you, for your information, copy of a note which I have addressed to Baron Brunnow in reply to his communication of Count Nesselrode's despatches on this subject, and a copy of an instruction which I have addressed to Sir Henry Wynn, approving the intention of the Danish Government to postpone such communication.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 399.

Sir J. Milbanke to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 27.)

My Lord, *Munich, January* 22, 1853.

SINCE my despatch of the 19th instant was written, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires has given me the substance of a long conversation between himself and the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs relative to the Treaty concluded in London on the 8th of May last, the object of which was to regulate the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family; and the result is, that there is but little prospect that this Government can be induced to accede to it.

M. von der Pforden's principal argument against yielding compliance to the wishes of the Powers who were parties to the Treaty, is founded upon the want of proofs of the renunciation of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg and the Duke of Augustenburg; of which, he says, no evidence whatever is furnished: and he asserts that until satisfactory proof on this point be adduced, the Bavarian Government would, by according its sanction to the arrangement, be acting in direct contradiction to the principles and policy it advocated when it sent its troops into Holstein with the avowed object of upholding the rights of the Duke of Augustenburg.

My Russian colleague informed me that he had done all in his power to work a change in M. von der Pfordten's opinions, by pointing out to him the share taken in the transaction by Austria and Prussia, which were, he observed, equally with Bavaria members of the Confederation; but by his own account, all he was able to obtain was an admission that, if it were once made clear to the Bavarian Government that the Dukes of Oldenburg and Augustenburg had actually and formally renounced their rights, as the Emperor of Russia had done, the principal

scruples entertained would thereby be removed, and no further objection raised to following the example of other Federal States.

M. von der Pfordten, with whom I have just had an interview, made use of very nearly similar language to myself, guarding himself, however, from any pledge, by stating that what he said was nothing more than his own individual view of the matter, to which the approval of the King would naturally be required before he could act upon it. He professed ignorance as to the course which might be judged advisable by Austria and Prussia in respect to laying the Treaty before the Diet, and seemed rather to hope that such a step would be refrained from; but, in the event of its being taken, he told me that Bavaria would, previously to instructing her Minister at Frankfort, require communication of the Acts of Renunciation of the Parties interested in the question.

It is clear, however, that this Government will not give itself much trouble to obtain the information it acknowledges to be requisite to define its position; and after what I stated in my former despatch, it will not surprise your Lordship to hear that my impression is that the Treaty will not be made the subject of discussion in the Diet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

No. 400.

Sir H. Wynn to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 28.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, January* 22, 1853.

M. DE BLUHME yesterday sent his First Secretary to inform me that it had been determined in Council uot to make any application for accession or communication of the Treaty of May the 8th, to the Diet; wishing, though they have every prospect of a favourable majority, to avoid a useless discussion, which might have a bad effect on the Duchies.

Of the German Powers, Bavaria and Mecklenburgh-Schwerin alone have made their accession dependent on a vote of the Diet. The answer of the latter was much more friendly than that of Bavaria, and was accompanied by a private communication from the Mecklenburg Minister, M. Bülow, stating that, whenever the question was discussed in the Diet, the Grand Duke's vote would be in favour of the proposed arrangement for the Succession.

No answers have been received from Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, Hesse-Darmstadt, or Baden; and it is supposed that they will follow the line adopted by the first-mentioned Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 401.

Sir A. Malet to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 28.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, January* 25, 1853.

YOUR Lordship's despatch, inclosing copy of the instruction sent by your Lordship to Her Majesty's Minister at Munich, on the subject of the refusal of the Bavarian Government to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May, was delivered to me on Saturday evening the 22nd instant by Captain Johnstone.

With reference to the subject of this despatch, and Sir J. Milbanke's several reports on the matter which have passed through my hands under flying seal, I beg to state that I have had several conversations on the subject with the President and other members of the Diet, including Baron Schrenk, the Bavarian Minister, and from what I gather from various quarters I do not think the matter will be brought before the Diet at all.

Should it be presented as a matter for deliberation, the question of entertaining the subject will at once be mooted by a protest on behalf of the Danish Government, presented by Baron de Bülow, and it is, I apprehend, tolerably certain that the discussion will proceed no farther.

I have had no opportunity of ascertaining the views of the Austrian Government on this question, Baron Brenner not appearing to be instructed on the point; but I have no

doubt I shall shortly have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them, as Baron Prokesch is expected to arrive within the next fortnight.

The Prussian Cabinet evidently coincides in the view taken by Her Majesty's Government of the inconvenience and peril of any longer keeping the question open, and if Austria is of the same opinion there can be no doubt of the decision of the Diet coinciding with their views, and the question will not be allowed to be entertained should it be attempted to be brought forward.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 402.

Sir A. Malet to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 31.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, January* 28, 1853.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the note I have this day received from Baron Dalwygk, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Grand Ducal Hesse, in reply to the note which by directions from the Earl of Malmesbury, I addressed to his Excellency on the 17th of November last, inviting the accession of his Government to the Treaty of the 8th of May, signed in London, for regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark.

Baron Dalwygk's note declines accession to the Treaty on similar ground to that which has been taken in this matter by the Bavarian Government, and withholds any decision till it has been submitted to the Diet.

Guiding myself by your Lordship's instructions to Her Majesty's Representative at Munich, I shall take an opportunity of speaking to the Hesse-Darmstadt Minister in the sense therein prescribed.

The divergence of opinions already manifested in this matter proves that the view taken by Her Majesty's Government, in not consenting to its being discussed in the Diet, was correct.

The acquiescence or dissidence of a Government so unimportant as that of Hesse-Darmstadt upon any political question would be of very little consequence were it not for the delays which might be thereby created in any matter to be discussed in that Body, and I anxiously trust therefore that Austria as well as Prussia will act with good faith and sincerity in not allowing the matter to be entertained by the Diet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 402.

Baron Dalwgyk to Sir A. Malet.

(Translation.) *Darmstadt, January* 24, 1853.

THE Undersigned, President of the Grand Ducal Hessian Ministry, has received the honoured note of the 17th November of last year, by which the Envoy Extraordinary, &c., Sir AlexanderMalet, was so good as to transmit to him a printed copy of the Treaty concluded at London on the 8th of May of last year, between Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, on the one part, and Denmark on the other, with the view principally of maintaining the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, by regulating the Succession after the extinction of the male line of the now reigning Family of Denmark, and at the same time to request a declaration of adhesion on the part of this Government to the said Treaty, on the ground of Article IV. The Undersigned has not failed to bring this obliging communication to the knowledge of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, who has given it his full attention.

In pursuance of the commands of his most Gracious Sovereign, the Undersigned has to express the best thanks of the Grand Ducal Government for the above-mentioned important communication; but with regard to the contents of the same he must for the present confine himself to the representation that His Royal Highness the Grand Duke takes it for granted that this subject will, in consequence of Article VI of the Vienna Resolutions of the 15th May, 1820, which has become a fundamental law of the Germanic Confederation, be brought under the deliberation of the whole body of the Diet, and hence that it would be desirable to await such deliberation and its result.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) DALWYGK.

No. 403.

Mr. Magenis to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, *Stuttgardt, January* 28, 1853.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of the answer of the Grand Ducal Government of Baden, which has just reached me, to the note which I addressed to them on the 23rd of November last, inviting that Government, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May, regulating the Succession to the Crown of Denmark in the event of the extinction of the male line of the present reigning Family.

Your Lordship will perceive that Baron de Rüdt regrets that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Baden cannot accede to the Treaty in question at once, considering that the eventual Succession in Denmark, as far as the Duchy of Holstein is concerned, to be a question for the decision of the Diet of the German Confederation.

Although the instructions which your Lordship addressed to Sir John Milbanke for communication to the Bavarian Government would apply equally to the Baden Government, I have thought it advisable not to reply to M. de Rüdt's note until instructed by you to do so, because the observations which I should address to him would appear to be my personal reasoning, and not that of Her Majesty's Government, and would not, consequently, carry with them the same weight.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 403.

Baron Rüdt to Mr. Magenis.

Carlsruhe, le 26 *Janvier,* 1853.

LE Soussigné, Ministre d'Etat de la Maison Grand-Ducale et des Affaires Etrangères de Son Altesse Royale le Régent de Bade, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note par laquelle M. Arthur Magenis. Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, a bien voulu lui communiquer le Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, et inviter, en conséquence de l'Article IV de ce Traité, le Gouvernement de Son Altesse Royale le Régent à y accéder.

Le Soussigné s'est empressé de mettre cette importante communication sous les yeux de Son Altesse Royale son auguste Maître, qui après en avoir pris connaissance avec le plus vif intérêt et fait l'objet d'un examen sérieux, l'a autorisé à faire en son nom la déclaration suivante :—

Son Altesse Royale a de tout temps prêté une attention suivie à tout ce qui concerne l'ordre de Succession en Danemark, et c'est avec un sentiment de vive satisfaction qu'elle voit les Puissances signataires de ce Traité donner en cette occasion de nouvelles garanties du prix qu'elles attachent au maintien de l'équilibre Européen, et du soin et de l'empressement qu'elles mettent à sauvegarder en tout lieu la paix et la sécurité générale.

Cependant Son Altesse Royale, tout en reconnaissant les généreux motifs qui animent à cet égard les Cours signataires, regrette de ne pouvoir répondre au désir qu'elles lui ont exprimé en accédant de suite purement et simplement au Traité en question.

Cette Succession éventuelle dans la Monarchie Danoise, en tant qu'elle regarde le Duché de Holstein, concerne en effet, aux yeux d Son Altesse Royale, les intérêts généraux de la Confédération Germanique, et app tient par conséquent, d'après les termes de l'Article VI de l'Acte Final de Vienne, à s compétence.

Son Altesse Royale ne pense donc pas pouvoi en sa qualité de membre de cette Confédération se prononcer isolément dans une affair qui réclame avant tout une décision générale de la totalité des Etats Allemands.

Anticiper par une semblable démarche à la résolution future de la Diète Germanique serait, selon sa conviction, se départir du principe de solidarité constante qui en forme la base, et qui a toujours été le régulateur de la conduite du Gouvernement Grand-Ducal.

Le Soussigné en priant M. Arthur Magenis de vouloir bien porter le contenu de la présente note à la connaissance du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, profite, &c.

(Signé) BN. RUDT.

No. 404.

Sir J. Milbanke to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord, *Munich, January 29, 1853.*

MY previous communications on the subject of the accession of Bavaria to the Treaty signed on the 8th of May last, in London, relative to the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, will have prepared your Lordship to hear that there is no chance whatever of inducing the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs to change his opinion as to the course which he imagines it to be the duty of this country to pursue, except on the condition stated in my despatch of the 22nd instant.

M. von der Pfordten is, I have every reason to believe, confirmed and supported in these views by both the reigning Sovereign and King Lewis, to whose policy and conduct in the early part of the struggle between the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and their legitimate Ruler it is now needless to advert. It cannot, however, be denied that this Government has maintained throughout a certain consistency on this difficult question; for on almost the last occasion on which it appeared in a formal shape before the Diet—I mean when the Report of the Federal Commissioners who had been sent to regulate the affairs of the Duchies was presented—considerable delay took place before the Bavarian Minister received instructions upon it; and when at length those instructions did arrive the vote he gave contained an expression of the deep regret with which his Government acceded to the proposals contained in it.

My Austrian, Prussian, and Russian colleagues have been, with no better success than myself, unceasing in their endeavours to persuade M. von der Pfordten to abandon the isolated position he has adopted, and to join the other Federal States in their sanction of the arrangement concluded. The two former Powers naturally wish to see a question so pregnant with evil consequences for the future, which certainly, more or less indirectly, comes within the competency of the Diet, once and for all set at rest; but they cannot with safety hazard a proposition on the subject to that Assembly without being previously assured of an unanimous decision.

Now I cannot divest myself of the idea, in which I am partly strengthened by an observation made by M. von der Pfordten to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, that this very embarrassment of the two great German Powers is, in point of fact, one of the principal reasons for the opposition of the Bavarian Government to the Treaty of the 8th of May. The jealousy of Bavaria towards them on all internal matters is well known to your Lordship; and the opportunity of showing them that it is not in their power to terminate an affair in which she is, however indirectly, concerned, without previous consultation with her, is too tempting to be resisted. M. von der Pfordten has, I know, on more than one occasion bitterly complained of this neglect on the part of Austria and Prussia. However, it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that this Government adroitly turns the difficulties which it has itself raised to account to increase the popularity it acquired in the earlier stages of the dispute; and I am informed that the severe and arbitrary proceedings of the Danish authorities, in the Duchy of Holstein especially, are greatly contributing still further to alienate the two nations, and to second the ambitious efforts of the King to be considered in Germany as the Representative of the pure German principle, which, were he to be successful, would unquestionably secure for Bavaria a very different position from that she now holds. The foundation of this policy was laid by King Lewis, who was supposed, at the time the first symptoms of the confusion which ensued, and which subsequently removed him from the scene altogether, manifested themselves, to have been not entirely disinclined to lend himself to the furtherance of the plans of the Unitarian party.

Although perfectly aware that all the arguments I could employ would, unless they were backed by the Acts of Renunciation of the Agnates, fail to produce any effect on the mind of M. von der Pfordten, I availed myself of an opportunity that presented itself to urge upon his attention once more those contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 18th instant. His Excellency, in reply, again entered at some length upon a development of the principles which had guided the Bava an Government; he freely admitted that difficulties of the nature described by your Lordship might possibly occur, but he added that, in his opinion, the distant contingency contemplated was entitled to but little weight against the admission of a principle fraught with danger to the independence of all the smaller States of Europe, and to the application of which, if once recognized, he saw no limit. If, said he, we acknowledge the right of the Great Powers to introduce important changes into the organization of the less powerful States of Europe without their previous concurrence and consent, who can venture to predict how soon Bavaria herself, who does not aspire to

be ranked among the first, may be made to pay the penalty for yielding on this occasion compliance to their wishes?

I shall pass over the remainder of our conversation, and briefly state that the result was, that the accession of Bavaria to the Treaty depends wholly upon her being satisfied as to the existence of formal and legal Acts of Renunciation on the part of the Agnats, and the official communication of those Acts to the Government. In this sense, M. von der Pfordten told me he had written both to Vienna and Berlin, from whence he thought the desired information ought properly to come. Deprived of it, he said, the Bavarian Government was determined to maintain the position it had taken up, and under such circumstances the question could not, and it was far better that it should not, be brought before the Diet at all; but once in possession of the required proof, all scruples would be removed, and he would then, he added, take upon himself to recommend the King to give his accession to the Treaty without any further delay.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

No. 405.

Sir A. Malet to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 3.)

(Extract.) *Frankfort, January* 31, 1853.

WITH reference to my last despatch, transmitting the refusal of the Government of Hesse-Darmstadt to adhere to the Treaty of the 8th of May for regulating the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, I have to acquaint your Lordship that I saw M. de Dalwygk, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy, on the evening of the same day on which my despatch was dated.

I found him not at all inclined to recede from the ground taken in the note a translation of which I had the honour to forward to your Lordship, and from what dropped from his Excellency I do not think I am wrong in surmising that the step taken by M. de Dalwygk's Government has been concerted with Bavaria.

M. de Dalwygk was aware that M. von der Pfordten had acquainted Sir John Milbanke with the Bavarian Government having declined acceding to the Treaty, and the arguments he used in support of the view taken by the Grand Ducal Government, viz., that it was clearly a case for the consideration of the Diet according to the VIth Article of the Final Act of Vienna, &c., are, as I see by the inclosure in Mr. Magenis' despatch, very nearly identical with those employed by the Baden Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron de Rüdt, in the note by which that Minister notifies the refusal of his Government to accede to this Treaty.

There being an evident combination among some of the minor States to throw embarrassments in the way of a decision in case the matter is laid before the Diet, I hope, as M. de Prokesch will shortly arrive, to be able to ascertain what course will be taken, and as soon as I am informed will lose no time in reporting to your Lordship.

M. von der Pfordten's requirement of receiving official communication of the renunciation of the Agnats, when these renunciations, if they have not been so announced to his Government are already matter of public notoriety, can only be regarded as a subterfuge; his real intention appearing to be to try to prevent the recognition of the Treaty.

No. 406.

Sir H. Wynn to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, January* 29, 1853.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch inclosing that addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Munich, on the subject of His Bavarian Majesty's refusal to accede to the Treaty of the 8th of May until acceded to by the German Confederation.

As M. de Bluhme was already informed by M. de Bille of the substance of this despatch, I have thought that there would be no impropriety in communicating it to him *in extenso;* more especially as my Austrian colleague had already so done with a despatch to the Austrian Minister at Munich, making nearly the same, and perhaps stronger, remarks as your Lordship on the line adopted by the King of Bavaria.

On account of M. de Bluhme's illness, I was only yesterday put in possession of the inclosed answer to M. de Pfordten, referred to in my despatch of the 7th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure in No. 406.

M. de Bluhme to M. von der Pfordten.

Copenhague, le 8 *Janvier,* 1853.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a eu l'honneur, en date du 11 Novembre dernier, d'adresser à son Excellence M. von der Pfordten, Ministre d'Etat de la Maison et des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière, une note par laquelle Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière a été invité, au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, à accéder au Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai dernier, concernant l'ordre de succession à la Monarchie Danoise. En se référant à cette note M. von der Pfordten, dans une note que son Excellence a bien voulu adresser au Soussigné en date du 22 du mois passé, vient de déclarer que Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière ne croit pas devoir devancer la Diète de Francfort dans les décisions qu'elle pourra prendre dans l'affaire dont il s'agit.

Le Soussigné n'a pas manqué de porter cette communication dûment à la connaissance du Roi son Maître, et le Soussigné a été charge de déclarer, en réponse à la note de son Excellence M. von der Pfordten, que le Roi ne peut que regretter la résolution prise en cette circonstance par Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière. Ce regret est d'autant plus légitime que Sa Majesté ne saurait reconnaître ni la validité des raisons alléguées pour motiver la dite résolution, ni leur connexité avec l'affaire en question.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) BLUHME.

No. 407.

Sir H. Wynn to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, January* 29, 1853.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 22nd instant, reporting the determination of the Danish Government not to make, for the present, any official communication of the Treaty of the 8th May to the Germanic Confederation, I was yesterday informed by M. de Bluhme that the line so adopted had been perfectly approved of at Vienna.

Baron Manteuffel had also expressed himself personally satisfied with it, though he could not answer for His Prussian Majesty's opinion quite coinciding.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 408.

Sir W. Temple to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 7.)

My Lord, *Naples, January* 29, 1853.

THE accession of His Sicilian Majesty to the Treaty concluded in London, on the 8th of May, 1852, regulating the Succession to the Throne of Denmark, has now been officially announced in the Journal of the Two Sicilies, and I transmit to your Lordship a copy of the Official Journal containing this announcement, together with a translation thereof, which was published on the 28th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

Inclosure in No. 408.

Act of Accession of His Majesty the King of Naples.

Napoli, 28 *Gennajo.*

SUA Maestà il Re Signor nostro, su l'invito fattogliene dal Re di Danimarca, e dai Sovrani di Austria, di Francia, d'Inghilterra, di Prussia, di Russia e di Svezia e Norvegia, si è determinata di accedere formalmente al Trattato conchiuso in Londra il dì 8 di Maggio, 1852, fra i prelodati Sovrani, nel fine di assicurare l'integrità della Monarchia Danese, e regolare l'ordine di Successione eventuale alla totalità degli Stati attualmente riuniti sotto lo scettro di Sua Maestà il Re di Danimarca.

(Translation.

HIS Majesty the King our Master, on the invitation made to him by the King of Denmark, and by the Sovereigns of Austria, France, England, Prussia, Russia, and of Sweden and Norway, has determined to accede formally to the Treaty concluded in London, on the 8th of May, 1852, between the above-mentioned Sovereigns, for the purpose of ensuring the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and of regulating the order of the eventual Succession to the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

No. 409.

*Lord J. Russell to Sir J. Milbanke.**

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 8, 1853.

I HEREWITH transmit, for your information, copies of two despatches from Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen,† on the question of the communication to the Diet of the Treaty of the 8th of May.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 410.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 14.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, February* 4, 1853.

I HAVE acquainted Count Nesselrode with the purport of the instruction addressed by your Lordship on the 18th ultimo to Sir John Milbanke, respecting the refusal of the Court of Bavaria to adhere to the Danish Succession Treaty of last May, until that Convention should have received the sanction of the Diet.

The Chancellor, in return, informed me that he had instructed the Imperial Mission atMunich in the same sense, and that he had learned that a similar instruction had been written by Count Buol to the Austrian Minister at the Court of Bavaria.

His Excellency expressed his satisfaction at learning that the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the subject agreed so closely with those of the Emperor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 411.

Sir A. Malet to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord, *Frankfort, February* 12, 1853.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 8th instant, together with its inclosures, relating to the question of the communication of the Treaty of the 8th of May to the Diet.

In reference to this matter, I beg to acquaint your Lordship that I have positively ascertained that the Treaty will not at present be submitted to the Diet.

* A similar despatch was addressed to Lord Bloomfield. † Nos. 406 and 407

Her Majesty's Government must not, however, understand that this means anything more than a delay.

The Austrian, and I believe I may add the Prussian, Government, are perfectly of the same opinion as that of Her Majesty, that Treaty engagements taken in common do not admit of being discussed. These two Governments cannot, however, they say, withdraw themselves from their obligations to the Diet, and therefore, considering the present moment unpropitious, nothing will be done.

The matter is, however, I am assured, a mere form, but a form which, without injuriously detracting from the attributes of the Diet, it will be necessary to go through.

I need not, on this occasion, trouble your Lordship with details of the various conversations I have had on the subject, the results of which are summed up in the above conclusion.

The risk of this temporizing policy will perhaps be very small, unless in the event of the demise of the present King of Denmark, when the delay would be of serious importance.

I have not failed to urge this possibility, and such other arguments as suggested themselves to me, in quarters where they ought to prove most effectual, and shall take further occasion of reporting thereon to your Lordship. In the meantime I think Her Majesty's Government have great reason to be satisfied with the language and opinions of the new President of the Diet in reference to this question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. MALET.

No. 412.

Sir J. Milbanke to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 30.)

(Extract.) *Munich, March* 26, 1853.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has at last, in a conversation held with the Russian Chargé d'Affaires a few days ago, given some indication that the refusal of the Bavarian Government to accede to the Treaty for the regulation of the Danish Succession Question, which was signed in London on the 8th of May last, will not be much longer persisted in. At least he expressed himself to the effect that if the document purporting to be a formal cession of the rights of Succession of the Duke of Augustenburg and his family,—or, more properly speaking, an engagement on the part of his Highness not to take any step calculated to disturb the laws of Succession thus established, to which publicity has been given in the German journals,—should turn out to be genuine, he no longer saw any reasonable ground for maintaining the present attitude of opposition to the wishes of the great Powers who were Parties to the Treaty, which Bavaria and other Federal States had deemed it to be their duty to the Confederation to assume. He said, however, that the Bavarian Government could not act upon the authority only of an article in a newspaper, and that it must accordingly reserve its final decision until this Act, if it really had existence, should be officially communicated to it from some quarter or another.

M. von der Pfordten held nearly similar language to myself in an interview I had with him yesterday; the only difference was, that he laid equal stress on the necessity of the renunciation of the Oldenburg line, which, he observed, had no more than that of the Duke of Augustenburg been communicated to the Bavarian Government; and that he seemed to entertain some doubts as to whether it would not be more consonant with the German policy hitherto pursued by Bavaria that her accession to the Treaty should be signified through the Diet.

Now, however, that a temporary calm has supervened in the internal disputes which have so long agitated the different States of Germany, both great and small, it is not likely that sentiments of jealousy towards the two great Powers will be kept alive; and I therefore confidently hope that the sanction of this country will not long be wanting to it. But whilst announcing this prospect of a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which had arisen, I cannot refrain from adverting to what appears to me to be a singular modification in the view originally taken of the bearings of this question by M. von der Pfordten, for he frequently put forward as one of his principal reasons for declining to accede to the Treaty that, under its provisions, in default of heirs to the Danish Throne in the Glücksburg line, the Succession would be opened to the Imperial family of Russia.

This notion has also, as I have had occasion to perceive, taken some hold of the minds of more than one of my German colleagues, who, in the absence of proof of the Emperor's renunciation of his contingent rights to the Succession in the Duchy of Holstein, profess to see in the Treaty a confirmation and extension of those rights to the Sovereignty of the whole Danish Monarchy which they, in common with M. von der Pfordten, consider to be by no means without danger to the future security of Germany.

Such is also very much the tone of that portion of the Press which has always been the loudest in asserting the rights of Germany to the Duchies, and which is still doing its utmost to keep up agitation on the subject.

No. 413.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 2.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, March* 23, 1853.

THE first reading of the Bill approving of the Order of Succession recommended by His Danish Majesty, passed yesterday in the United Chambers with only one dissentient voice, that of M. Grantvig, a clergyman, who is most violent in his opinions, and occupies himself more with politics than his sacred duties.

The five days' discussion which preceded this decision were very stormy, and the members of the Opposition, though they refrained from voting on the first stage, did not show that forbearance which was to be expected, if any reliance could be placed on their previous declarations.

The Government and their friends are still sanguine that they will have on the other stage the necessary majority of three-fourths of the members. If they do so it will not be by any accession of their own strength, but by several of the members, though retaining their own opinions, seeing the danger to the country of remaining in its present state of uncertainty.

I have the honour to inclose a translation of the Report made by the Committee* to the last Chamber a few days previous to its being dissolved. It cannot now be acted on, and may be considered as a dead letter. It still, however, retains some importance as containing the opinions of the different parties into which the Chambers are divided. They, as well as all the members of the two Chambers, are unanimous in accepting Prince Christian as the presumptive heir: the only difference is the returning to the *Lex Regia* in case of the failure of His Majesty's male descendants, and thereby again endangering the integrity of the Danish dominions.

The second reading is to be begun on the 4th of April.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 414.

Sir R. Pakenham to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 3.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, March* 28, 1853.

BY the Earl of Malmesbury's despatch of the 25th October last, I was instructed to take the necessary steps, in conjunction with my colleagues the Representatives of Austria, Denmark, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, to bring to the knowledge of the Portuguese Government the Treaty concluded at London on the 8th May, 1852, relative to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, and to invite its accession to it.

By the same despatch I was, however, directed to postpone the execution of the foregoing instruction until I should have ascertained that a direct communication on the subject had been made to the Government of Portugal by the Government of Denmark.

It was not until the end of January last that the Danish Minister accredited to this Government, who is also accredited to the Spanish Government, arrived at Lisbon, and entered into communication with the Government for the purpose of obtaining Her Most Faithful Majesty's accession to the Treaty of the 8th May; when at his request, and in conformity with the course adopted by my colleagues the Diplomatic Agents of the

* Pamphlet.

several Powers Parties to that Convention, I addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs a note of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, inviting Her Most Faithful Majesty's Government to accede to the Treaty which had been concluded for the important object of maintaining the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

By a note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated the 22nd instant, a copy and translation of which I have the honour to inclose, I am requested to inform your Lordship that Her Most Faithful Majesty having with the greatest pleasure acceded to the compact for securing the maintenance of the Danish Succession, had furnished the Minister for Foreign Affairs with the necessary full powers to conclude the Act of Accession in concert with the Danish Minister, which Act was accordingly concluded on that day; and I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy and translation of it as it has been published in the Official Gazette, having, as your Lordship will perceive, previously to its conclusion, been submitted for the approval of the Cortes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 414.

Sir R. Pakenham to Senhor Athoguia.

Lisbon, February 2, 1853.

HER Most Faithful Majesty's Government are already aware that, on the 8th May last, there was concluded at London, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark, on the other part, a Treaty the principal object of which is to ensure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

This Treaty having been ratified, and the High Contracting Parties having, by its IVth Article, engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers, and to invite them to accede to it, the Undersigned, &c., has been instructed to bring it to the notice of Her Most Faithful Majesty's Government, and to invite their accession to it.

Accordingly, the Undersigned, being informed that a direct communication upon the subject of the Treaty of the 8th of May, 1852, has been addressed to His Most Faithful Majesty's Government by the Danish Minister accredited to this Court, has the honour, in fulfilment of the instructions of his Government, and in conformity with the tenour of the IVth Article of the Treaty, to invite the accession of the Government of Portugal to that Convention.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) R. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 3 in No. 414.

Senhor Athoguia to Sir R. Pakenham.

22 *de Março,* 1853.

O ABAIXO-ASSIGNADO, &c., levou, como lhe cumpria, em devido tempo, ão superior conhecimento de Sua Magestade a Rainha o contendo da nota que Sir R. Pakenham, &c., lhe dirigio em 2 de Fevereiro ultimo, em execução do Artigo IV do Tractado concluido em Londres aõs 8 de Maio de 1852, sobre a ordem do Successão eventual á totalidade dos Estados actualmente reunidos debaixo do sceptro de Sua Magestade el Rei de Dinamarca.

Em resposta tem o Abaixo-assignado a honra de dizer a sua Senhoria que Sua Magestade a Rainha apreciando devidamente os motivos que deram lugar á celebração do mesmo Tratado, houve por bem ordenarlhe significasse a sua Senhoria, para que se sirva faze-lo constar a Sua Magestade Britannica, que accedendo, com o maior prazer, áquelle pacto, acaba de munir o Abaixo-assignado dos necessarios plenos poderes para, em seu Real nome, assignar o respectivo Acto de Accessão; o que hoje deve ter lugar nesta Secretaria d'Estado pelas duas horas da tarde, em presença do Ministro Residente de Sua Magestade el Rei de Dinamarca.

O Abaixo-assignado, &c.

(Assignado) VISCONDE D'ATHOGUIA.

(Translation.)

Foreign Office, March 22, 1853.

THE Undersigned, &c., brought, as was his duty, in due time to the superior knowledge of Her Majesty the Queen, the contents of the note which Sir R. Pakenham, &c., addressed to him on the 2nd of February last, in compliance with Article IV of the Treaty concluded in London on the 8th May, 1852, respecting the eventual order of the Succession to the whole of the States united at present under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

In answer, the Undersigned has the honour to state that Her Majesty the Queen, duly appreciating the motives which gave rise to the celebration of the said Treaty, has been pleased to command him to signify to Sir R. Pakenham, in order that he may submit the same to Her Britannic Majesty, that, in acceding, with the greatest pleasure, to that Treaty, Her Majesty has furnished the Undersigned with the necessary full powers for signing, in her Royal name, the Act of Accession; which ceremony will take place to-day, at 2 o'clock P.M., at the Foreign Office, in the presence of the Resident Minister of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

The Undersigned avails, &c.

Inclosure 3 in No. 414.

Extract from the "Diario do Governo" of March 23, 1853.

Ministerio dos Negocios Estrangeiros.

DONA MARIA, por graça de Deos, Rainha de Portugal e dos Algarves, &c., Fazemos saber a todos os Nossos subditos que as Côrtes geraes decretaram, e Nós queremos a Lei seguinte:—

Artigo Unico.—E o Governo authorisado a propôr a Sua Magestade a Rainha a accessão ao Tractado de oito de Maio ultimo, assignado em Londres pelos Plenipotenciarios de Sua Magestade o Imperador de Austria, Rei de Hungria e Bohemia; do Presidente da Republica Franceza; de Sua Magestade a Rainha do Reino Unido da Gran-Bretanha e Irlanda; de Sua Magestade el Rei de Prussia; de Sua Magestade o Imperador de todas as Russias; de Sua Magestade el Rei de Suecia e Noruega, de uma parte, e pelo Plenipotenciario de Sua Magestade el Rei de Dinamarca de outra, ácerca da ordem de Successão eventual á totalidade dos Estados actualmente reunidos debaixo do sceptro d'el Rei de Dinamarca.

Mandamos portanto, a todos as authoridades a quem o conhecimento e execução da referida Lei pertencer, que a cumpram e guardem, e façam cumprir e guardar tão inteiramente como nella se contém.

O Ministro e Secretario de Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros a faça imprimir, publicar e correr.

Dado no Palacio das Necessidades, em 19 de Março, 1853.

(Assignado) A RAINHA (com rubrica e guarda).

(Assignado) VISCONDE D'ATHOGUIA.

Carta de Lei, pela qual vossa Magestade, tendo sanccionado o Decreto das Côrtes geraes de 5 de Março 1853, ácerca da ordem de Successão eventual á totalidade dos Estados actualmente reunidos debaixo do sceptro de Sua Magestade el Rei de Dinamarca, a manda cumprir e guardar como nella se contém; tudo pela forma supra declarada.

Para vossa Magestade ver.

(Assignado) JACINTO DA SILVA MENGO a fez.

Tenda sido convidada Sua Magestade a Rainha pelo Senhor dal Borgo di Primo Ministro Residente de Sua Magestade el Rei de Dinamarca nesta Côrte, em nome e com authorisação do seu Soberano, a prestar a sua accessão ao Tractado assignado em Londres aos 8 de Maio do anno proximo passado, relativo á ordem de Successão eventual á totalidade dos Estados actualmente reunidos debaixo do sceptro de Sua Magestade el Rei de Dinamarca; e havendo sido dirigido igual convite, em virtude do Artigo IV do referido Tractado, pelos Representantes das outras Potencias signatarias daquelle Pacto, residentes em Lisboa, houve a mesma augusta Senhora por bem, consultando as Côrtes, e ouvido o Conselho de Estado, authorisar com os necessarios plenos poderes, o Senhor Visconde de Athoguia, Ministro e Secretario de Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros, e da Marinha e Ultramar, para, na qualidade de seu Plenipotenciario, assignar em seu Real

nome, o respectivo Acto de Accessão; o que teve logar hontem na Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros, em presença do citado Senhor Ministro Residente de Dinamarca, o qual, por essa occasião apresentou, pela sua parte, em nome do seu Soberano, o Acto de Acceitação, com as formalidades do estylo.

Em consequencia do que, dignou-se Sua Magestade a Rainha resolver que fosse inserto no "Diario do Governo" o mencionado Tractado.

(Translation.)

WE Dona Maria, &c., make known to all our subjects that the General Cortes have decreed, and We will the following Law:—

Single Article. The Government are authorised to propose to Her Majesty the Queen the accession to the Treaty of 8th May last, signed in London by the Plenipotentiaries of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia; of the President of the French Republic; of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; of His Majesty the King of Prussia; of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; of His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, on the one side; and by the Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Denmark, on the other; respecting the eventual order of Succession to the whole of the States now united under the sceptre of the King of Denmark. We therefore command all the authorities, whom the knowledge and execution of the said Law may concern, to observe and keep it, and to cause to be observed and kept entirely as it is expressed.

The Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs shall cause it to be printed, published and circulated.

Given at the Palace of Necessidades, March, 19, 1853.

(Signed) QUEEN.

(Signed) VISCOUNT D'ATHOGUIA.

Her Majesty the Queen, having been invited by M. dal Borgo di Primo, the Resident Minister of the King of Denmark at this Court, in the name and by authority of his Sovereign, to give her accession to the Treaty signed in London on the 8th May of last sear, relating to the eventual order of Succession to the whole of the States, now united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark; and a similar invitation having been, by virtue of the IVth Article of said Treaty, addressed by the Representatives residing in Lisbon, of the other Powers signing the compact, the same august Lady has been pleased, after consulting the Cortes, and hearing the opinion of the Council of State, to furnish the Viscount d'Athoguia, Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and for the Marine and Colonial Departments, with the necessary full powers for signing in her Royal name, as her Plenipotentiary, the Act of Accession, which ceremony took place yesterday at the Foreign Office, in the presence of the said Resident Danish Minister, who on this occasion presented on his part, in the name of his Sovereign, the Act of Acceptance, with the customary formalities.

In consequence of which Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to order the insertion of said Treaty in the "Diario do Governo."

No. 415.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 11.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, April* 3, 1853.

AS I observe that the protest of the Prince of Noer, addressed to the President of the United Diet, was published in London by his Serene Highness's request, on the day of its being dispatched from thence, I have only to report to your Lordship that the original arrived the day before yesterday; and, at the same time, a copy inclosed in a letter to the King.

It has, of eourse, caused much sensation here; but his Serene Highness is much mistaken if he expects that it will have the effect of a firebrand thrown into the Diet to increase the existing dissensions. It is not approved of by the most violent opposers of Government; and, as far as can be at present surmised, it will open the eyes of those professing more moderate opinions, to the danger incurred by any delay in accepting the new line of Succession.

The King, with whom the Corps Diplomatique had the honour of dining yesterday, considers it in this light, saying to me, "It could not come more *à-propos*, as it furnished

M. de Bluhme with a fresh argument to show what the result of a rejection would be that the question was now reduced to, whether he or his cousin were to rule in this country; that the letter was as ill-judged as it was ill-timed; that the Prince's false representations as to his conduct were manifest, and that he could hardly expect that any one acquainted with the circumstances could admit the justice of the motives he brings forward."

This seems also to be the case with the condition for the withdrawal of the Prince's protest, that of a new Convention, excluding the Russian family from the Succession to the Danish dominions, a category never very probable, for any portion, and now rendered impossible by the late renunciation of the Emperor for himself and his immediate descendants.

The second reading of the Succession Bill will be brought on to-morrow. Notices of five different amendments have been given. As none are of any great importance, it is to be hoped that the Government will accept one of them, and thus gain the support of several members, who only wish for some pretext for withdrawing their opposition to the general measure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 416.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 12.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, April* 6, 1853.

WITH reference to my last despatch, I have the honour to report that, on the President of the Diet communicating the Prince of Noer's Protest, it was, by acclamation, resolved not to take any notice of it, and to proceed to the order of the day.

The first amendment on the second reading of the Succession question, proposing "that His Majesty should regulate the Succession according to the Convention of the 8th of May," was rejected by a majority of 92 to 55. Advantage was thus endeavoured to be taken of no mention being distinctly made in that Convention of the *Lex Regia*, although practically done away with by the Articles establishing a new Dynasty. M. de Bluhme declared that he considered the Royal Message as entirely in concordance with the London Convention; that he and his colleagues would adhere to this opinion, and stand or fall by it, without admitting any amendment whatever. However honourable such firmness, grounded on conviction, may be, I have already stated my doubts as to its policy; and the little chance of the King's Message being carried without some concession. The different amendments to be proposed will, probably, be negatived by equal, if not larger, majorities; but not sufficient to carry the main adoption of the King's Message, which must, by the new Constitution, amount to two-thirds of the members voting.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 417.

Sir J. Milbanke to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 13.)

My Lord, *Munich, April* 7, 1853.

SINCE my despatch of the 26th ultimo was written, I have learned that General Prokesch has communicated confidentially to the Bavarian Minister at the Diet the Act of Renunciation of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg of his rights to the Danish Succession, the Protocol of Warsaw, and the undertaking entered into by the Duke of Augustenburg not to take any step against the order of Succession established by the Treaty of the 8th of May last, as signed in London. All doubts, therefore, as to the existence of documents equivalent to formal renunciations by all parties interested in the question being at length cleared up, the Bavarian Government is ready, as soon as the matter is brought officially before the Diet by Austria and Prussia, to give its vote in favour of the arrangement concluded.

M. von der Pfordten has all along maintained, and very recently again expressed his opinion, that, juridically speaking, the separate Accessions of the different States of the Confederation were without any value, and he has accordingly always advocated and

supported the view taken by the Austrian Cabinet, that the Diet, as the organ of the Confederation, was alone competent to accede to the Treaty and accept its responsibilities on behalf of all.

I have already in my preceding despatches explained the ground of opposition taken by this Government, which, however, seems to have been so effectually and satisfactorily removed by the explanations given at Frankfort that M. von der Pfordten told my Russian colleague a few days ago that he did not see how the Diet could do otherwise than adhere to the Treaty. Still it must not be forgotten that an unanimous vote of the Diet is indispensable to the validity of any decision it may come to, and I therefore inquired of M. von der Pfordten what course the Bavarian Government would be likely to pursue in the event of a dissentient voice being raised by any one, or more, of the smaller States; and I also asked whether he considered the tenor of the Protocol of Warsaw to be a sufficient guarantee against those eventualities which appeared to have raised some apprehensions in Germany as to the possible future possession of the Danish Crown by a member of the Imperial Family of Russia.

In reply to the first of these questions, M. von der Pfordten said, that should such a case as I had supposed occur, it would afford matter for serious reflection, but for his part he should be rather inclined, under such circumstances, to recommend that the affair should not be brought before the Diet at all. He added, however, that any embarrassment on this point might be easily avoided by sounding beforehand all those Governments which had up to this moment refused to accede to the Treaty, for upon their answers ought to depend, in the first instance at least, the further proceedings of the Diet. He seemed to me, from his manner, to be not quite clear that the Diet might not still have to encounter some manifestations of opposition, and he hinted at His Highness the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, but I was not exactly able to make out on what ground he apprehended difficulties in that quarter.

With respect to the Warsaw Protocol, he stated that although its contents certainly amounted to a renunciation on the part of the Emperor of Russia, reservations were consigned in it which were far from tranquillising his mind as to its future bearings and consequences. Adverting then to the Protest against the Treaty of the 8th of May, lately published by the Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Noer, M. von der Pfordten observed that the eventualities contemplated by it were far too remote to entitle it to much consideration at the present moment; and that in point of fact, the complaints contained in it ought properly to form the subject of an arrangement between the two brothers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. R. MILBANKE.

No. 418.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 18.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, April* 11, 1853.

THE second reading of the Succession Bill has taken place with, as on the former occasion, only one dissentient voice, and yet the probability of its being rejected rather increases than diminishes every day.

Of the several amendments which were proposed the only two worthy of notice were, in the first place, that of Count Kunth's party proposing that the abrogation of the *Lex Regia* should only take place after the accession of Prince Christian, who would thus ascend the Throne in the right of his Consort. This proposition was rejected by a large majority, and seems only to have been brought forward for the purpose of embarrassing Ministers by taking advantage of an error on the part of M. de Reedtz in having not only omitted all mention of the *Lex Regia* in the Protocol of Warsaw, but having in the Act of Acceptance (which he drew up without the privacy of his colleagues) allowed Prince Christian to bind himself to govern according to a law already abrogated in its main points by the establishment of a new Constitutional Government.

The second amendment, or rather proposition, proceeded from M. Oersted, a friend of the Government, and was "for a pure and simple acceptance of the King's Message." This was carried by a large majority, not however sufficient for carrying the third reading, and had not even the effect of ascertaining the sentiments of the different members, as several declared that in voting for it they by no means tied themselves down as to the final stage.

The discussions on the third reading commence on Friday, and are looked forward to

with great interest as entailing probably either the retreat of the Ministers or another dissolution of the Diet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 419.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 25.)

My Lord, *Berlin, April* 22, 1853.

THE Danish Minister at this Court has lately communicated with Baron Manteuffel on the subject of certain reservations made by some of the Houses of Saxony with reference to the Treaty signed in London on the 8th of May last year, which regulates the Succession to the Crown of Denmark. These reservations relate chiefly to the Duchy of Lauenburg, and the Danish Government has now applied to the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin to pronounce their opinions on them.

Denmark argues that having obtained Lauenburg from Prussia in exchange for Pomerania the latter is guarantee for the title, which is considered questionable by some of the Houses of Saxony.

I understand that Baron Manteuffel recommends the Danish Minister not to take any notice of these reservations, which are mere forms and untenable, and that it will be time enough to discuss the affair if it is ever brought before the German Diet.

Similar language has, I am told, been held by Count Buol to the Danish Minister at Vienna, and it would appear that Prussia and Austria take exactly the same view of the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the Danish Monarchy and of supporting the principles laid down in the Treaty of the 8th of May.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 420.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, May* 11, 1853.

M. QUAADE, the Under-Secretary for the Foreign Department, called upon me yesterday afternoon, and delivered to me from M. de Bluhme the inclosed copy of a despatch addressed to the different Ministers accredited at the Courts of the Sovereigns who were Parties to the Treaty of the 8th of May last year.

Your Lordship will observe that M. de Bille is instructed to communicate it to you with a *précis* of the discussions which have taken place in the United Chambers founded on differences of opinion on the spirit and exact tenour of that Treaty.

M. Quaade said that M. de Bluhme had no doubt that the different Governments would acknowledge that a right view had been taken by the Danish Government of that agreement, and that the right of Succession according to the *Lex Regia* had been both for the present and future abolished.

He added that to prevent any unpleasant discussion or accusation in the future Chambers of foreign interference the different Ministers were not instructed to make any such formal request, but that a spontaneous Declaration by the Sovereigns of their interpretation of this Treaty would be very acceptable and useful.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Inclosure in No. 420.

Circular Despatch addressed by M. de Bluhme to the Danish Representatives at the Courts parties to the Treaty of May 8, 1852.

Monsieur, *Copenhague, le* 9 *Mai*, 1853.

PAR la dépêche que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser le 19 du passé, en vous annonçant la dissolution de la Diète, je me suis réservé de vous faire parvenir quelques explications sur les vues du Gouvernement du Roi, ainsi que sur celles de l'Opposition, à l'égard du Message Royal du 4 Octobre dernier.

Je crois de mon devoir et envers le Gouvernement du Roi et envers la Diète de contribuer en tant qu'il dépend de moi à mettre les Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres à même d'asseoir un jugement correct non seulement de la ligne de conduite que le Roi a observée en soumettant à la Diète le susdit Message dans sa forme et dans sa rédaction actuelle, mais aussi des motifs pour lesquels cette proposition de Sa Majesté n'a pu obtenir le consentement requis par la Constitution du Royaume.

Je commencerai par constater que le choix fait par le Roi de la personne du Prince Christian de Glücksbourg a rencontré l'approbation unanime dans les Chambres réunies de la Diète comme dans la nation entière ; les discussions de la dite Assemblée font foi de la reconnaissance la plus sincère envers les Puissances qui ont consacré par un acte public les dispositions prises par le Roi pour établir éventuellement la Dynastie de ce Prince sur le trône de Danemark.

Je vous ai en son temps fait part, Monsieur, du Rapport du Comité chargé par la Diète avant-dernière de soumettre le Message Royal à des considérations préalables, et vous n'avez donc pas besoin d'une assurance plus positive pour être convaincu que même les membres de la Diète qui ont le plus décidément fait opposition au Gouvernement ont depuis longtemps salué avec la plus grande joie la perspective de voir dans l'avenir le Prince Christian et sa descendance occuper le Trône.

Mais tout en se déclarant prête à donner le consentement voulu par la Loi Fondamentale pour que le Prince Christian et la descendance mâle et agnatique de son mariage actuelle puisse éventuellement succéder, l'Opposition soutient cependant que le Message Royal, en proposant l'abolition de la Succession établie par la Lex Regia, va plus loin que le Traité de Londres n'exige.

Le Roi annonce dans le Message l'intention d'établir, pour tous les pays soumis à son sceptre, un forme de Succession telle que, dans le cas où viendraient à s'éteindre les descendants mâles du Roi Frederic III en ligne masculine,—qui en vertu de la Loi Royale rendue par ce Souverain le 14 Novembre, 1665, ont des droits de Succession au Trône de Danemark,—tout Succession selon les Articles 27 à 40 de cette Loi Royale devra dès lors être supprimée, et la Succession au Trône, pour tous les pays réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté, sera dévolue au Prince Christian de Glücksbourg et à la descendance mâle de ce Prince issue de son mariage avec la Princesse Louise, née Princesse de Hesse.

C'est le passage sousligné ci-dessus qui a fait naître la dissidence dans les Chambres réunies. Les adversaires du Message trouvent dans ce document deux propositions distinctes : une ayant pour but de transférer la Succession au Prince Christian et sa descendance mâle, et une autre supprimant l'ordre de Succession établi par la Lex Regia. La première de ces propositions a été considérée comme suffisant pour donner suite à toutes les dispositions du Traité de Londres, et approuvée à l'unanimité ; mais la seconde a rencontré l'opposition d'une minorité, qui a été assez forte pour repousser le Message, le § 4 de la Loi Fondamentale du Royaume de Danemark exigeant pour des changements dans l'ordre de Succession de la Lex Regia une majorité de trois-quarts des votants.

En prenant pour point de départ les actes et négociations antérieurs au Traité de Londres, les adversaires du Message font observer que l'abrogation de l'ordre de Succession de la Loi Royale se trouverait en contradiction avec les dits actes et négociations, et de là ils concluent que le Traité de Londres ne peut pas avoir pour but de supprimer cet ordre de Succession. Ils tâchent de mettre la teneur expresse du Traité en harmonie avec leur thèse, en faisant distinction entre la totalité des Etats réunis sous le sceptre du Roi et les différentes parties de la Monarchie prises séparément. Ils soutiennent que le Traité de Londres ne s'occupe que de la Succession à la totalité des Etats du Roi ; ils admettent que pour cette totalité le Traité introduit la Succession agnatique, mais ajoutent que rien n'a été stipulé pour ce qui regarde les divers pays composant l'ensemble de la Monarchie, et de là ils infèrent qu'il n'est pas contraire au Traité en question que l'ordre de Succession de la Loi Royale, et nommément l'ordre de Succession cognatique, soit conservé à côté de l'ordre de Succession résultant de la teneur expresse du Traité, dans le but d'être appliqué subsidiairement dans toutes les parties de la Monarchie où il peut légalement être appliqué—à défaut de descendance agnatique du Prince Christian ou enfin au cas que les prétentions de la Maison de Gottorp revivraient conformément aux réserves prises par Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie.

Le Gouvernement du Roi ne saurait partager cette manière de voir. Il consi-

dère l'abrogation de la Loi Royale, qui appelle les femmes et la descendance des femmes à la Succession, comme la conséquence logique du Traité de Londres, qui exclut les femmes expressément. Il ne saurait donc admettre que le Message puisse être divisé en deux parties distinctes dont l'une serait superflue ou plutôt de trop; parceque, à son avis, toute mesure tendant à mettre le dit Traité à exécution et ne stipulant pas en même temps la suppression de toute Loi de Succession établie en faveur des femmes ou de leurs descendants, serait incomplète, obscur, et dangereuse. Les transactions qui ont précédé le Traité de Londres ne changent rien à la teneur expresse de cet Acte; d'abord parcequ'il est d'une date plus récente, et puis parcequ'il n'existe pas de connexité entre les engagements pris par les Puissances avec lesquelles le Gouvernement du Roi a contracté, et les dispositions spéciales des dites transactions.

Il y a entre le Message Royal et l'arrangement voulu par l'Opposition une grande différence, et, bien qu'elle ne soit pas évident au premier coup d'œil,—bien que nommément elle reste sans aucun effet pratique aussi longtemps que les descendants mâles et agnatiques du Prince Christian et de la Princesse Louise se succèdent sur le Trône, puisque pendant tout ce temps-là il ne serait pas question de Succession cognatique,—cette différence n'en est pourtant pas moins réelle.

D'après le Message l'abrogation de toutes les dispositions de la *Lex Regia* relatives à la Succession aurait lieu dès l'extinction de la descendance agnatique et mâle du Roi Frédéric III; et la nouvelle Dynastie succéderait donc, non pas en vertu de la Loi Royale, mais uniquement en vertu de l'Acte par lequel le Roi, libre de disposer de la Couronne par suite du Protocole de Varsovie et des Actes par lesquels ses plus proches cognats ont fait abandon de leurs droits, donne suite à l'engagement pris par l'Article I du Traité de Londres en réglant définitivement l'ordre de Succession. Ce Traité servirait ainsi exclusivement de base au nouvel arrangement. Les adversaires du Message, au contraire, bien qu'ils admettent que la Loi Royale doit être temporairement modifiée dans son 37ème Article, afin que le Prince Christian puisse prendre place parmi les héritiers légitimes, soutiennent que ce Prince doit succéder uniquement en vertu de la Loi Royale dans toutes les parties de la Monarchie où cette Loi peut être appliquée, et s'ils ne disconviennent pas qu'une Acte spéciale soit nécessaire pour que la nouvelle Dynastie succède à la totalité de la Monarchie, nommément aux territoires où la Succession pourrait être contestée, ils prétendent toutefois que cet Acte, ayant pour objet une combinaison basée en plus grande partie sur la Loi Royale, doit aussi être principalement fondé sur la dite Loi.

D'après le Message, à l'extinction de la descendance mâle du Prince Christian, la Succession à la Monarchie Danoise serait ouverte; tandis que selon les vues de l'Opposition les droits de Succession à toutes les parties de la Monarchie où les dispositions de la Loi Royale peuvent être appliquées, seraien dans la même éventualité transférés, suivant l'ordre prescrit dans la susdite Loi, à l descendance cognatique du Prince Christian ou plutôt de la Princesse Louise.

En comparant les avantages qui seraient la conséquence de l'adoption du Message avec ceux qui résulteraient de l'arrangement voulu par l'Opposition, on ne saurait méconnaître que le Message offre au Roi une très-grande liberté dans la mise à exécution de l'Article II du Traité de Londres, en ce que, pour prendre l'initiative mentionné à cet Article, Sa Majesté n'aurait pas besoin de rechercher d'abord les renonciations successives des ayant-droits exclus par le Traité ou rendus impossibles par d'autres raisons. Si au contraire les dispositions de la Loi Royale étaient conservées, il en résulterait qu'à l'extinction de la ligne mâle du Prince Christian, l'affaire de la Succession Danoise serait réduite exactement au même état où elle se trouve maintenant ou plutôt où elle se trouva avant que le Roi se fût concerté préalablement avec ses plus proches cognats. Si l'ordre de Succession est réglé d'après le Message, le Roi sera dès lors à même de constater quelles sont les prétentions qui peuvent être mises en avant relativement à la Succession. Sa Majesté pourra donc dès ce moment la travailler à les faire disparaître. Enfin, en laissant subsister l'ancien ordres des choses, on s'exposerait à voir revivre, dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, des doutes, des espérances, et des velléités comme celles dont nous venons de subir les effets; tandis qu'en adoptant le Message et en substituant ainsi l'interprétation claire et stricte du Traité de Londres aux dispositions réglant jusqu'ici l'ordre de Succession à la Monarchie Danoise, on écarterait en même temps toute prétention qui ne fût pas fondée sur ce Traité.

Sous le point de vue politique le plus grand avantage qui résulterait de l'adoption du Message Royal serait indubitablement celui de voir un pacte solennel

engageant presque l'Europe entière remplacer exclusivement d'anciennes régles qui peuvent bien à juste titre avoir de la valeur pour nous-mêmes, mais dont la portée, si elle n'est pas méconnue, est cependant, jusqu'à nos jours du moins, restée généralement inconnue. Dans ce que je viens de dire en dernier lieu je n'ai pas perdu de vue les réserves prises en faveur de la Maison de Gottorp ; je procède à en faire mention, et on reconnaîtra, je l'espère, que, pour l'essentiel, elles ne changent rien à ma thèse.

Les adversaires du Message, en voulant conserver l'ordre de Succession établi par la *Lex Regia*, ont pour but principal d'empêcher qu'à l'extinction de la descendance agnatique du Prince Christian non seulement la totalité de la Monarchie, mais nommément les parties de la Monarchie susceptibles des dispositions de la susdite Loi se trouvent placées sans héritier légitime vis-à-vis des prétentions qu'on pourrait vouloir mettre en avant relativement aux parties de la Monarchie où l'application de la Loi Royale est contestée. Ils craignent une influence prépondérante de la part de la Russie dans l'application de l'Article II du Traité de Londres, Sa Majesté l'Empereur pouvant par suite des réserves prises par le Protocole de Varsovie, et renouvelées à la conclusion du Traité du 8 Mai de l'année passée, soutenir un prétendant que toute la Monarchie serait forcée d'accepter, parceque, la Succession cognatique établie par la Loi Royale abolie une fois pour toutes, les parties de la Monarchie susceptibles de cette Succession n'auraient pas de prétendant à lui opposer.

Quant au Gouvernement du Roi, il ne partage pas ces appréhensions. Les dangers qui, à l'avis de l'Opposition, menaceraient le Danemark du côté de la Russie, lui paraissent en partie exagérés, en partie nuls. Si l'Empereur avait voulu se servir de sa position comme chef de la branche aînée de Holstein-Gottorp pour rendre l'arrangement de Succession présent ou futur une affaire de famille à régler exclusivement entre lui et le Roi de Danemark, on aurait pu s'expliquer la crainte d'une prépondérance Russe ; mais si telle eût été son intention Sa Majesté Impériale n'aurait jamais pu consentir à l'Article III du Traité de Londres, lequel Article abandonne, dans le cas de l'extinction de la descendance agnatique du Prince et de la Princesse de Glücksbourg, l'initiative de nouvelles propositions au Roi de Danemark, et stipule expressément que ces propositions doivent être soumises à toutes les Puissances signataires du Traité. Cette stipulation, qui rende toute question futur sur la Succession Danoise une question Européenne, est, pour les incrédules et les méfiants, la meilleure et la seule garantie possible contre toute influence arbitraire.

Dans ce que je viens d'exposer je me suis scrupuleusement appliqué à mettre les vues de l'Opposition et les arguments allégués à l'appui de ces vues dans le jour le plus impartial possible. Mais comme je n'ai pas pu m'arrêter à tous les détails spéciaux des discussions qui ont précédé le rejet du Message, comme j'ai dû me borner à signaler les points caractéristiques des opinions divergentes, il n'est peut-être pas superflu que je relève expressément, afin d'empêcher et d'écarter toute sorte de prévention fâcheuse et contraire au but de la présente, que les opinions défendues par l'Opposition sont fondées sur des principes conservateurs et dérivent principalement d'un sentiment louable de respect et de prédilection naturelle pour l'ancienne loi qui depuis des siècles a réglé la succession au Trône du Danemark.

Vous savez, Monsieur, que le Gouvernement du Roi partage sincèrement ce sentiment de même que toute la nation Danoise. Néanmoins il ne s'associera jamais aux vues de l'Opposition. Il est convaincu que les dispositions du Message Royal sont beaucoup plus avantageuses pour l'avenir du pays que l'arrangement voulu par les adversaires de cet Acte ; et il travaillerait donc avec persistance à la réalisation du but qu'il s'est proposé, même s'il pouvait admettre qu'une ligne de conduite différente fût compatible avec le Traité de Londres. Mais ce Traité interprété d'une manière naturelle n'admet pas la conservation d'un ordre de Succession autre que celui qui y est mentionné expressément. Si l'intention des Hautes Puissances Contractantes eût été de conserver la Succession cognatique, le Traité de Londres et nommément son préambule aurait été autrement rédigé.

En terminant la présente dépêche je vous engage, Monsieur, à parcourir de nouveau et le rapport cité au commencement et le journal de la Diète que je vous ai fait parvenir, et dans lequel vous trouverez une reproduction exacte de toutes les discussions qui ont eu lieu dans les Chambres réunies au sujet du Message. Après vous être ainsi formé une idée correcte de la question dont il s'agit, vous voudrez bien, Monsieur, faire part à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères non seulement des vues et des arguments du Gouvernement du Roi, mais aussi des

motifs et des raisons allégués par l'Opposition à l'appui de sa thèse. Le Gouvernement près duquel vous avez l'honneur d'être accrédité peut avec raison désirer de recevoir par notre propre organe des explications authentiques sur les motifs qui, à notre grand regret, ont retardé l'application du Traité de Londres, et j'espère qu avec les données dont vous êtes maintenant en possession, vous vous trouverez suffisamment à même de fournir un tableau fidèle et impartial de l'affaire dont il s'agit.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BLUHME.

No. 421.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 23.)

My Lord, *Berlin, May* 20, 1853.

THE Danish Minister has lately communicated to this Government a despatch dated Copenhagen, the 9th instant, on the subject of the late Royal Message to the Danish Chambers respecting the Succession question, in which it is stated that the Opposition in that Assembly maintains that the Royal Message in pressing the abolition of the Succession established by the *Lex Regia*, goes farther than is required by the Treaty of London.

The objects of this despatch appear to be to justify the position laid down by the Danish Government, and to endeavour to obtain a communication from foreign Governments, which shall strengthen them in resisting the tactics of the Opposition at the ensuing meeting of the Chambers.

The Prussian Government have been pressed for their opinions on this communication, but no answer has yet been sent to Copenhagen. I understand, however, that it is their intention to reply evasively. They think that foreign Powers should not interfere in the subject at the present moment, and that there is no necessity for urging it just now, because the Treaty of London provides for the immediate Succession, in the event of the sudden demise of the Crown, and also for the possible contingency hereafter of the failure of male issue from the present marriage of Prince Christian of Glücksburg, by an appeal to the Powers who signed that Treaty.

Such I understand to be the opinion at present entertained on this subject by the Prussian Government, but I shall hope to learn more particulars respecting it when Baron Manteuffel returns from the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 422.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Wynn.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 7, 1853.

M. DE BILLE has communicated to me the despatch addressed by the Danish Government to the Danish Ministers at the Courts parties to the Treaty of the 8th May, a copy of which was inclosed in your despatch of the 11th ultimo, and which contains an explanation of the reasons which induced the Danish Government not to confine themselves to a simple communication of that Treaty to the Danish Chambers, but to accompany it by a proposition for the abolition of the *Lex Regia.*

Although the course which the Danish Government has deemed it expedient to pursue in this respect would not appear to call for the expression of an opinion on the part of a foreign Government, I have yet to instruct you, as the expression of such an opinion appears from your despatch to be desired, to assure the Danish Minister that Her Majesty's Government do full justice to the motives by which the Danish Government have been actuated, and that they see no reason for changing the opinion, already on various occasions expressed by Viscount Palmerston, that the abolition of the law in question would afford a simple, safe, and apparently unobjectionable method of hereafter preventing renewed complications, such as those to which the Treaty of the 8th May so happily put an end.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 423.

Sir H. Wynn to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 11.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, June 7, 1853.*

WITH reference to my despach of the 11th ultimo, inclosing a copy of that addressed to the Danish Ministers resident at the Courts of the Powers participating in the Treaty of the 8th May of last year, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that acknowledgments of a similar communication have been received from St. Petersburgh, Stockholm, and Berlin. As there was every reason to expect, the first contains expressions of perfect satisfaction at the measures taken by His Danish Majesty to give due execution to the Treaty, and concurs in the interpretation given to it, as to the abolishment of the *Lex Regia.* That from Sweden is equally favourable, though given as the individual opinion of His Swedish Majesty, on a question which the King conceives can only be decided collectively by those who acceded to the Treaty. The Prussian answer, though considered by M. de Bluhme as altogether satisfactory, is not as explicit as might be wished with respect to the latter point, as it is evidently drawn up so as to leave a door open for further discussion, whenever such may be considered a desirable policy by His Prussian Majesty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

No. 424.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Brunnow.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Baron Brunnow, June .)

M. le Baron, *St. Pétersbourg, le* $\frac{13}{25}$ *Mai*, 1853.

LE Cabinet auprès duquel vous avez l'honneur de représenter notre auguste Maître aura sans aucun doute suivi avec attention les débats qui ont eu lieu dans les dernières sessions de la Diète Danoise, au sujet de la proposition Royale d'abroger l'ordre de Succession établi par la Pragmatique ou *Lex Regia* de Frédéric III. Comme il paraît que l'Opposition s'est principalement appuyée du silence que le Traité du 8 Mai, 1852, garde au sujet de la *Lex Regia*, et qu'elle s'est même attachée à revoquer en doute qu'il ait été dans l'intention des Puissances Contractantes que l'ordre de Succession établi en 1665 fût aboli, le Cabinet Impérial a pensé que pour sa part il ne devait pas laisser plus longtemps subsister une incertitude que les adversaires du Message Royal, ou pour mieux dire, ceux dont les tendances sont contraires au principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, ont jusqu'à présent fait valoir avec tant de succès. J'ai donc à la suite des explications que le Cabinet de Copenhague nous a fournies sur l'état de la question, adressé, d'ordre de l'Empereur, la dépêche ci-jointe en copie à notre Ministre à Copenhague. Veuillez, M. le Baron, la communiquer au Ministère Britannique. Il aura reçu, je n'en doute pas, de la part du Ministère Danois les mêmes explications qui nous ont été adressées, et le Cabinet Impérial se félicitera d'apprendre que le Cabinet de Londres partage notre manière de voir.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) NESSELRODE.

Inclosure in No. 424.

Count Nesselrode to Baron Ungern-Sternberg.

St. Pétersbourg, le $\frac{11}{23}$ *Mai,* 1853.

VOTRE Excellence a eu soin de tenir le Ministère Impérial au courant des débat auxquels a donné lieu, pendant deux Sessions successives de la Diète réunie, le Message Royal du 4 Octobre relatif au nouvel ordre de Succession à établir dans la Monarchie Danoise. En nous faisant connaître les principales objections que le Message a rencontrées et qui en ont déterminé le sort en dernier lieu, vous avez signalés les constants et courageux efforts des Ministres du Roi pour défendre et faire triompher une question dans laquelle il s'agit tout à la fois de sauvegarder les premiers intérêts de la Monarchie et de remplir des engagements contractés envers les Puissances Européennes. J'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous informer, M. le Baron, que le Cabinet Impérial a suivi les débats avec une sérieuse attention, et avec une sollicitude dont la sincérité ne saurait être

revoquée en doute à Copenhague. Mes dépêches antérieures ont attesté la confiance que notre auguste Maître place dans la sagesse du Gouvernement Danois et dans sa ferme intention d'exécuter loyalement les stipulations du Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852. Sous l'influence de ce sentiment nous pourrions à la rigueur attendre tranquillement l'ouverture et le résultat des discussions de la nouvelle Diète qui va se réunir. Mais comme il paraît que les principales difficultés que les Conseillers du Roi ont eu à combattre jusqu'à présent proviennent de l'incertitude qui semble exister dans les rangs de l'Opposition sur les intentions des Puissances Contractantes, pour ce qui concerne l'abrogation ou le maintien du Statut Royal ou *Lex Regia* de 1665, et comme il est à prevoir que les objections élevés de ce chef seront reproduites dans la Session prochaine, il importe au Cabinet Impérial de ne laisser subsister aucun doute sur les intentions qui ont présidé, pour sa part, aux négociations et arrangements dont le Traité du 8 Mai présente le résultat.

C'est ce qui m'engage, M. le Baron, à vous adresser la présente dépêche.

Les Articles 27 à 40 de la *Lex Regia,* que le Message Royal propose d'abroger, ont réglé l'ordre de Succession dans le Royaume de Danemark proprement dit, de telle sorte qu'après l'extinction de la descendance mâle de feu le Roi Frédéric III, les femmes et leurs descendants, mâles ou femelles, seraient admis à succéder au trône. Cette éventualité, prévue en 1665, ne s'est pas réalisée pendant les deux siècles qui se sont presque écoulés depuis. Dans les derniers temps toutefois il n'était guère permis de l'exclure des calculs de probabilités. Le Cabinet de Copenhague et les Cabinets des Puissances amies devaient prévoir que, le cas échéant, les dispositions de la *Lex Regia* ne pourraient recevoir leur application non contestée que dans le seul Royaume de Danemark, et que dès-lors la Monarchie Danoise serait menacée d'un démembrement qui dérangerait l'équilibre de l'Europe et ferait naître de graves complications politiques. C'est ce que le voulait ni le Danemark ni les Puissances amies, et c'est pour prévenir de pareils résultats, que le Traité de Londres a été conclu. Il établit comme permanent le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise. Il reconnaît pour le meilleur moyen d'assurer cette intégrité, une combinaison qui appelle à la Succession au trône la descendance mâle à l'exclusion des femmes.

Le Roi de Danemarc ayant d'après ce principe désigné Monseigneur le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg comme Successeur éventuel au trône de la Monarchie Danoise, les autres Puissances Contractantes se sont engagées à reconnaître, le cas échéant, tant à ce Prince lui-même qu'à ses descendants mâles issus de son mariage avec Madame la Princesse Louise de Hesse, le droit de succéder à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

Les Puissances ont pu contracter cet engagement éventuel sans blesser les droit d'une partie tierce quelconque, parceque Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark pour établir la combinaison qu'il avait en vue s'était assuré au préalable, d'une part de l'assentiment des plus proches cognats que la *Lex Regia* aurait appelés à la Succession, de l'autre du suffrage et du concours du Chef de la branche ainée de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp.

Voilà ce que porte le Traité du 8 Mai. Il ne stipule pas expressément que la *Lex Regia* sera abrogée, car pareille clause n'aurait guère pu trouver place dans un Traité conclu entre des Etats indépendants; elle eût été contraire aux usages diplomatiques et plus encore au respect dû à la dignité souveraine. Mais en accordant leur suffrage et en assurant leur appui à une combinaison destinée à remplacer les dispositions de la *Lex Regia,* si le cas d'appliquer ces dispositions venait à se présenter, les Puissances ont naturellement dû réserver à Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark le choix des moyens de réaliser ses vues salutaires dans les voies législatives. Usant par conséquent de la prérogative Royale, Sa Majesté a daigné annoncer sa haute intention d'établir pour tous les Etats soumis à sa donimation un ordre de Succession qui aurait pour effet, dans le cas de l'extinction de la descendance mâle de Frédéric III appelé au trône en vertu de la *Lex Regia,*—

De faire cesser tout droit de Succession fondé sur les Articles 27 à 40 de cette Pragmatique; et

D'appeler à la Succession au Trône dans tous les Etats réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Prince Christian de Glücksbourg, de telle sorte que la couronne lui serait assurée à lui-même et à sa descendance mâle issue de son mariage avec Madame la Princesse Louise de Hesse par ordre de primogéniture.

Telles sont les dispositions du Message Royal du 4 Octobre, 1852. Elles expriment la pensée qui, de la part du Cabinet Impérial au moins, a présidé à la négociation de toute cette affaire. Aux yeux du Cabinet Impérial elles forment une ensemble et ne sauraient être disjointes. Car il nous semble que l'abrogation des Articles 27 à 40 de la *Lex Regia* est tout à la fois une conséquence nécessaire et une condition

indispensable non seulement des stipulations qui appellent le Prince Chrétien et sa descendance mâle à succéder éventuellement dans la Monarchie Danoise, mais encore du principe qu'exprime le préambule du Traité, savoir, qu'une combinaison qui appellerait à succéder à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark la descendance mâle à l'exclusion des femmes, serait le meilleur moyen d'assurer l'intégrité de cette Monarchie.

Je dirai plus, M. le Baron. Les paroles du préambule que je viens de citer et l'Article II du Traité prouvent jusqu'à l'évidence, il me semble, que ce n'est pas une suspension temporaire seulement de l'ordre de Succession selon la *Lex Regia* que les Puissances Contractantes peuvent avoir eue en vue. En déclarant par l'Article II du Traité qu'elles reconnaissent comme permanent le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et qu'elles s'engagent à prendre en considération les ouvertures ultérieures que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark jugerait à propos de leur adresser, si l'extinction de la descendance mâle de Monseigneur le Prince de Glücksbourg devenait imminente, elles ont assez clairement fait connaître leur intention de prévenir d'un commun accord le retour des complications qui ont d'une manière si dévastreuse marqué le cours des dernières années.

Les clauses de ce même Article II—puisqu'il faut que je fasse mention d'un pointe qui nous touche plus directement—ces clauses semblent aussi devoir rassurer ceux auxquels les réserves exprimés dans le Protocole de Varsovie et renouvelées au moment de la signature du Traité de Londres, ont causé de si vives et de si gratuites appréhensions. L'extinction de la descendance mâle de Monseigneur le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg peut sans doute faire renaître les droits éventuels dont Sa Majesté l'Empereur a fait l'abandon en faveur de Son Altesse. Mais l'initiative expressément réservée au Roi de Danemark et le concours des autres Grandes Puissances aux combinaisons à arrêter, le cas échéant, n'offriraient-ils pas dès à présent aux patriotes Danois des garanties réelles contre de projets ambitieux qui n'existent que dans leur imagination?

J'ai cru devoir, M. le Baron, m'expliquer sur le point de vue sous lequel le Cabinet Impérial envisage le Message Royal considéré dans ses rapports avec le Traité du 8 Mai. J'autorise votre Excellence à faire connaître notre manière de voir au Ministère Danois et vous engage à vous prononcer dans le sens de la présente dépêche toutes les fois que vous le jugeriez utile.

Recevez, &c.

No. 425.

Mr. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 28.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, June* 22, 1853.

WITH reference to Sir Henry Wynn's despatch of the 17th instant, respecting the Succession question, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the debate in the Diet on the second reading of the Royal Message began on Monday, and was concluded yesterday.

Some of the amendments proposed on previous occasions were again brought forward, but they were either withdrawn or almost unanimously rejected; and a resolution proposed by Count Moltke, sanctioning the regulation of the Succession by the King for the whole Monarchy, in conformity with the contents of His Majesty's Message, was ultimately carried by 113 votes to seven.

Several members of the Opposition were absent. M. Clausen and some others who were present abstained from voting; and he explained that they adopted this course not from any change in their opinions about the impolicy of the measure proposed by the Government, but because documents communicated to the Diet proved that the Great Powers agreed with the Ministry in their interpretation of the Treaty of London, and because the country appeared to attach no great importance to the maintenance of the old Succession Law.

I am glad to add that it is now considered certain by all parties that the Message will receive the final sanction of the Diet on Friday next, when the third reading is to take place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 426.

Mr. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 29.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, June* 25, 1853.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Royal Message relative to the Succession to the Danish Monarchy was read a third time yesterday in the Diet, and passed by 119 votes to 10; 7 members abstaining from voting and 11 being absent. The sitting closed with great cheering in honour of the King.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 427.

Mr. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 4.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, June* 30, 1853.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, two copies of a printed collection of despatches from foreign Powers and other documents presented to the Danish Diet during the discussion on the abolition of the *Lex Regia*, which have been communicated to me confidentially by M. Bluhme.

No. 6 in the series is a report of M. de Bille of a conversation which he had with your Lordship on the 19th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 427.

Despatches from Foreign Powers and other Documents presented to the Danish Diet, June 1853.

(No. 1.)

Copie d'une Dépêche Circulaire aux Missions du Roi à l'Etranger, datée de Copenhague le 19 *Avril,* 1853.

J'AI l'honneur de vous informer, Monsieur, que le Roi notre auguste Souverain, sur ma représentation, a dissous et le Folkething et le Landsthing. Cet acte a eu lieu aujourd'hui, après que, dans la séance tenue hier par la Diète réunie, le Message Royal du 4 Octobre dernier concernant le réglement de l'ordre de Succession à la Monarchie eut été rejeté par un nombre de Députés restreint, mais cependant assez fort pour faire tomber la proposition Royale accueillie par une grande majorité de l'Assemblée.

En me réservant de vous fournir sous peu quelques observations tendant à expliquer et les vues du Gouvernement et celles de l'Opposition à l'égard du susdit Message, je me borne pour le moment à ajouter que les nouvelles élections auront lieu pour le Folkething le 27 Mai et pour le Landsthing le 3 Juin prochain.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BLUHME.

(No. 2.)

Copie d'un Rapport du Ministre du Roi à Vienne, en date du 26 *Avril,* 1853.

M. le Ministre,

HIER j'ai communiqué à M. le Comte de Buol le contenu de la dépêche No. 2 que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser en date du 19 du courant, et j'ai été chargé par lui de vous exprimer ses vœux pour que les nouvelles élections vous donnent les votes qui sont nécessaires pour assurer la majorité qualifiée voulue à la proposition Royale.

M. le Ministre m'a ensuite dit n'avoir jamais compris le Traité du 8 Mai de

l'année dernière autrement que comme abolissant la Succession cognatique en Danemark, et comme un engagement pris par le Gouvernement Danois d'effectuer cette abolition.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BILLE-BRAHE.

(No. 3.)

Extrait d'un Rapport du Ministre du Roi à Paris en date du 26 *Avril,* 1853.

M. le Ministre,

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la dépêche No. 8 que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser en date du 19 du courant pour m'informer que le Roi notre auguste Souverain, sur la représentation de votre Excellence, avait dissout et le Folkething et le Landsthing. Bien que cette nouvelle nous eût été transmise par la voie télégraphique, je me suis aussitôt réndu au Ministére des Affaires Etrangères pour en informer M. Drouyn de Lhuys. N'ayant pas eu l'avantage d'y trouver son Excellence, qui était dans ce moment là en conférence avec les Ministres de Belgique et de Prusse pour l'échange des ratifications de la Convention sur la correspondence de télégraphie électrique, j'ai chargé M. Thouvenel d'en faire part au Ministre. M. Thouvenel me dit qu'ils venaient également de recevoir la nouvelle de la part de M. Dotézac.

Ayant plus tard dans la soirée rencontré M. Drouyn Lhuys au bal de la Cour je lui en ai parlé, et le Ministre m'exprima ses vœux pour que cet acte de rigueur, appelé par les événements, parvint enfin à convaincre la minorité victorieuse de la nécessité d'écouter la voix paternelle du Roi.

(Signé) MOLTKE.

(No. 4.)

Extrait d'une Dépêche de son Excellence M. le Comte de Nesselrode à M. le Baron d'Ungern-Sternberg, datée de St. Pétersbourg, le 25 *Avril,* 1853.

M. le Baron,

LES rapports de votre Excellence nous ont successivement annoncé que le Message Royal du 4 Octobre, relatif au nouvel ordre de Succession à établir dans la Monarchie Danoise, conformément aux stipulations du Traité de Londres, n'a pas obtenu dans la Diète réunie la majorité requise par la Constitution ; qu'en conséquence Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark a jugé à propos de dissoudre les deux Chambres et de faire procéder à de nouvelles élections ; qu'en même temps le Ministère Danois a subi un changement partiel dans sa composition, et que, nommément, M. le Conseiller intime Oersted a été appelé au poste de Premier Ministre en remplacement de M. Bluhme, qui conserve le portefeuille des Affaires Etrangéres.

Ces informations ont chacune selon sa nature diversement excité l'intérêt du Cabinet Impérial. Nous avions suivi avec attention les débats sur le Message Royal. Le résultat qu'ils ont eu ne devait donc pas nous surprendre. Mais il ne nous inspire aucune appréhension, car nous sommes persuadés d'avance que l'intention du Roi de maintenir et d'exécuter loyalement ce dont Sa Majesté est convenue avec les Puissances amies n'en restera pas moins inébranlable. Ce qui en offre une nouvelle garantie ce sont les déterminations que Sa Majesté vient de prendre et surtout le choix qu'elle a fait de ses nouveaux conseillers.

(No. 5.)

Copie d'une Dépêche Circulaire aux Missions du Roi à Londres, Stockholm, St. Pétersbourg, Paris, Vienne, et Berlin, datée de Copenhague, le 9 *Mai,* 1853.

[See Inclosure in No. 420.]

(No. 6.)

Copie d'un Rapport du Ministre du Roi à Londres, en date du 20 Mai, 1853.

M. le Ministre,

DANS une entrevue que j'ai eu hier avec Lord Clarendon, ce Ministre m'a remercié de la communication de la dépêche de votre Excellence du 9 du courant, et m'a assuré qu'il ne pouvait qu'apprécier les vues du Gouvernement du Roi qui s'y trouvent exposées, ainsi que la modération avec laquelle votre Excellence s'explique sur la manière d'agir de l'Opposition. Quant à ce dernier sujet, Lord Clarendon m'a exprimé son étonnement de la patience avec laquelle le Gouvernement Royal tolérait l'Opposition de la part de ses employés; une telle tolérance au moins était incompatible avec les principes de la Constitution Anglaise. Son Excellence m'a ensuite répété ce qu'elle m'avait déjà dit à différentes reprises sur l'Article de notre Constitution qui exige, dans le cas dont il s'agit, une majorité de trois-quarts des voix. Aucun Gouvernement ne pouvait marcher à la longue avec une telle stipulation, et il fallait donc, selon Lord Clarendon, espérer qu'à cette occasion importante le patriotisme de l'Opposition auquel, comme votre Excellence, il aimait à rendre justice, prévalût pour arrêter l'acharnement avec lequel une minorité pourrait exposer l'État aux plus graves dangers. L'union et le patriotisme dont la nation Danoise avait fait preuve durant ces dernières années lui valaient à juste titre l'admiration de toute l'Europe, et il serait trop triste si cette union n'était compatible qu'avec la guerre et non pas avec la paix si heureusement rétablie. Je comprends jusqu'à un certain point, m'a dit son Excellence, que l'on ait pu effrayer à cette occasion de bons patriotes Danois avec les dangers éventuels qui pourraient menacer du côté de la Russie; mais il me paraît cependant, qu'en refléchissant mûrement, on doit se persuader que le Traité du 8 Mai, au lieu d'augmenter de tels dangers, les écarte en rendant la question de la Succession Danoise une question Européenne qui, dans le cas de l'extinction de la ligne mâle du Prince Chrétien et de la Princesse de Glücksbourg, doit être soumise de nouveau à toutes les Puissances signataires de ce Traité. Si le Roi de Danemark, auquel l'initiative est réservée en cas de l'éventualité en question, se trouvait alors (ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise) dans une dépendance dangereuse de la Russie, il n'est cependant pas permis de supposer que l'Angleterre, la France, et les autres Puissances signataires se trouvassent dominées par cette même influence au point de se prêter à reconnaître une Succession ou Russe, ou exclusivement dans l'intérêt de la Russie, au trône de Danemark. Finalement Lord Clarendon m'a repété que le Gouvernement Anglais espérait et désirait vivement, dans l'intérêt du Danemark comme dans celui de l'Europe entière, que le Message Royal du 4 Octobre fût adopté définitivement par une majorité suffisante de la Diète qui va se rassembler sous peu.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BILLE.

(No. 7.)

Copie d'une Dépêche de son Excellence M. le Baron de Stierneld à M. le Baron de Lagerheim, datée de Stockholm, le 24 Mai, 1853.

M. le Baron,

LA dernière du Ministère est du 19 courant; la vôtre du 19, No. 43, set arrivée aujourd'hui.

Ainsi que vous me l'aviez fait pressentir par votre dépêche du 12 courant, No. 41, et à la suite d'une conversation que vous veniez d'avoir avec son Excellence M. de Bluhme, M. le Comte de Plessen m'a fait lecture d'une dépêche circulaire, adressée par M. le Ministre d'Etat de Sa Majesté Danoise aux Missions de son Souverain à l'étranger, en date du 9 du mois, destinée à mettre les Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres à même de former un jugement approfondi à l'égard des difficultés éprouvées par le Gouvernement Danois, de la part de la Diète, pour l'adoption du Message Royal du 4 Octobre de l'année passée, relativement au règlement du mode de Succession de la Monarchie.

Cette pièce importante, qui résume d'une manière claire, précise, et impartiale les débats qui ont eu lieu au sujet de cette question, et dont vous avez successivement rendu compte, les vues du Gouvernement et les objections du parti de l'Opposition, n'a pu qu'inspirer au Gouvernement du Roi l'intérêt le plus marqué,

et je vous engage, M. le Baron, à ne point perdre le temps, pour vous rendre auprès du Ministère de Sa Majesté Danoise l'organe de notre reconnaissance d'une communication dont nous ne saurions manquer d'apprécier ni la portée ni la convenance, et qui témoigne surabondamment des sentiments d'amitié qui régnent toujours entre les deux Puissances voisines.

Il est superflu de vous dire, M. le Baron, que le Gouvernement du Roi, malgré qu'il ait pensé ne jamais devoir se prononcer directement à l'égard d'une affaire purement intérieure, relativement à laquelle les opinions du Gouvernement Danois et celles d'une partie de la Représentation Nationale se trouvaient partagées, a toujours fait des vœux pour l'acceptation, de la part de la Diète, du Message Royal, tel qu'il avait été communiquée à cette Assemblée. Ce qui prouve qu'on ne s'est point mépris ici sur les sentiments du peuple Danois, c'est le chiffre de la majorité qui s'est prononcé en sa faveur. Cette majorité, en effet, est devenu minorité par suite d'un Article de la Loi Fondamentale, qui exige les trois-quarts des votes pour un changement du Pacte Constitutionnel; mais il n'en reste pas moins vrai, quel que soit au fond la sagesse de cette stipulation, que nous ne nous permettons pas de discuter, que la majorité des voix des représentants du peuple a été acquise au Gouvernement, et que cette majorité ne saurais, en dernière analyse, être considérée autrement que comme l'expression des vues de l'opinion publique. Nous ne doutons point que le peuple Danois, appelé à constater encore une fois, par des élections, maintenant générales, son sentiment à cet égard, ne fasse comprendre à une minorité égarée qu'elle ne peut ni ne doit s'opposer plus longtemps aux vœux de la nation. Une lutte pareille ne peut qu'occasionner une friction nuisible entre le Gouvernement et la représentation, et occasionner des complications qui, en définitive, pourraient mettre en péril les institutions pour le maintien desquelles le Gouvernement et la représentation nationale ont manifesté une égale sollicitude.

Nous sommes restés observateurs attentifs, mais silencieux, de ces debats, et nous désirons ne point nous éloigner de cette ligne. Nous éprouvons un respect trop profondément senti pour la liberté des opinions dans un Etat indépendant, nous comprenons trop bien avec quelle juste jalousie le peuple Danois verrait d'autres Puissances s'immiscer dans ses affaires intérieures, pour qu'il ait pû nous venir dans l'idée d'énoncer à cet égard une opinion. Nous avons trop de foi dans les lumières et dans le patriotisme des Représentants Danois pour n'être point persuadées que laissés à eux-mêmes, et ayant eu le temps d'examiner cette grave question dans toutes ses conséquences, ils finiront par se rallier à un Gouvernement qui, à d'aussi justes titres, a le droit de réclamer leur appui et leur confiance.

En ce qui concerne le Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai de l'année passée, cet Acte solennel, contracté entre les Gouvernements les plus intéressés au maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise et à celui de l'équilibre Europeénne, qui en est une conséquence, ne saurait manquer d'obtenir son exécution. Il ne nous appartient point de nous prononcer isolément sur le sens qui doit y être attachée, et si le Gouvernement Danois avait éprouvé à cet égard la moindre hésitation, il n'aurait point manqué de s'adresser aux Puissances concernées, pour obtenir à cet effet une solution collective. Le cas échéant, il procéderait, sans aucun doute, à une pareille mesure; mais nous entretenons l'espoir qu'elle deviendra superflue, et que le peuple Danois préférera d'arranger lui-même cette affaire, sans que les Puissances signataires soient appelées à manifester leur opinion. La sagesse avec laquelle le Gouvernement Danois a combattu des appréhensions que nous n'hésitons point à qualifier d'erronées, servira, sans doute, à les faire entièrement disparaître, et nous nous unissons de tout point avec le Gouvernement Danois dans l'opinion que la plus efficace et la meilleure garantie contre leur réalisation éventuelle se trouve consacré dans l'Article II du Traité de Londres. Nous applaudissons sans réserve au sentiment national qui cherche à établir dans le pays même des garanties pour son existence, mais on ne doit cependant pas perdre de vue que dans des cas extrêmes le concours des principales Puissances de l'Europe offre une sûreté qui n'est pas à dédaigner, et sans laquelle toute loi votée—surtout si elle n'est point fondée sur une majorité réelle—pourrait facilement perdre de sa valeur, et mettre en jeu les intérêts mêmes qu'on a cherché à consolider.

Vous êtes autorisé, M. le Baron, à faire lecture de cette dépêche à son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, et à lui en laisser une copie, s'il en manifestait le désir.

Agréez, &c.

(No. 8.)

Copie d'une Dépêche de son Excellence M. le Baron de Manteuffel à M. le Baron de Werther, datée de Berlin, le 18 *Mai,* 1853.

M. le Baron,

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir votre rapport politique No. 16 du 11 du mois. La circulaire du 9, dont un exemplaire s'y trouvait annexé, nous a offert un vif intérêt. Elle m'a été presque simultanément communiquée par M. de Bielke. Nous avons suivi avec une attention soutenue les différentes phases parlementaires qui sont survenues au sujet du Message du 4 Octobre concernant la question de la Succession Danoise. Nous avons apprécié, comme elles le méritent, la fermeté et la conséquence avec lesquelles le Ministère Danois et principalement M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a plaidé la cause que son auguste Souverain lui avait confiée, et nous avons puisé dans ce que vous nous avez mandé, M. le Baron, sur vos entretiens confidentiels avec M. Bluhme, un motif de plus pour nous abstenir de toute démarche qui aurait pu avoir la moindre apparence d'un doute ou d'une inquiétude sur le sort du Traité de Londres. M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, nous en sommes persuadés, aura rendu justice aux motifs de notre silence, et loin de l'attribuer à de l'indifférence, il y aura vu une nouvelle preuve d'une confiance bien méritée.

Le contenu de la dépêche circulaire du 9 du mois nous confirme dans la conviction que l'importante question dont la solution a subi de nouveaux retards par le vote récent de la Diète Danoise, trouvera comme par le passé dans les Ministres de Sa Majesté Danoise des défenseurs fermes et éclairés. Les conséquences de la divergence dans les vues du Ministère et de l'Opposition y sont exposées avec calme et clarté, et il y est relevé avec justesse que même ceux qui ne croient pas pouvoir admettre l'abolition explicite de toute Succession selon la Loi Royale, accueillent avec unanimité la dynastie du Prince Christian de Glücksbourg, telle que le Traité de Londres l'a consacré. Il est évident que l'avénement de cette dynastie abrogera de fait la Succession cognatique basée sur la Loi Royale. Quant à l'éventualité que cette nouvelle dynastie viendrait à s'éteindre, nous concevons qu'elle préoccupe le Cabinet Danois, et nous sommes persuadés d'avance que dans sa prévoyante sollicitude il pésera murement les combinaisons réclamées par le bien-être de la Monarchie Danoise.

Considérée sous le point de vue Européen, qui est celui du Traité de Londres, cette éventualité a été, comme le relève également la circulaire de M. Bluhme, prévue par l'Article II de ce Traité. De nouvelles stipulations sont alors réservées aux Puissances de l'Europe, et il importe de maintenir intact ce caractère Européen d'une question toute d'avenir.

Veuillez, M. le Baron, ne pas laisser ignorer à M. Bluhme le vif intérêt avec lequel nous avons reçu sa dernière obligeante communication et la sincère reconnaissance que nous en devons à son Excellence.

Recevez, &c.

(No. 9.)

Copie d'une Dépêche adressée au Ministre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français près la Cour du Roi, datée de Paris, 24 *Mai,* 1853.

J'AI suivi avec une grande attention toute la discussion du Message Royal et j'ai cherché à me rendre bien compte des motifs qui avaient engagé une partie de la Diète Danoise à repousser la proposition du Gouvernement, ainsi que des arguments et des appréhensions qui avaient déterminé ses votes. J'ai donc à ce sujet examiné de nouveau les termes et l'esprit des divers actes diplomatiqnes qui avaient préparé et consacré dans ces dernières années la reconnaissance de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise menacée par l'extinction éventuelle de la descendance mâle du Roi Frederic III, et par les doutes qui se sont élevés sur les règles de Succession applicables aux différentes parties de cette Monarchie. Le résultat de l'examen auquel je me suis livré ne peut, je dois le dire, que me faire regretter de plus en plus que la Diète Danoise, exclusivement frappée de dangers bien incertains et bien éloignés, ait rendu nécessaire un nouvel appel du Roi à la nation pour sanctionner le changement de la loi de Succession au Trône.

En effet, Monsieur, toutes les négociations relative au réglement de la question Danoise depuis la tentative de séparation des Duchés ont eu pour point de

départ ou présumé ou expressément entendu, et ont constamment supposé comme une des conditions du rétablissement de la paix, comme une des garanties de sa durée dans l'avenir, l'abandon de cette loi de Succession de 1665 qui, après avoir souvent contribué aux embarras du Danemark, avait fini par amener la déplorable crise de ces dernières années. Comment en aurait-il pu être autrement? Les difficultés qui s'étaient elévées, les prétentions qui menaçaient d'amoindrir la Monarchie Danoise, provenaient de l'existence simultanée de deux principes différentes dans la transmission des différentes parties de cette Monarchie. Le remède était donc tout indiqué dans l'abrogation d'un de ces principes et dans l'adoption d'une règle unique applicable à la transmission de tous les Etats Danois. Aussi est-ce sur l'établissement d'un nouvel ordre de Succession excluant les femmes du Trône que les grandes Puisances Européennes ont entendu, de concert avec le Roi de Danemark, fonder la stabilité du principe qu'elles voulaient mettre désormais à l'abri de toute contestation, celui de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise; et le meilleur moyen d'y arriver était de donner la même base à tous les éléments d'une Puissance qu'on se proposait avant tout de garantir contre toute chance de démembrement.

Le préambule du Traité du 8 Mai ne permet pas de douter que telles aient été à la fois et l'intention et l'opinion des Puissances signataires. Leur but étant d'assurer à jamais l'union de tous les Etats Danois sous un même Souverain, elles n'ont pas vu de combinaison plus efficace pour sauvegarder ce grand intérêt que la substitution de la Succession purement agnatique et en ligne masculine à l'ordre différent réglé par la Loi de 1665 et l'établissement d'une Maison Royale nouvelle fondée à titre nouveau, dont la tige serait le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg, dont le premier Souverain serait ou ce Prince ou un de ses fils ou descendants mâles et par mâle, et dont les droits, dès aujourd'hui reconnus par l'Europe, de concert avec le Danemark, s'ouvriraient lors de l'extinction de la descendance mâle de Frédéric III. Posé dans le préambule du Traité que je viens de rappeler, ce système, qui fait reposer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise sur l'établissement d'un nouvel ordre de Succession, est formellement reproduit dans l'Article I, et pour mieux dire il est tout le Traité. Car bien qu'il y soit fait mention d'arrangements avec les plus proches cognats, le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg n'est pas appelé à la Succession éventuelle en vertu d'un droit héréditaire qui lui écheoirait ou lui serait communiqué par quelqu'autre prétendant légitime d'après la Loi Regia après épuisement des autres héritiers, mais par un choix spécial, une préférence du Roi de Danemark qui le désigne à ses alliés, lesquels à leur tour l'acceptent et sanctionnent le choix dont il est l'objet. Cette explication, qui ressort si évidemment de l'Article I du Traité du 8 Mai, détruit toutes les subtilités auxquelles on a eu recours dans la discussion du Message Royal pour donner à la désignation du Prince Chrétien une origine et un caractère contraires à l'ensemble du système dont elle est une partie intégrante, et pour établir que les Puissances n'ont pas eu en vue la suppression de la Loi Royale tandis que cette suppression a effectivement dominé toutes les résolutions de la Conférence de Londres.

Quant à l'appréhension d'une candidature de la Maison Impériale de Russie au Trône de Danemark, en cas d'extinction de la descendance mâle du Prince Chrétien, candidature qui s'appuyerait sur les prétentions conservées par cette Maison à quelques territoires dans le Holstein, il etait, ce semble, impossible de mieux rassurer d'avance les esprits contre une telle éventualité que par les termes de l'Article II du Traité, et on conçoit difficilement des garanties plus satisfaisantes à cet égard que la stipulation de l'Article rapprochée des principes généraux qui ont pour ainsi dire animé toute la négociation, à savoir la double nécessité de sauvegarder l'équilibre Européen et de rendre permanente l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise.

J'ai déjà eu plusieurs fois l'occasion, Monsieur, de vous faire connaître notre constante opinion sur les engagements qui résultent du Traité du 8 Mai et sur le sens de ce grand acte. Mais j'ai cru devoir, dans les circonstances actuelles, vous dire que nous y persistons, et que nous n'avons vu dans aucun des arguments invoqués à l'appui d'une interprétation contraire à celle du Cabinet de Copenhague, des raisons suffisantes pour modifier notre jugement. Interprété comme nous croyons qu'il doit l'être, le Traité du 8 Mai pourvoit aux difficultés du présent et sauvegarde complétement l'avenir. Aussi désirons-nous bien vivement que le nouveau Parlement sanctionne, en approuvant un nouvel ordre de Succession au Trône, la base même de l'arrangement qui, après de longues et pénibles négociations, a rétabli l'union de toutes les parties de la Monarchie Danoise.

Je vous laisse juger, Monsieur, de l'usage à faire de cette dépêche dans vos communications avec le Cabinet de Copenhague.

(Signé) DROUYN DE LHUYS.

(No. 10.)

Copie d'une Depêche de son Excellence M. le Comte de Nesselrode à M. le Baron d'Ungern-Sternberg, en date du 11 *Mai*, 1853 (*v. st.*).

[See Inclosure in No. 424.]

(No. 11.)

Copy of a Despatch addressed by the British Government to Sir H. Wynn, dated June 7, 1853.

[See No. 422.]

No. 428.

Mr. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received July* 30.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, July* 26, 1853.

IT has excited some surprise here that the King should not have promulgated the new Law of Succession, or taken any steps towards securing a suitable establishment for Prince Christian of Glücksbourg, before the Diet closed its sittings last week.

M. de Bluhme has been absent for some days, and it is uncertain when he may return; but I shall consider it my duty, when I next see him, to observe that the tardy promulgation of a Law to ensure the acceptance of which by the Diet the assistance of Her Majesty's Government had been requested and obtained, cannot fail to appear extraordinary to your Lordship and the Government of Her Majesty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 429.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Buchanan.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 2, 1853.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 26th ultimo, reporting the language which it is your intention to hold to M. de Bluhme, as regards the delay which has taken place in promulgating the new Law of Succession, I have to inform you that I approve of that language.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 430.

Mr. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received August* 6.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, August* 2, 1853.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that a Ministerial journal (the "Berlingske") of yesterday states that the King signed on the previous day, the 31st ultimo, at a Council held at the Hermitage, an Ordinance by which Prince Christian of Glücksbourg is called to the Throne, in the event of the failure of the male issue of Frederic III; and by which also the title of "the Prince of Denmark" is conferred on his Highness.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 431.

Mr. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord, *Copenhagen, August 5,* 1853.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the copy of a note which I received yesterday from M. de Bluhme, together with duplicate copies in Danish and German, which it inclosed, of the Royal Ordinance settling the Succession of the Danish Crown on Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his male heirs, and conferring on His Highness the title of "Prince of Denmark."

I have also the honour to inclose an English translation which has been made from the Danish version of this document.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW. BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 431.

M. de Bluhme to Mr. Buchanan.

Copenhague, ce 3 Août, 1853.

LE Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a l'honneur de présenter ses compliments à M. l'Envoyé Extraordinaire, &c., de Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, et de lui transmettre sous ce pli quelques exemplaires de la nouvelle Loi de Succession, signée le 31 du mois passé par le Roi, et promulguée pour la Monarchie Danoise à la suite des dispositions du Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852, et en conformité de la proposition contenue dans le Message Royal du 4 Octobre, 1852, concernant le réglement de l'ordre de Succession à la Monarchie Danoise.

M. Bluhme saisit, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 431.

Royal Ordinance settling the Succession to the Crown on Prince Christian of Glücksburg.

(Translation.)

WE, by the Grace of God, King of Denmark, of the Wenns and the Goths, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn, Ditmarsh, Lauerburg, and Oldenburg;

Make known,—

By our ancestors on the throne, it has been considered a fundamental principle of the Government, that the countries which are subject to the Danish sceptre must not be disunited or separated from each other. In accordance therewith our well-beloved father, His Majesty the late King Christian VIII, of glorious memory, when he found himself constrained to make some declaration respecting the state of the Succession to the Danish Monarchy, gave to all his faithful subjects, in the Letter-Patent of July 8, 1846, signed by us as Crown Prince at that time, the assurance that his constant efforts had been and should be directed to cause the integrity of the Danish Monarchy to be fully recognized, so that the different parts of the country united under his sceptre should never be separated.

During the convulsions which, soon after Divine Providence had called us to the throne of our ancestors, threatened in several European States to overthrow the foundation of civil society, and which subsequently penetrating within the boundaries of our Monarchy placed its integrity in the greatest danger, we trust that we maintained it with unshaken constancy, as an object the attainment and preservation of which had been transmitted to us by our ancestors on the throne, as the chief aim of the government of a Danish King.

But as the perpetual maintenance of the Monarchy depends upon one common Succession Law for all its parts, and as the efforts of our late beloved father and our own to enlarge the Succession valid in our kingdom of Denmark, in our Duchy of Schlewig, indissolubly united with the Danish Crown, and also undoubtedly so in other parts of the Monarchy; and to cause to be recognized as binding on the whole Monarchy the female Succession established by the Royal Law for the eventuality, in which by the inscrutable will of Providence the male line of the late

King Frederic III, now reigning over the whole Monarchy, should become extinct, did not lead to the attainment of our intended object; we must acknowledge that the most suitable means to prevent the dissolution of the Monarchy will be to promulgate for the above-mentioned eventuality a new Law of Succession valid for the whole extent of the Monarchy, which shall repeal the provisions for the Succession in the Royal Law, and to cause the same to be recognized in public law.

After the way to this object was paved, partly by the friendly goodwill with which His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in his quality of Head of the eldest line of the House of Holstein-Gottorp, renounced in favour of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg and his male descendants the hereditary claims on a part of our hereditary dominions, which His Imperial Majesty assumed to belong in the above-mentioned eventuality to the aforesaid line; and partly by the magnanimous readiness with which our relatives standing nearest the Throne have, in order to promote the attainment of this object, relinquished their right of Succession to the same, we have determined, with the concurrence of our well-beloved uncle His Royal Highness the Hereditary Prince Frederic Ferdinand, in case the male line of Succession from King Frederick III should become extinct, to abrogate all rights of Succession according to the Royal Law, and excluding the female line to call to the Succession to the throne of all the countries subject to our sceptre, our well-beloved kinsman His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg and his male offspring of his wife, our well-beloved cousin Her Highness Princess Louisa Wilhelmina Frederica Caroline Augusta Julia of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, born Princess of Hesse.

Whereas, also, by the Treaty concluded on the 8th May, 1852, and afterwards ratified, between His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the (at that time) Prince President of the French Republic and now Emperor of the French, Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway; and by the adhesion to the same of most of the European Powers, obtained in consequence of the invitation made to them by the communication of the IVth Article of the Treaty,—we have succeeded in procuring the acknowledgment of the indivisibility of the Danish Monarchy as a perpetual maxim of European public law, and also the recognition of the order of Succession established by us; and whereas finally the United Danish Diet, in accordance with paragraph 4 of the Fundamental Law of the Kingdom of Denmark, of the 5th of June, 1849, has by its decision of the 24th of June, 1853, assented, as far as it is concerned, to our proposal addressed to it with respect to the Succession contemplated by us, we are now enabled by the publication of a Law of Succession, applicable to our whole Monarchy and valid for all its parts, to complete this work which has so long been the object of our sovereign efforts.

We ordain and make known hereby the following:—

Article 1. In case the male offspring descending from King Frederick III by the male line, which, in accordance with the Royal Law issued by the same King on the 14th of November, 1665, has a right of Succession to the Danish Throne, should by God's inscrutable will become extinct, all rights of Succession according to Articles 27 to 40 of the above-mentioned Royal Law shall be abrogated, and only male from male, with the exclusion of females, shall have a right of Succession over the countries united under our sceptre. The right of Succession to the Throne shall then pass in all these countries to our well-beloved kinsman His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, to whom we from this time have granted the title of Prince of Denmark, and to his male offspring by his Consort our well-beloved cousin Her Highness Princess Louisa Wilhelmina Frederica Caroline Augusta Julia of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, now Princess of Denmark, born Princess of Hesse.

Art. 2. In this offspring male after male and male from male, begot in lawful wedlock, the Crown shall descend according the right of primogeniture and lineal agnatic Succession.

Art. 3. In case (which God forbid) imminent danger should arise that the Princely male line called in this manner to the Succession to the Throne should become extinct, our successor on the Danish Throne reigning at the time shall be bound to provide for the further settlement of the Succession to the Throne by

means which shall best secure the independence and integrity of the Monarchy, together with the rights of the Crown, and which shall obtain an European recognition of such settlement in conformity with the IInd Article of the above-mentioned Treaty concluded at London on the 8th of May, 1852.

This Law respecting the Succession to the Throne for the whole Danish Monarchy, which we have had drawn up in the Danish and German languages and *paraphé* by our well-beloved uncle His Royal Highness the Hereditary Prince Frederick Ferdinand, and by all the superior members of our Privy Council of State, we have hereby promulgated and completed. And it is our will that the original shall be deposited for preservation in our Secret Archives.

After which all and every one have to conform themselves submissively.

Given at the Palace of the Hermitage, the 31st July, 1853, under the hand and seal of the King.

(Signed) FREDERICK R.
(L.S.)

(Signed) FREDERICK FERDINAND
OERSTED.
REVENTLOW-CRIMINIL.
C. MOLTKE.
C. T. HANSEN.
C. A. BLUHME.
W. C. E. SPONNECK.
STEEN-BILLE.
A. W. SCHEEL.

Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Denmark: 1850–53.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1864.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

PROTOCOLS OF CONFERENCES

HELD IN

LONDON

RELATIVE TO THE

AFFAIRS OF DENMARK.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1864.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[3366]

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Protocols of Conferences held in London relative to the Affairs of Denmark.

Protocole d'une Conférence tenue à Londres dans Downing Street, le 20 Avril, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

M. LE Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères a pris la parole pour constater que la Conférence, annoncée pour le 20 Avril, était ouverte.

Il a fait part ensuite à MM. les Plénipotentiaires des motifs qui avaient empêché M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique de se rendre à Londres pour l'ouverture de la Conférence.

A la suite de cette communication, il a donné lecture des lettres, annexées sub litt. A et B, par lesquelles MM. les Ambassadeurs de l'Autriche et de la Prusse motivent leur absence par celle du Représentant de la Confédération Germanique.

Les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark, de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de la Russie, et de Suède et Norvège, prenant ces circonstances en considération, décident, qu'après avoir constaté l'ouverture de la Conférence, il convient de différer l'examen des questions devant former l'objet de leurs délibérations, jusqu'au moment où MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche, de la Prusse, et de la Confédération Germanique, se trouveront en mesure de prendre part à leurs travaux. Ils fixent en conséquence leur prochaine réunion au 25 de ce mois.

(Signé) G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

Annexe A au Protocole du 20 Avril.

Chandos House, le 19 Avril, 1864, minuit.

L'AMBASSADEUR d'Autriche présente ses compliments à M. le Comte Russell et a le regret d'informer son Excellence que conformément aux ordres qu'il vient de recevoir de Vienne à l'instant même, il ne pourra pas avoir l'honneur de se rendre demain à l'invitation d'assister à la première séance de la Conférence sur les affaires Danoises.

L'Ambassadeur de Prusse ayant reçu l'ordre positif de s'abstenir à cause de l'absence du Représentant de la Diète Germanique, le Gouvernement Impérial n'a pas cru pouvoir se séparer du Cabinet Prussien dans cette question.

Annexe B au Protocole du 20 Avril.

Prussia House, le 20 Avril, 1864.

LE Comte de Bernstorff a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note verbale, en date d'hier, par laquelle M. le Comte Russell a bien voulu lui faire connaître que la première réunion de la Conférence sur les affaires Danoises aurait lieu aujourd'hui à une heure. En se référant à la correspondance particulière qu'il a eue à ce sujet avec M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, et dans laquelle il a eu l'honneur d'informer son Excellence qu'il ne serait point autorisé à prendre part à une Conférence pour le rétablissement de la paix avec le Danemark, avant que le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique eût eu le temps d'arriver, le Comte de Bernstorff regrette vivement de se trouver placé par la note de M. le Comte Russell dans la nécessité de décliner de se rendre à la Conférence qui doit avoir lieu aujourd'hui.

(Translation.)

Protocol of a Conference held at London, in Downing Street, April 20, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia;
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

HER Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs commenced by stating that the Conference, announced for the 20th of April, was opened.

He then communicated to the Plenipotentiaries the motives which had prevented the arrival of the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation in London in time for the opening of the Conference.

In continuation of this communication, he read the two letters annexed sub litt. A and B, in which the Ambassadors of Austria and Prussia explain their absence as resulting from that of the Representative of the Germanic Confederation.

The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, taking these circumstances into consideration, decide, that after having placed the opening of the Conference on record, it is expedient to defer the examination of the questions which are to form the object of their deliberations until the moment when the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, and the Germanic Confederation shall be in a position to take part in their labours. They consequently fix their next meeting for the 25th of this month.

(Signed) G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

Annex A to Protocol of April 20.

Chandos House, April 19, 1864, *midnight.*

THE Ambassador of Austria presents his compliments to Earl Russell, and regrets to inform his Excellency that, in conformity with the orders which he has this moment received from Vienna, he cannot have the honour of accepting the invitation to assist to-morrow at the first sitting of the Conference on Danish affairs.

The Ambassador of Prussia having received positive orders to absent himself on account of the absence of the Representative of the Germanic Diet, the Imperial Government have not thought it right to separate themselves from the Prussian Cabinet upon this question.

Annex B to Protocol of April 20.

Prussia House, April 20, 1864.

COUNT DE BERNSTORFF has had the honour to receive the *note verbale,* dated yesterday, in which Earl Russell was so good as to inform him that the first meeting of the Conference on Danish affairs would take place to-day at 1 o'clock. Referring to the private correspondence which he has had on this subject with the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and in which he had the honour to inform his Excellency that he would not be authorized to take part in a Conference for the re-establishment of peace with Denmark before the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation had had time to arrive, Count de Bernstorff deeply regrets being obliged, in consequence of Earl Russell's note, to decline attending the Conference which is to take place to-day.

Protocole No. 1.—*Séance du* 25 *Avril,* 1864.

Présents :

Pour l'Autriche—
M. le Comte Apponyi, &c., et
M. de Biegeleben, &c. ;
Pour le Danemark—
M. de Quaade, &c.,
M. de Bille, &c., et
M. de Krieger, &c. ;
Pour la France—
M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, &c. ;
Pour la Confédération Germanique—
M. le Baron de Beust, &c. ;
Pour la Grande Bretagne—
M. le Comte Russell, K.G., &c., et
M. le Comte de Clarendon, K.G., &c. ;
Pour la Prusse—
M. le Comte de Bernstorff, &c., et
M. de Balan, &c. ;
Pour la Russie—
M. le Baron de Brunnow, &c. ;
Pour la Suède et Norvège—
M. le Comte Wachtmeister, &c.

AVANT l'ouverture de la séance M. le Comte Apponyi propose de confier à M. le Comte Russell la présidence et la direction des travaux de la Conférence. "J'ai l'honneur," dit-il, "de vous faire une proposition qui, j'en suis sûr, réunira l'unanimité de tous les Membres de la Conférence. C'est de confier la présidence et la direction de nos travaux à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique. L'usage établi par les précédents désigne Lord Russell à notre choix et l'initiative prise par le Gouvernement Britannique pour arriver à la réunion de la Conférence donne à son Excellence un nouveau titre à nos suffrages. J'ai donc l'honneur de proposer son Excellence M. le Comte Russell comme Président de la Conférence."

Cette proposition ayant été adoptée à l'unanimité, M. le Comte Russell prend la présidence et remercie la Conférence en ces termes :—

"Je vous remercie, Messieurs, de l'honneur que vous avez bien voulu me faire en me proposant de présider aux travaux de cette Conférence. J'accepte volontiers cette proposition, d'autant plus que je la regarde comme une preuve de la confiance que vous placez dans les intentions de Sa Majesté la Reine et dans sa sollicitude pour le rétablissement de la paix. Puissent nos délibérations être conduites par un esprit de conciliation et de justice! Puissent-elles réaliser ce but!

"Permettez-moi, Messieurs, de recommander qu'à l'exception des communications que chaque Représentant croira devoir faire à son propre Gouvernement, le secret le plus inviolable soit observé. Je m'efforcerai, Messieurs, de mériter l'honneur que vous me faites."

Sur la proposition de M. le Comte Russell, la Conférence décide de confier la rédaction des Protocoles à l'Honorable William Stuart, qui est introduit.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires procèdent ensuite à la vérification de leurs pouvoirs respectifs, qui sont trouvés en bonne et due forme.

M. le Comte Russell faisant observer que tous les Plénipotentiaires doivent également

désirer le rétablissement de la paix, et qu'il serait bien difficile d'y parvenir sans une suspension d'hostilités préalable, propose qu'une telle suspension soit décidée.

Cette proposition est appuyée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la France et de la Russie dans l'intérêt de l'humanité, aussi bien que dans celui des négociations.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse déclarent qu'il n'ont pas de pouvoirs suffisants pour accepter la proposition sans en référer à leurs Cours respectives.

M. le Baron de Brunnow et M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne expriment l'avis qu'il s'agit surtout de mettre un terme à l'effusion de sang, et Lord Clarendon explique que cet objet serait atteint si l'ordre pouvait être donné de suspendre immédiatement les hostilités.

M. de Biegeleben fait observer qu'il s'agirait également de sauvegarder les intérêts du commerce, qui seraient mis en souffrance par la continuation du blocus.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff voudrait savoir si le Gouvernement de Danemark donnerait son adhésion à la proposition et s'il serait prêt à suspendre les hostilités de toute espèce sur mer, nommément aussi les blocus.

A cette question M. de Quaade répond que, si l'armée Austro-Prussienne s'abstenait de lever des contributions de guerre dans les territoires Danois qu'elle occupe, le Gouvernement de Danemark consentirait peut-être à faire cesser les hostilités sur mer aussi bien que par terre, à l'exception toutefois du blocus déjà établi.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège appuie l'idée d'une suspension d'hostilités provisoire, pour donner le temps nécessaire pour la conclusion d'un armistice.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique s'associe au vœu généralement exprimé qu'un terme soit mis à l'effusion du sang, en faisant observer que dans le cas où les hostilités sur mer se prolongeraient, il y aurait impossibilité pour la Confédération de rester en dehors des opérations militaires. Il demande donc que l'armistice soit étendu aux hostilités sur mer.

M. le Comte Apponyi insiste également sur ce dernier point et sur la nécessité d'y comprendre la suspension des blocus.

M. le Comte de Clarendon rappelle que lors de l'armistice conclu par le Congrès de Paris, le blocus n'a pas été levé, et pense que le blocus dont il est actuellement question pourrait être maintenu tel qu'il existe.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark, avant d'entrer en discussion sur l'armistice, désireraient connaître les bases préliminaires de la paix, mais ils seraient disposés à s'entendre sur une suspension des hostilités.

Après un échange d'idées auquel prennent part tous les Plénipotentiaires, ceux des Puissances neutres, guidés par un sentiment unanime d'humanité, invitent les Représentants des Puissances belligérantes à transmettre à leurs Cours la proposition de suspendre les hostilités par terre et sur mer pendant la durée d'un mois, en différant l'examen de la question du blocus jusqu'au moment où l'on s'entendra définitivement sur la conclusion d'un armistice formel.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse, tout en insistant de nouveau, de concert avec M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique, sur la nécessité de suspendre les blocus en même temps que les hostilités par terre et sur mer, se chargent, ainsi que MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark, de faire connaître sans retard à leurs Cours les vœux des Puissances neutres.

M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique prie MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes de hâter, autant que possible, l'envoi des instructions qu'ils sollicitent de leurs Cours.

Il est convenu que la prochaine réunion aura lieu après la réception des réponses attendues de Vienne, de Berlin, et de Copenhague.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
FR. KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 1.—Sitting of April 25, 1864.

Present:

For Austria—
Count Apponyi, &c., and
M. de Biegeleben, &c.;
For Denmark—
M. de Quaade, &c.,
M. de Bille, &c., and
M. de Krieger, &c.;
For France—
The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, &c.;
For the Germanic Confederation—
Baron de Beust, &c.;
For Great Britain—
Earl Russell, K.G., &c., and
The Earl of Clarendon, K.G., &c.;
For Prussia—
Count de Bernstorff, &c., and
M. de Balan, &c.;
For Russia—
Baron de Brunnow, &c.;
For Sweden and Norway—
Count Wachtmeister, &c.

BEFORE the opening of the sitting Count Apponyi proposes that the presidency and the direction of the labours of the Conference should be entrusted to Earl Russell. "I have the honour," he says, "to make to you a proposal which will, I am sure, be unanimously accepted by the Members of the Conference. It is, to entrust the presidency and the direction of our labours to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State. The custom established by precedents directs our choice to Lord Russell, and the initiative taken by the British Government in bringing about the meeting of the Conference gives his Excellency a fresh claim to our votes. I have therefore the honour to propose his Excellency Earl Russell as President of the Conference."

This proposal having been unanimously adopted, Earl Russell assumes the presidency, and thanks the Conference in these terms:—

"I thank you, Gentlemen, for the honour which you have done me in proposing that I should preside over the labours of this Conference. I willingly accept this proposal, the more so as I regard it as a proof of the confidence which you place in the intentions of Her Majesty the Queen, and in her solicitude for the re-establishment of peace. May our deliberations be guided by a spirit of conciliation and of justice! May they realize this object!

"Permit me, Gentlemen, to recommend that, with the exception of the communications which each Representative may think fit to make to his own Government, the most inviolable secresy be observed. I will endeavour, Gentlemen, to show myself worthy of the honour which you do me."

Upon the proposal of Earl Russell, the Conference decides upon entrusting the drawing up of the Protocols to the Honourable William Stuart, who is introduced.

The Plenipotentiaries then proceed to the examination of their respective powers, which are found in good and due form.

Earl Russell observing that all the Plenipotentiaries must equally desire the re-establishment of peace, and that it would be very difficult to attain it without a preliminary suspension of hostilities, proposes that such a suspension should be decided on.

This proposal is supported by the Plenipotentiaries of France and Russia, in the interest of humanity, as well as in that of the negotiations.

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia declare that they are not provided with sufficient powers to accept the proposal without referring to their respective Courts.

Baron de Brunnow and the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne express their opinion that it is necessary, above all, to put an end to the effusion of blood; and Lord Clarendon explains that this object would be atta ned if orders could be given at once to suspend hostilities.

M. de Biegeleben observes that it is equally important to protect the interests of commerce, which would suffer from the continuance of the blockade.

Count de Bernstorff would be glad to know whether the Government of Denmark would give their consent to the proposal, and whether they would be ready to suspend hostilities of every kind at sea, and especially the blockades.

To this question M. de Quaade replies that if the Austro-Prussian army abstained from levying contributions of war in the Danish territories occupied by it, the Government of Denmark would perhaps consent to cease from hostilities at sea as well as on land, with the exception always of the blockade already established.

The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway supports the idea of a provisional suspension of hostilities, to afford the time necessary for the conclusion of an armistice.

The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation joins in the desire generally expressed, that an end should be put to the effusion of blood, observing that, in case hostilities at sea should be prolonged, it would be impossible for the Confederation to hold aloof from the military operations. He therefore demands that the armistice should be extended to hostilities at sea.

Count Apponyi equally insists on this latter point, and on the necessity of including the suspension of the blockade.

The Earl of Clarendon remarks that at the time of the armistice concluded by the Congress of Paris, the blockade was not raised, and thinks that the blockade at present in question might be maintained in its existing state.

The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark, before entering into a discussion respecting the armistice, would wish to be informed of the preliminary bases of peace, but they would be disposed to come to an agreement as to a suspension of hostilities.

After an exchange of ideas in which all the Plenipotentiaries take part, those of the neutral Powers, guided by a unanimous feeling of humanity, request the Representatives of the belligerent Powers to transmit to their Courts the proposal for a suspension of hostilities by sea and land during one month, deferring the examination of the question of the blockade till the moment when a definitive agreement shall be come to respecting the conclusion of a formal armistice.

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, while insisting afresh, in concert with the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation, on the necessity of suspending the blockades at the same time as the hostilities by sea and land, undertake, as well as the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark, to make known without delay to their Governments the wishes of the neutral Powers.

Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State begs the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers to hasten, as far as possible, the despatch of the instructions which they are to request from their Courts.

It is agreed that the next meeting shall take place after the receipt of the answers expected from Vienna, Berlin, and Copenhagen.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 2.—Séance du 4 Mai, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ; et,
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte Russell demande à MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse s'ils ont reçu les instructions qu'ils s'étaient engagés à demander à leurs Cours, au sujet de la proposition de suspendre les hostilités par mer et par terre.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que ces instructions sont en effet arrivées, et que les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse sont autorisés à donner la déclaration suivante :—

1. Si le Danemark refuse la levée du blocus, toute discussion sur la suspension des hostilités sur terre et sur mer devient impossible et infructueuse ; car les Cabinets Allemands sont fermement décidés à ne point consentir à cette suspension sans la levée simultanée du blocus.

2. Si le Danemark accepte la levée simultanée du blocus, les Cabinets Allemands s'engagent, comme équivalent, à ne point entraver, dans les parties du Jutland occupeés par leurs armées, le commerce ni les communications, ni la marche régulière de l'administration ; à ne point lever de contributions de guerre, mais à payer au contraire tout ce qui serait fourni aux troupes Allemandes, qui continueraient seulement à occuper leurs positions stratégiques actuelles.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche adhèrent expressément à cette déclaration.

M. de Quaade fait observer que son Gouvernement ne pourrait pas regarder la renonciation aux contributions de guerre comme une compensation suffisante pour la levée du blocus ; et une discussion s'engage entre lui et MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse et de l'Autriche, qui soutiennent que la levée du blocus serait une compensation équitable pour la suspension des hostilités par terre et la cessation des contributions de guerre.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister comprend que puisqu'il s'agit d'une simple suspension d'hostilités, les Puissances Allemandes ne consentiraient pas à perdre les avantages qu'elles ont gagnés par terre. Il soutient que comme compensation il serait juste et équitable de laisser les vaisseaux Danois devant les ports Allemands, le blocus constituant, dans son opinion, un équivalent de l'occupation du Jutland.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse et de l'Autriche signalent les torts faits au commerce en général par le blocus, en faisant valoir la différence entre le blocus et une occupation de territoire.

M. de Quaade, répondant à une question qui lui est adressée par M. le Comte Russell, déclare que son Gouvernement ne saurait consentir à la levée du blocus, dont il regarde le maintien comme l'équivalent de l'occupation du Jutland.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit que, puisque M. le Plénipotentiaire de Danemark insiste sur le maintien du blocus, il se voit obligé d'appeler l'attention de la Conférence sur le fait que le blocus n'est nullement effectif, et qu'il est par conséquent illégal et non conforme à la Déclaration du Congrès de Paris de 1856.

M. le Baron de Brunnow exprime l'avis que la Conférence devrait chercher les moyens d'arriver à la conclusion d'un armistice ; et M. le Comte de Clarendon demande sur quelles conditions le Gouvernement de Danemark y donnerait son consentement.

M. de Quaade explique que depuis la dernière séance de la Conférence, il n'a reçu de Copenhague que des dépêches télégraphiques, mais il répète que son Gouvernement consentira à une suspension d'hostilités par terre et à s'interdire également tout acte d'hostilité contre les navires Allemands, pourvu que le blocus soit maintenu.

Après une discussion entre MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de la Prusse, et de la Russie, au sujet de la proposition de conclure un armistice fondé sur un système de compensations, M. de Quaade dit qu'il serait possible de lever le blocus si le Jutland était évacué, et M. de Krieger ajoute qu'il voudrait envoyer des renseignements plus précis à son Gouvernement, qui n'a pas eu le temps de délibérer sur l'idée d'un système de compensation.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister exprime l'avis qu'en présence d'opinions aussi divergentes il serait mieux de procéder à formuler de part et d'autre des conditions d'armistice.

Cette idée est appuyée par M. le Baron de Brunnow, qui la considère comme le

meilleur moyen d'arriver à un but pratique. Le devoir des Puissances neutres est de concilier les opinions extrêmes, et de conseiller un système de compensation équitable.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare alors que, si le Danemark ou les Puissances neutres demandaient l'abandon partiel des positions occupées par les armées alliées dans le Jutland, les Puissances Allemandes seraient encore prêtes à s'entendre sur un système de compensations à cet égard, sous la condition : (*a*) que toutes les parties du Schleswig occupées encore par les Danois, y compris nommément toutes les Iles qui y appartiennent, et qui sont situées à l'est et à l'ouest de ce Duché, seront évacuées par les Danois et occupées par les armées alliées ; et (*b*) que tous les navires Prussiens et Allemands capturés par les Danois seront restitués avec leurs cargaisons.

M. le Comte Apponyi fait l'observation qu'une évacuation partielle du Jutland par l'armée alliée, proportionnée au territoire dans l'Ile d'Alsen occupé par l'armée Danoise, pourrait peut-être être convenue.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne signale la difficulté qu'il y a de définir exactement la valeur relative des compensations, et exprime l'opinion qu'une évacuation complète du Jutland serait un juste équivalent de la levée du blocus, et de l'abandon d'Alsen par les Danois.

M. le Baron de Brunnow pense également qu'il faudrait tenir compte du sacrifice que ferait le Danemark en se désistant du blocus, et que les compensations devraient être plus larges.

M. le Baron de Beust rappelle que l'Autriche et la Prusse ont déjà fait preuve de leur désir d'arrêter l'effusion de sang en faisant cesser de fait les hostilités, et qu'il faut prendre en considération qu'en poursuivant les opérations militaires elles pourraient contraindre le Danemark à lever le blocus qui pèse sur le commerce Allemand. L'équivalent lui paraît constaté par la proposition faite par M. le Comte de Bernstorff. La Confédération n'est pas désintéressée dans la question, les ports du Holstein étant bloqués.

M. le Comte Russell propose alors à la Conférence, comme conditions d'armistice équitables :—

1. La levée du blocus.
2. L'évacuation de toutes les parties du Duché de Slesvig par les Danois.
3. L'évacuation du Jutland par l'Autriche et la Prusse.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la France, de Suede et Norvège, et de la Russie, donnent leur adhésion à cette proposition.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse croient que l'évacuation entière du Jutland serait plus qu'une compensation et qu'il pourrait y avoir des points stratégiques que l'armée alliée ne saurait abandonner.

M. de Krieger fait observer que les Puissances Allemandes demandent l'occupation de toutes les Iles qui dépendent du Duché de Slesvig, ainsi non-seulement de celle d'Alsen, mais aussi de celle d'Acröe et de toutes les îles sur la côte occidentale du Duché, et une discussion s'engage, à laquelle prennent part tous les Plénipotentiaires, au sujet de l'importance de ces Iles, et sur le système d'équivalents proposé.

M. le Comte de Clarendon résume alors en peu de mots ce qui s'est passé pendant la séance. Il est d'avis que les conditions proposées par M. le Comte Russell sont justes et équitables, mais puisque les instructions de MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark d'un côté, et de l'Autriche et de la Prusse de l'autre, ne peuvent pas se concilier, il prie ces Plénipotentiaires, au nom des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, d'en référer au plus tôt à leurs Cours respectives.

Les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes consentent à faire cette démarche. Les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark se réservent de prendre également les ordres de leur Cour au sujet des conditions d'une simple suspension d'hostilités indiquées au commencement de la séance par M. le Comte de Bernstorff.

Il est convenu que la Conférence se réunira de nouveau le Lundi 9 Mai à 1 heure, quand les réponses attendues de Vienne, de Berlin, et de Copenhague, auront eu le temps d'arriver.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 2.—Sitting of May 4, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Earl Russell inquires of the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia if they have received the instructions which they had engaged to request from their Courts on the subject of the proposal for suspending hostilities by sea and land.

Count de Bernstorff replies that these instructions have in fact arrived, and that the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia are authorized to make the following declaration:—

1. If Denmark refuses to raise the blockade, all discussion as to the suspension of hostilities by land and sea becomes impossible and useless; for the German Cabinets are firmly resolved not to consent to this suspension without the simultaneous raising of the blockade.

2. If Denmark accepts the simultaneous raising of the blockade, the German Cabinets engage, as an equivalent, not to impede in the parts of Jutland occupied by their armies, either the commerce or the communications, or the regular course of the administration; to raise no contributions of war, but on the contrary to pay for all that may be furnished to the German troops, who would simply continue to hold their present strategical positions.

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria expressly adhere to this declaration.

M. de Quaade observes that his Government could not regard the giving up of contributions of war as a sufficient compensation for raising the blockade; and a discussion takes place between him and the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia and Austria, who maintain that the raising of the blockade would be an equitable compensation for the suspension of hostilities by land, and the cessation of contributions of war.

Count Wachtmeister understands that as a simple suspension of hostilities is in question, the German Powers would not consent to lose the advantages which they have gained by land. He maintains that as a compensation it would be just and equitable to leave the Danish vessels before the German ports, as the blockade constitutes, in his opinion, an equivalent for the occupation of Jutland.

The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia and Austria represent the injury done to commerce in general by the blockade, and point out the difference between the blockade and an occupation of territory.

M. de Quaade, in answer to a question which is addressed to him by Earl Russell, declares that his Government cannot consent to raise the blockade, the maintenance of which they regard as an equivalent for the occupation of Jutland.

Count de Bernstorff says, that as the Plenipotentiary of Denmark insists on the maintenance of the blockade, he finds himself compelled to call the attention of the Conference to the fact that the blockade is not effective, and that it is consequently illegal and not in conformity with the Declaration of the Congress of Paris of 1856.

Baron de Brunnow expresses the opinion that the Conference should attempt to find means of arriving at the conclusion of an armistice; and the Earl of Clarendon inquires on what conditions the Government of Denmark would give their consent thereto.

M. de Quaade explains that since the last sitting of the Conference, he has only received telegraphic despatches from Copenhagen, but he repeats that his Government will consent to a suspension of hostilities on land, and also to abstain from all acts of hostility against German ships, provided that the blockade is maintained.

After a discussion between the Plenipotentiaries of France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, on the subject of the proposal for concluding an armistice based on a system of compensations, M. de Quaade says that it would be possible to raise the blockade if Jutland was evacuated; and M. de Krieger adds, that he would wish to send more precise information to his Government, who have not had time to deliberate on the idea of a system of compensation.

Count Wachtmeister expresses his opinion that in presence of opinions so divergent it would be better to proceed to draw up conditions of armistice on either side.

This idea is supported by Baron de Brunnow, who considers it as the best means of

arriving at a practical result. The duty of the neutral Powers is to conciliate extreme opinions, and to advise an equitable system of compensation.

Count de Bernstorff then declares, that if Denmark or the neutral Powers were to require the partial surrender of the positions occupied by the allied armies in Jutland, the German Powers would still be ready to come to an understanding as to a system of compensations on this subject, on condition : (*a*) that all the parts of Schleswig still occupied by the Danes, including specially all the Islands which belong to it, and which are situated to the east and west of that Duchy, shall be evacuated by the Danes, and occupied by the allied armies; and (*b*) that all the Prussian and German vessels captured by the Danes shall be restored, together with their cargoes.

Count Apponyi observes, that a partial evacuation of Jutland by the allied army, proportional to the territory in the Island of Alsen occupied by the Danish army, might perhaps be arranged.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne points out the difficulty there is in defining exactly the relative value of the compensations, and expresses the opinion that a complete evacuation of Jutland would be a just equivalent for the raising of the blockade, and the surrender of Alsen by the Danes.

Baron de Brunnow thinks also that the sacrifice which Denmark would make in giving up the blockade should be taken into consideration, and that the equivalent should be greater.

Baron de Beust asserts that Austria and Prussia have already given proof of their desire to stop the effusion of blood by virtually ceasing from hostilities, and that it must be taken into consideration that by continuing military operations they might force Denmark to raise the blockade, which injures the commerce of Germany. The equivalent appears to him to have been laid down in the proposal made by Count de Bernstorff. The Confederation is not uninterested in the question, as the ports of Holstein are blockaded.

Earl Russell then proposes to the Conference as equitable conditions of armistice—

1. The raising of the blockade.
2. The evacuation of every part of the Duchy of Sleswig by the Danes.
3. The evacuation of Jutland by Austria and Prussia.

The Plenipotentiaries of France, Sweden and Norway, and Russia, adhere to this proposal.

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia consider that the entire evacuation of Jutland would be more than a compensation, and that there might be strategical points which the allied army could not abandon.

M. de Krieger observes that the German Powers demand the occupation of all the islands which belong to the Duchy of Sleswig, and therefore not only of that of Alsen, but also of that of Aeroe, and of all the islands on the western coast of the Duchy; and a discussion takes place, in which all the Plenipotentiaries take part, on the subject of the importance of these islands, and on the system of equivalents proposed.

The Earl of Clarendon then sums up in a few words what has passed during the sitting. He is of opinion that the conditions proposed by Earl Russell are just and equitable; but since the instructions of the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark on the one side, and of Austria and Prussia on the other, cannot be reconciled, he begs these Plenipotentiaries, in the name of the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, to refer as soon as possible to their respective Courts.

The Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers consent to take this step. The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark reserve to themselves the right of also taking the orders of their Court on the subject of the conditions of a simple suspension of hostilities put forward at the beginning of the sitting by Count de Bernstorff.

It is agreed that the Conference shall meet again on Monday, the 9th of May, at 1 o'clock, when there will have been time for the answers expected from Vienna, Berlin, and Copenhagen to arrive.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 3.—Séance du 9 Mai, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte Russell rappelle l'engagement pris par MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes de prendre les ordres de leurs Cours respectives au sujet de la proposition d'armistice dont les conditions sont indiquées dans le Protocole No. 2, et il prie MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse d'informer la Conférence du résultat de leur démarche.

M. le Comte Apponyi répond que les Gouvernements de l'Autriche et de la Prusse sont prêts à accepter l'armistice sous les conditions proposées par M. le Comte Russell, et à en discuter les détails.

Lord Russell demande alors à MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark s'ils ont reçu des instructions à cet égard.

M. de Quaade répond qu'à la dernière séance M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de la Prusse avait fait la déclaration suivante : " Si le Danemark accepte la levée simultanée du blocus, les Cabinets Allemands s'engagent, comme équivalent, à ne point entraver, dans les parties du Jutland occupées par leurs armées, le commerce, ni les communications, ni la marche régulière de l'administration ; à ne point lever de contributions de guerre, mais à payer au contraire tout ce qui serait fourni aux troupes Allemandes, qui continueraient seulement à occuper leurs positions stratégiques actuelles ;" et que " MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ont adhéré expressément à cette déclaration."

M. de Quaade annonce que le Danemark accepte la levée du blocus aux termes précités, à condition, (*a*) que tous les navires de guerre Prussiens se trouvant actuellement dans les ports Prussiens de la Baltique restent dans ces ports pendant toute la durée de la suspension des hostilités ; (*b*) que tous les ôtages et tous les prisonniers civils détenus, à quelque titre que ce soit, dans ce moment par les autorités des Gouvernements de l'Autriche et de la Prusse soient remis en liberté. A ces conditions le Gouvernement Danois donne son assentiment à une suspension d'armes pour la durée d'un mois.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait observer que le Danemark fait dépendre l'acceptation de la suspension d'hostilités proposée par les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes de conditions nouvelles qu'il ne saurait accepter sans en référer à son Gouvernement. Il combat nommément la première condition (*a*), comme manquant absolument de réciprocité.

Une discussion générale s'engage sur la nature et le but de ces conditions, MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres s'efforçant, de concert avec MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes, de trouver une formule de rédaction qui pourrait réunir une adhésion unanime.

La Conférence finit par tomber d'accord sur une suspension d'hostilités, dont les termes sont rédigés de la manière suivante :—

" Il y aura suspension d'hostilités sur mer et par terre, à dater du 12 Mai, pour l'espace d'un mois ;

" Le même jour le Danemark levera les blocus ;

" La Prusse et l'Autriche s'obligent, pendant la suspension des hostilités, à ne pas entraver, dans les parties du Jutland occupées par leurs armées, le commerce, ni les communications, ni la marche régulière de l'administration ; à ne point lever de contributions de guerre, mais à payer au contraire tout ce qui serait fourni aux troupes Allemandes, qui continueraient seulement à occuper leurs positions stratégiques actuelles ;

" Les parties belligérantes conviennent qu'elles conserveront leurs positions militaires respectives sur terre et par mer ; et s'interdisent de les renforcer, pendant la durée de la suspension des hostilités ;

" Notification officielle en sera faite aux Commandants des forces belligérantes de terre et de mer par leurs Gouvernements respectifs."

MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes s'engagent à transmettre par le télégraphe l'avis de cette décision de la Conférence à leurs Cours.

M. de Quaade exprime la pensée qu'il sera laissé aux Commandants respectifs des forces Danoises et Allemandes dans le Jutland de fixer les limites jusqu'auxquelles s'étend l'occupation du territoire Jutlandais.

Il est convenu en effet que tous les autres détails se rattachant à la suspension d'hostilités seront réglés par les Commandants respectifs.

A l'invitation de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse s'engagent à recommander à leurs Gouvernements la mise en liberté des prisonniers civils qui avaient été arrêtés par les autorités des Puissances alliées.

M. de Balan demande si la suspension d'hostilités ne pourrait pas être prolongée pour plus d'un mois. Il rappelle que les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse avaient été autorisés à conclure non seulement une simple suspension d'hostilités, mais même un armistice selon la proposition de M. le Comte Russell.

M. de Quaade répond que les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark n'ont été autorisés à accéder à une suspension d'hostilités que pour le terme d'un mois. Il leur est donc impossible dans ce moment de consentir à une prolongation de ce terme.

Tous les Plénipotentiaires expriment l'espoir qu'il sera bientôt possible d'en étendre la durée.

En se référant à une observation faite par M. le Comte de Bernstorff à la séance précédente, suivant laquelle le blocus devant les ports Prussiens ne serait pas conforme à la Déclaration du Congrès de Paris de 1856, M. de Quaade rappelle qu'il a déclaré à la même séance que cette observation n'était pas conforme aux informations qu'il possédait lui-même à ce sujet.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare qu'il doit soutenir son opinion antérieurement énoncée.

Plusieurs Plénipotentiaires leur répresentent que puisque les blocus doivent être levés, la question a perdu toute importance.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, après avoir rappelé que l'objet de la Conférence est de rétablir la paix, proposent, puisqu'une suspension d'hostilités provisoire est maintenant décidée, de procéder dans la prochaine séance à la discussion de Préliminaires de Paix.

La Conférence décide en conséquence qu'elle se réunira le Jeudi, 12 Mai, pour la discussion de cette question.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 3.—*Sitting of May* 9, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Earl Russell recalls the engagement entered into by the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers to take the orders of their respective Courts on the subject of the proposal

of armistice, the conditions of which are stated in Protocol No. 2; and he begs the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia to inform the Conference of the result of their proceedings.

Count Apponyi replies that the Governments of Austria and Prussia are ready to accept the armistice on the conditions proposed by Earl Russell, and to discuss its details.

Lord Russell then inquires of the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark if they have received instructions on this point.

M. de Quaade replies that, at the last sitting, the first Plenipotentiary of Prussia made the following declaration:—

"If Denmark accepts the simultaneous raising of the blockade, the German Cabinets engage, as an equivalent, not to impede in the parts of Jutland occupied by their armies either the commerce or the communications, or the regular course of the administration; to raise no contributions of war, but, on the contrary, to pay for all that may be furnished to the German troops, who would simply continue to hold their present strategical positions;" and that "the Plenipotentiaries of Austria expressly adhered to this declaration."

M. de Quaade announces that Denmark accepts the raising of the blockade on the above-mentioned terms, on condition—(*a*) That all the Prussian vessels of war which are at the present moment in the Prussian ports of the Baltic shall remain in those ports during the whole period of the suspension of hostilities; (*b*.) That all the hostages and all the civil prisoners detained, on whatever pretext, at this moment by the authorities of the Governments of Austria and Prussia shall be set at liberty. On these conditions the Danish Government give their assent to a suspension of arms for the space of a month.

Count de Bernstorff observes that Denmark makes her acceptance of the suspension of hostilities proposed by the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers dependent on fresh conditions, which he cannot accept without referring to his Government. He contests especially the first condition (*a*), as being entirely deficient in reciprocity.

A general discussion takes place on the nature and object of these conditions, the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers endeavouring, in concert with the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers, to draw them up in such a form as would ensure their unanimous acceptance.

The Conference finally agrees on a suspension of hostilities, the terms of which are drawn up in the following manner:—

"Hostilities shall be suspended by sea and by land, from the 12th of May, for the space of a month;

"On the same day Denmark shall raise the blockades;

"Prussia and Austria engage, during the suspension of hostilities, not to impede, in the parts of Jutland occupied by their armies, either the commerce, or the communications, or the regular course of the administration; not to raise contributions of war, but, on the contrary, to pay for all that may be furnished to the German troops, who shall simply continue to occupy their present strategical positions;

"The belligerent parties agree to preserve their respective military positions by sea and land, and engage not to reinforce them during the continuance of the suspension of hostilities.

"Official notification shall be made to the Commanders of the belligerent forces by sea and land by their respective Governments."

The Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers engage to transmit by telegraph the announcement of this decision of the Conference to their Courts.

M. de Quaade expresses the idea that it should be left to the respective Commanders of the Danish and German forces in Jutland to fix the limits to which the occupation of territory in Jutland extends.

It is agreed that all other details concerning the suspension of hostilities shall be arranged by the respective Commanders.

At the request of the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia engage to recommend to their Governments the release of the civil prisoners who had been arrested by the authorities of the allied Powers.

M. de Balan inquires whether the suspension of hostilities could not be prolonged for more than a month. He remarks that the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia had been authorized to conclude not only a simple suspension of hostilities, but even an armistice, according to the proposal of Earl Russell.

M. de Quaade answers that the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark have only been authorized to accede to a suspension of hostilities for the term of a month. It is therefore impossible for them at this moment to consent to a prolongation of this term.

All the Plenipotentiaries express the hope that it will soon be possible to extend its duration.

Referring to an observation made by Count de Bernstorff in the preceding sitting, in which the blockade of the Prussian ports was said not to be in conformity with the Declaration of the Congress of Paris of 1856, M. de Quaade remarks that he declared in the same sitting that this observation was not in conformity with the information which he himself possessed on this subject.

Count de Bernstorff declares that he must maintain the opinion previously expressed by him.

Several Plenipotentiaries represent to them that since the blockades are to be raised, the question has lost all its importance.

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, after calling to mind that the object of the Conference is to re-establish peace, propose, since a provisional suspension of hostilities has now been decided on, to proceed in the next sitting to the discussion of Preliminaries of Peace.

The Conference resolves, in consequence, to meet on Thursday, the 12th May, for the discussion of this question.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 4.—*Séance du* 12 *Mai*, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff annonce qu'il a été informé par le télégraphe que Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse a accepté la suspension des hostilités sur terre et sur mer, à dater du 12 Mai, et a donné des ordres télégraphiques en conséquence aux Commandants de ses forces respectives. Il ajoute qu'il ne se trouve point d'ôtages entre les mains des autorités Prussiennes, mais que son Gouvernement a consenti à mettre en liberté, suivant la recommandation de la Conférence, les prisonniers civils dont il a été question dans la dernière séance, à l'exception toutefois des espions.

M. le Comte Russell émet l'avis que la Conférence, étant parvenue à établir une suspension d'hostilités, devrait maintenant se mettre à l'œuvre afin d'arriver à l'objet principal de sa convocation. Il donne lecture de la note en date du 25 Février, 1864, par laquelle M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique a accepté l'invitation faite au Gouvernement d'Autriche par celui de la Grande Bretagne d'assister à la Conférence.

Cette note est conçue dans les termes suivants :

"Le Soussigné, &c., a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note par laquelle son Excellence Lord Bloomfield, &c., l'informe que son Gouvernement propose aux Gouvernements d'Autriche, de Prusse, et de Danemark, de se réunir en Conférence à Londres, sans suspension d'hostilités, pour aviser aux moyens de rétablir la paix, et que la France, la

Russie, et la Suède, ainsi que la Confédération Germanique, seront invitées à prendre part à ces Conférences.

"Le Gouvernement Impérial partage entièrement le désir du Gouvernement Britannique de mettre fin le plus tôt possible aux calamités de la guerre.

"Le Soussigné s'empresse en conséquence de porter à la connaissance de Lord Bloomfield que le Gouvernement Impérial accepte la proposition de la Cour de Londres, et se déclare prêt à entrer dès à présent dans des Conférences auxquelles participeraient les Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852, et la Confédération Germanique.

"Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) "RECHBERG."

M. le Comte Russell rappelle que la base sur laquelle la Conférence s'est réunie est celle d'aviser aux moyens de rétablir la paix. Il croit qu'il appartient à MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse d'exposer les motifs qui ont engagé leurs Gouvernements à occuper une grande partie du territoire Danois, et de faire connaître les intentions de leurs Cours. Il espère qu'une paix solide sera le résultat de leurs délibérations.

M. le Comte Apponyi dit que dans son opinion il serait inutile et trop long d'exposer à la Conférence les motifs qui ont amené l'occupation du Schleswig et du Jutland par les Puissances alliées. Ces motifs du reste sont constatés dans des dépêches qui ont été publiées.

M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de la Prusse donne lecture alors de la déclaration suivante: "Avant de pouvoir entrer en discussion sur les conditions du rétablissement de la paix avec le Danemark, les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes croient devoir faire observer qu'ils regardent le terrain de la discussion comme entièrement libre de toute restriction résultant d'engagements qui peuvent avoir existé avant la guerre entre leurs Gouvernements et le Danemark, et que la base sur laquelle de nouvelles combinaisons pourront être trouvées, formera, à leur point de vue, un des principaux objets de la négociation à ouvrir. En revendiquant ainsi pour elles-mêmes une entière liberté de discussion et la faculté de faire telles propositions qu'elles jugeront de nature à assurer une pacification solide et durable, les Puissances Allemandes n'entendent exclure aucune combinaison qui pourra servir à faire atteindre ce but, sans porter préjudice à des droits acquis."

M. le Comte de Clarendon demande à M. le Comte de Bernstorff si par les engagements dont il a parlé, il a voulu comprendre tout Traité ou autre engagement, faisant observer que quoique la guerre puisse à la rigueur dissoudre un Traité entre deux Puissances devenues belligérantes, elle ne saurait dégager ces Puissances de leurs obligations envers les autres Puissances co-signataires du même Traité.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que c'est là une question à laquelle son Gouvernement lui semble avoir répondu d'avance en se déclarant prêt à traiter avec les autres Puissances.

M. le Comte de Clarendon cite la dépêche suivante qui avait été adressée à M. le Comte de Bernstorff par M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse en date du 31 Janvier, 1864:—

"M. le Comte,

"Le Gouvernement du Roi, en basant sur les stipulations de 1851-52 les droits que, de concert avec l'Autriche, il se dispose à faire valoir contre le Danemark, a reconnu par ce fait même le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, établie par les transactions de 1851-52. Le Gouvernement du Roi, en procédant à l'occupation de Slesvig, n'a pas l'intention de se départir de ce principe. Si néanmoins, à la suite de complications que pourrait amener la persistance du Gouvernement Danois dans le refus d'accomplir ses promesses de 1852, ou de l'intervention armée d'autres Puissances dans le conflit Dano-Allemand, le Gouvernement du Roi se voyait forcé à renoncer à des combinaisons qui n'offriraient plus un résultat proportionné aux sacrifices que les événements imposeraient aux Puissances Allemandes, les arrangements définitifs ne sauraient être arrêtés sans le concours des Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres. Le Gouvernement Britannique trouverait alors le Gouvernement du Roi prêt à se mettre d'accord avec lui sur l'arrangement définitif de la question Dano-Allemande."

M. le Comte de Bernstorff, en disant que le moment indiqué dans la dépêche est arrivé, lit l'extrait d'une autre dépêche, datée de la veille de celle citée par Lord Clarendon, dans laquelle M. de Bismarck l'informa que "dans le cas où le Danemark s'opposerait à main armée à cette occupation, il doit en résulter des événements belliqueux dont les conséquences influeraient d'autant plus profondément sur le développement ultérieur des

relations réciproques entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark que par-là les Traités existants entre les deux pays cesseraient d'être en vigueur. Ce ne serait qu'à ce moment là que a question de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise demanderait une solution. Nous ne doutons pas qu'alors cette question ne soit examinée par toutes les grandes Puissances avec la sagesse sérieuse et prévoyante qui est due à une question aussi importante," &c.

En réponse à une question qui lui est adressée par M. le Comte de Clarendon, qui voudrait savoir si la Prusse considère le Traité de 1852 comme ayant cessé d'exister en ce qui concerne le Danemark, tout en conservant sa valeur vis-à-vis des autres Puissances co-signataires, M. le Comte de Bernstorff exprime l'avis que ce Traité, qui d'ailleurs n'a jamais été parfait, lui semble avoir perdu sa valeur, et qu'il vaudrait mieux recourir à de nouvelles combinaisons que de renfermer la discussion dans d'aussi étroites limites.

M. le Baron de Brunnow maintient qu'avant d'abandonner un Traité qui a été ratifié par les Puissances signataires dans l'intérêt général de l'Europe, il faudrait donner des raisons jugées satisfaisantes d'un commun accord. Ces raisons devraient être bien graves. Le Traité de 1852 a eu pour objet de consolider la paix du Nord et de sauvegarder l'équilibre Européen. Il a été conclu non seulement entre les Puissances actuellement en guerre, mais entre toutes les Puissances qui y ont participé. Leurs Représentants, réunis aujourd'hui en Conférence, sont libres assurément d'échanger leurs idées sur de nouvelles combinaisons à adopter, pourvu qu'elles soient de nature à offrir à la paix de l'Europe des garanties équivalentes à celles sur lesquelles repose aujourd'hui le système de l'équilibre général.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff voudrait commencer par établir les bases sur lesquelles la discussion doit s'engager, pensant qu'avant que cette question préliminaire ne soit vidée, il serait inutile d'entrer en matière sur les préliminaires de paix.

M. le Baron de Brunnow fait observer qu'il n'a pas parlé de bases, mais que selon lui le principe du Traité de 1852 subsiste toujours, car l'intérêt général, dans lequel cet Acte a été conclu, reste le même.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff trouve qu'il est difficile d'admettre que l'équilibre Européen dépende du maintien du Traité de Londres, et pense que les événements ont suffisamment prouvé que c'est précisément l'existence de ce Traité impossible à exécuter qui a mis l'équilibre en danger.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne pense que la Conférence aurait intérêt à savoir si, dans la pensée de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands, les arrangements de 1851 et de 1852, qui paraissent avoir été la cause de la guerre, ne pourraient pas être complétés et entourés de garanties qui les rendraient acceptables pour les deux grandes Puissances Allemandes et pour la Confédération Germanique.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare qu'il serait impossible aux Puissances Allemandes de prendre pour base de la pacification les arrangements de 1851–52, que le Danemark a non seulement continuellement refusé de remplir, mais qu'il n'a même jamais voulu reconnaître comme des engagements qui le liaient.

Cette observation est contestée par M. de Quaade, qui soutient que le Danemark a tout fait pour remplir ses engagements.

M. de Krieger, en relevant le caractère absolu et solidaire des engagements pris par le Traité de Londres de 1852, explique pourquoi le Gouvernement Danois ne saurait reconnaître que l'Autriche et la Prusse soient déliées de ces engagements par le seul fait de la guerre éclatée entre ces Puissances et le Danemark, et ajoute plusieurs observations sur le véritable sens des transactions de 1851 et 1852, et sur la marche des négociations subséquentes.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que le Traité de Londres n'a pas été conclu, à proprement parler, entre toutes les Puissances qui l'ont signé, mais entre le Danemark et chacune des autres Puissances, qui, par cette raison, n'ont échangé de ratifications qu'avec le Danemark. Il demande quel est donc l'engagement que les Puissances ont pris envers le Danemark? C'est de reconnaître à l'avenir un nouvel ordre de Succession que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark avait l'intention d'introduire. Mais cet ordre de Succession n'a point été introduit d'une manière légale pour les Duchés, puisque ni les Etats des Duchés, ni les Agnats, ni la Confédération Germanique n'y ont consenti. L'objet de l'engagement n'existe donc point en réalité, puisqu'on ne peut supposer que les Puissances se soient engagées à reconnaître à l'avenir quelque chose d'illégal.

Une discussion a lieu entre les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse, d'un côté, et ceux du Danemark, de l'autre, tant au sujet du Traité de 1852, que par rapport aux transactions de 1851 et 1852, et aux négociations qui s'y rattachent.

M. le Baron de Brunnow intervient, en disant que la discussion s'écarte de son but. Il demande à connaître les conditions que l'on se propose de mettre en avant.

M. le Baron de Beust ne peut passer sous silence une expression par laquelle M. Krieger a contesté la compétence de la Confédération Germanique. La Confédération,

dit-il, protesterait contre tout arrangement fait sans son consentement. Il rappelle que le Traité de 1852 n'a pas été soumis à la Confédération, et qu'il ne peut pas en être question pour la Diète, celle-ci l'ayant de plus rejeté indirectement dans sa séance du 25 Février dernier. La Confédération ne peut pas cependant rester étrangère à la manière dont ce Traité, qui est devenu un germe de guerre et de perturbation, au lieu d'un gage de paix, sera envisagé par la Conférence. Plusieurs conditions indispensables pour assurer la validité de ce Traité n'ont pas été remplies. Il est d'avis que les autres Puissances ne peuvent pas exiger que les Puissances Allemandes présentent de nouvelles combinaisons à la place d'un Traité, avant que la question de sa validité ne soit vidée.

M. le Baron de Brunnow admet que quoique la Russie soit liée par le Traité, la Confédération ne l'est pas. Ayant pris part au Traité, il peut dire qu'il a regretté dans le temps qu'il n'ait pas été communiqué à la Confédération, mais il constate qu'un Article du Traité a expressément réservé les droits et les obligations établis par l'Acte Fédéral.

M. le Comte de Clarendon rappelle qu'en ce qui concerne la Grande Bretagne, et M. le Baron de Brunnow confirme pour ce qui concerne les autres Puissances co-signataires du Traité, que tous les membres de la Conférence d'alors sans exception ont observé les égards dûs à la Confédération Germanique. M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie rend hommage à la mémoire de feu Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse. Bien que son Ministre ait éprouvé de l'hésitation à signer le Traité du 8 Mai, ce Monarque a daigné y accorder sa sanction, afin de donner un nouveau gage au maintien de l'équilibre Européen.

M. le Baron de Beust ne nie pas les bons procédés des Puissances envers la Confédération, et dit que le but de l'invitation adressée à la Confédération ayant été d'empêcher qu'une décision ne fût prise qu'elle pourrait mettre en question, il a jugé de son devoir de ne pas laisser subsister de doutes sur ses dispositions.

M. le Comte Russell rappelle que les Puissances Allemandes ont adhéré au Traité de Londres.

M. de Biegeleben fait remarquer que l'Autriche avant, de concert avec la Prusse, déclaré que les Puissances Allemandes sont déliées par le fait de la guerre de toute obligation contractée antérieurement envers le Danemark, il n'a pas cru pouvoir discuter avec MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois la valeur primitive et l'exécution des arrangements de 1852; qu'une expérience de douze années a d'ailleurs prouvé que ces arrangements n'ont pas rempli leur but, qu'ils n'ont satisfait aucune des parties intéressées, et qu'on n'a jamais pu s'entendre sur leur véritable sens. Il croit que l'on devrait s'écarter du terrain de l'interprétation des anciennes stipulations pour arriver au but.

M. le Comte Russell fait l'observation qu'il ne suffit pas de détruire, mais qu'il faut construire.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister, en adhérant au point de vue développé par M. le Baron de Brunnow, qui ayant été lui-même un des signataires du Traité de Londres, est à même d'en apprécier plus que personne toute la portée, observe que comme Plénipotentiaire d'une des Puissances signataires de ce Traité il doit maintenir cette base des négociations jusqu'à ce qu'il soit prouvé qu'elle est insuffisante pour atteindre le but de la Conférence actuelle, et qu'avant de l'abandonner il faut tout au moins connaître la nature exacte des arrangements que l'on propose d'y substituer.

M. le Baron de Brunnow se prononce de nouveau dans le même sens.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne renouvelle l'interpellation qu'il a déjà adressée à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands, et leur demande si, dans le cas où les arrangements de 1851 et de 1852 ne seraient pas susceptibles d'être maintenus, ils ne croiraient pas possible d'y substituer de nouvelles combinaisons sans s'écarter du cercle tracé par les stipulations du Traité.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond qu'avant d'énoncer des propositions positives, il désire que la question préalable soit décidée.

M. le Comte de Clarendon fait observer que la Prusse a déclaré que la guerre a été faite par suite de la non-exécution de quelques-uns de ses engagements par le Danemark, et que si ces engagements sont devenus impossibles il voudrait savoir ce qu'il y aurait à y substituer, et quel arrangement pourrait paraître suffisant. Il ajoute que la proposition d'abandonner le Traité a été faite, mais que des raisons suffisantes n'en ont pas été fournies.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répète qu'avant de décider la question préalable, il serait difficile de faire des propositions positives; et répondant à M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, qui lui demande si les Puissances Allemandes ont de combinaisons arrêtées, il dit que oui, mais qu'il faut que la question préjudicielle soit décidée et que le terrain soit libre.

M. le Baron de Brunnow insiste de nouveau sur l'intérêt de l'équilibre Européen, qu'il n'est pas autorisé par son Gouvernement à abandonner. Il se croit obligé de rappeler que

l'Autriche et la Prusse, aussi bien que les Puissances neutres, sont signataires du Traité de Londres, et que les engagements des Puissances Allemandes ne se bornent pas à leurs intérêts Allemands, mais qu'ils s'étendent à leurs intérêts Européens.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare que la Prusse a des engagements envers la Confédération, aussi bien qu'envers les Puissances co-signataires, et qu'elle ne pourrait pas plus se dégager des uns que des autres.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ayant fait observer que le Gouvernement Danois s'était refusé à soumettre le Traité de 1852 à la Confédération, MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois contestent ce fait, en ajoutant que si l'accession de la Confédération à ce Traité n'a pas été demandée, cela n'a pas tenu au Gouvernement Danois, qui d'ailleurs soutient l'opinion généralement reçue alors qu'il n'y avait aucune nécessité légale pour cette démarche.

M. le Comte Russell relit la note de M. le Comte de Rechberg, en date du 31 Janvier, en faisant remarquer qu'à cette époque les Gouvernements de l'Autriche et de la Prusse n'avaient pas renoncé au principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise.

M. le Comte Apponyi, en se référant à la déclaration commune, lue au commencement de la séance, répond que la question de l'intégrité n'est pas exclue des délibérations, mais que, la situation étant changée depuis, les Puissances Allemandes doivent se réserver toute liberté quant aux bases de la discussion.

M. le Baron de Brunnow dit que Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie, en l'autorisant à prendre part à la présente délibération, a placé une entière confiance dans les intentions qui lui ont été manifestées par les Cours de l'Autriche et de la Prusse. Il constate que les instructions dont il est muni sont conçues dans un esprit de conservation. Il rappelle enfin que c'est dans ce but et en vue du rétablissement de la paix que la Conférence s'est réunie.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff soutient que le but de la Conférence doit être de faire une paix solide et durable, et il répète la première partie de la déclaration qu'il a faite vers le commencement de la séance.

M. le Comte de Clarendon, en s'abstenant d'aborder la question de déterminer si la guerre a mis fin aux engagements entre les Puissances Allemandes et le Danemark, tient à constater que la guerre n'absout point les Puissances Allemandes de leur responsabilité envers les autres Puissances co-signataires, et que toute discussion deviendrait impossible à moins que la validité de ces obligations réciproques ne soit reconnue.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit que les Gouvernements de l'Autriche et de la Prusse reconnaissent les engagements qu'ils ont pris envers les autres Puissances signataires du Traité, en ce sens qu'ils sont prêts à s'entendre avec elles sur les bases de la pacification. Les Plénipotentiaires seront prêts, en conséquence, à aborder ce sujet dans la prochaine séance de la Conférence, qui est fixée pour le Mardi 17 Mai, à 1 heure.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 4.—*Sitting of May* 12, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Count de Bernstorff announces that he has been informed by telegraph that His Majesty the King of Prussia has accepted the suspension of hostilities by sea and land, from the 12th of May, and has given telegraphic orders in consequence to the Commanders of his respective forces. He adds that there are no hostages in the hands of the Prussian authorities, but that his Government have consented to set at liberty, according to the recommendation of the Conference, the civil prisoners of whom mention was made in the last sitting, with the exception however of spies.

Earl Russell expresses his opinion that the Conference, having succeeded in establishing a suspension of hostilities, should now apply itself to the attainment of the principal object of its convocation. He reads the note dated the 25th of February, 1864, in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty accepted the invitation, offered to the Government of Austria by that of Great Britain, to assist at the Conference.

This note is expressed in the following terms:—

"The Undersigned, &c., has had the honour to receive the note by which his Excellency Lord Bloomfield, &c., informs him that his Government propose to the Governments of Austria, Prussia, and Denmark to meet in Conference in London, without any suspension of hostilities, to consider the means of re-establishing peace, and that France, Russia, and Sweden, as well as the Germanic Confederation, will be invited to take part in these Conferences.

"The Imperial Government entirely agree with the British Government in their desire to put an end as soon as possible to the calamities of war.

"The Undersigned consequently loses no time in informing Lord B'oomfield that the Imperial Government accept the proposal of the Court of London, and declare themselves ready at once to enter into Conferences, in which the Powers who signed the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, and the Germanic Confederation, shall take part.

"The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) "RECHBERG."

Earl Russell remarks that the basis on which the Conference has met is that of consulting as to the means of re-establishing peace. He considers that it is for the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia to explain the motives which have induced their Governments to occupy a great part of the Danish territory, and to make known the intentions of their Courts. He hopes that a lasting peace will be the result of their deliberations.

Count Apponyi says, that in his opinion, it would be useless, and would take too long to explain to the Conference the motives which have brought about the occupation of Schleswig and Jutland by the Allied Powers. These motives, moreover, are recorded in despatches which have been published.

The first Plenipotentiary of Prussia then reads the following declaration:—

"Before they can enter into a discussion on the conditions for the re-establishment of peace with Denmark, the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers think it right to observe that they consider the ground of discussion as entirely free from any restriction resulting from engagements which may have existed before the war between their Governments and Denmark, and that the basis on which fresh combinations may be founded will form, in their opinion, one of the principal objects of the negotiation to be opened. Whilst thus claimin for themselves full liberty of discussion and the power of making such proposals as they may consider to be of a nature to ensure a solid and lasting pacification, the German Powers do not mean to exclude any combination which may tend to attain that object, without prejudicing acquired rights."

The Earl of Clarendon inquires of Count de Bernstorff whether by the engagements

of which he has spoken he intends to imply all Treaties or other engagements, observing that, although war may, strictly speaking, dissolve a Treaty between two Powers who have become belligerents, it cannot release those Powers from their obligations towards the other Powers who joined in the signature of the same Treaty.

Count de Bernstorff replies that this is a question which his Government appear to him to have answered beforehand by declaring themselves ready to treat with the other Powers.

The Earl of Clarendon quotes the following despatch which was addressed to Count de Bernstorff by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the King of Prussia on the 31st January, 1864:—

"M. le Comte,

"The Government of the King, by basing on the stipulations of 1851-52 the rights which in concert with Austria they are proceeding to enforce upon Denmark, have recognized by that very act the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, as established by the transactions of 1851-52. The Government of the King, in proceeding to the occupation of Schleswig, have no intention of departing from this principle. If, however, in consequence of complications which might be brought about by the persistence of the Danish Government in their refusal to accomplish their promises of 1852, or of the armed intervention of other Powers in the Dano-German conflict, the Government of the King were to find themselves compelled to renounce combinations which would no longer offer a result proportionate to the sacrifices which events might impose on the German Powers, no definitive arrangements could be made without the concurrence of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London. The British Government would then find the Government of the King ready to come to an agreement with them as to the definitive arrangement of the Dano-German question."

Count de Bernstorff, remarking that the moment indicated in the despatch has arrived, reads the extract of another despatch dated the day before that quoted by Lord Clarendon, in which M. de Bismarck informed him that "in case Denmark should oppose this occupation by arms, military operations must ensue, the consequences of which would have the greater influence on the subsequent development of the reciprocal relations between Germany and Denmark, as thereby the Treaties existing between the two countries would cease to be in force. It would not be till that moment that the question of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy would require a solution. We do not doubt that this question would then be examined by all the Great Powers with the serious and provident wisdom which is due to so important a question," &c.

In answer to a question which is addressed to him by the Earl of Clarendon, who wishes to know whether Prussia considers the Treaty of 1852 as having ceased to exist in as far as concerns Denmark, although retaining its validity with regard to the other Powers who joined in its signature, Count de Bernstorff expresses the opinion that that Treaty, which moreover has never been complete, seems to him to have lost its validity, and that it would be better to have recourse to new combinations than to confine the discussion within such narrow limits.

Baron de Brunnow maintains that before abandoning a Treaty which has been ratified by the Powers who signed it in the general interests of Europe, it would be necessary to bring forward reasons which should be generally agreed upon as satisfactory. These reasons must be very grave ones. The Treaty of 1852 was concluded with the object of consolidating the peace of the North, and preserving the balance of power in Europe. It was concluded not only between the Powers actually at war, but also between all the Powers who were parties to it. Their Representatives, now met in Conference, are assuredly at liberty to exchange their ideas as to new combinations to be adopted, provided that they are of a nature to offer guarantees for the peace of Europe equivalent to those on which the system of the balance of power now rests.

Count de Bernstorff would prefer to begin by establishing the bases on which the discussion is to take place, as he thinks that until this preliminary question is settled, it would be useless to enter into the subject of the preliminaries of peace.

Baron de Brunnow observes that he did not speak of bases, but that, in his opinion, the principle of the Treaty of 1852 still exists, since the general interest in which this Act was concluded remains the same.

Count de Bernstorff is of opinion that it would be difficult to admit that the balance of power in Europe depends on the maintenance of the Treaty of London, and thinks that events have sufficiently proved that it is precisely the existence of this Treaty, which it is impossible to execute, which has endangered the balance of power.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne thinks that it would be important for the

Conference to know whether, in the opinion of the German Plenipotentiaries, the arrangements of 1851 and 1852, which appear to have been the cause of the war, could not be completed and surrounded with guarantees which would render them acceptable to the two great German Powers and the Germanic Confederation.

Count de Bernstorff declares that it would be impossible for the German Powers to adopt, as a basis of pacification, the arrangements of 1851-52, which Denmark has not only continually refused to fulfil, but which she has never even consented to recognize as engagements which bound her.

This observation is contested by M. de Quaade, who maintains that Denmark has done everything to fulfil her engagements.

M. de Krieger, whilst insisting on the absolute and binding character of the engagements entered into by the Treaty of London of 1852, explains the reasons why the Danish Government cannot allow that Austria and Prussia are released from those engagements by the sole fact of war having broken out between those Powers and Denmark, and adds several observations on the true sense of the transactions of 1851 and 1852, and on the course of the subsequent negotiations.

Count de Bernstorff replies that the Treaty of London was not concluded, properly speaking, between all the Powers who signed it, but between Denmark and each of the other Powers, who, for this reason, only exchanged ratifications with Denmark. He asks what is the engagement which the Powers have entered into with Denmark. It is to recognize for the future a new order of Succession, which His Majesty the King of Denmark intended to introduce. But this order of Succession has not been introduced in a legal manner as regards the Duchies, since neither the States of the Duchies, nor the Agnates, nor the Germanic Confederation, have consented to it. The object of the engagement does not then exist in reality, since it cannot be supposed that the Powers engaged themselves to recognize for the future anything illegal.

A discussion takes place between the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia, on the one side, and those of Denmark, on the other, on the subject of the Treaty of 1852, as well as with regard to the transactions of 1851 and 1852, and the negotiations which are connected with them.

Baron de Brunnow interferes, and says that the discussion is becoming digressive. He asks to be informed of the conditions which it is proposed to put forward.

Baron de Beust cannot allow an expression, by which M. de Krieger has disputed the competence of the Germanic Confederation, to pass unnoticed. The Confederation, he says, would protest against any arrangement made without its consent. He remarks that the Treaty of 1852 has not been submitted to the Confederation, and that it does not concern the Diet, the latter having, moreover, indirectly rejected it in its sitting of the 25th of February last. The Confederation cannot, however, be unconcerned as to the manner in which this Treaty, which has become a germ of war and perturbation, instead of a security for peace, may be regarded by the Conference. Several indispensable conditions for ensuring the validity of this Treaty have not been fulfilled. He is of opinion that the other Powers cannot require the German Powers to bring forward fresh combinations to replace a Treaty before the question of its validity is settled.

Baron de Brunnow admits that although Russia is bound by the Treaty, the Confederation is not. Having been a party to the Treaty, he may say that he regretted at the time that it was not communicated to the Confederation, but he affirms that an Article of the Treaty expressly reserved the rights and obligations established by the Federal Act.

The Earl of Clarendon remarks in as far as concerns Great Britain, and Baron de Brunnow confirms in regard to the other Powers who joined in the signature of the Treaty, that all the members of the Conference at that time, without exception, showed the deference due to the Germanic Confederation. The Plenipotentiary of Russia pays a tribute of respect to the memory of His late Majesty the King of Prussia. Although his Minister hesitated to sign the Treaty of the 8th of May, that Monarch deigned to grant it his sanction, in order to give a new pledge for the maintenance of the European balance of power.

Baron de Beust does not deny the friendly conduct of the Powers towards the Confederation, and says that the object of the invitation addressed to the Confederation having been to prevent a decision being arrived at which the latter might question, he has considered it his duty not to allow any doubt to exist as to its intentions.

Earl Russell remarks that the German Powers have adhered to the Treaty of London.

M. de Biegeleben observes, that Austria having, in concert with Prussia, declared that

the German Powers are released by the fact of the war from every obligation previously contracted with Denmark, he has not thought fit to discuss with the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark the original value and the execution of the arrangements of 1852; that moreover an experience of twelve years has proved that these arrangements have not fulfilled their object, that they have not satisfied any of the parties interested, and that it has never been possible to come to an understanding as to their true meaning. He thinks that in order to attain the object in view it is necessary to depart from the ground of the interpretation of former stipulations.

Earl Russell makes the observation, that it is not sufficient to destroy, but that it is necessary to construct.

Count Wachtmeister adheres to the views explained by Baron de Brunnow, who having been himself one of those who signed the Treaty of London, is in a position to appreciate its full bearing better than any one else, and observes that as a Plenipotentiary of one of the Powers who signed the Treaty, he must maintain this basis of the negotiations until it is proved that it is insufficient to attain the object of the present Conference, and that before abandoning it, it is at least necessary to be acquainted with the exact nature of the arrangements which it is proposed to substitute for it.

Baron de Brunnow makes a further declaration in the same sense.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne repeats the question which he has already addressed to the German Plenipotentiaries, and asks them whether, in case the arrangements of 1851 and 1852 should not admit of being maintained, it would not be possible in their opinion to substitute for them some fresh combination without departing from the circle traced by the stipulations of the Treaty.

Count de Bernstorff replies, that before putting forward any positive proposals, he desires that the preliminary question should be decided.

The Earl of Clarendon observes, that Prussia has declared that war had been made in consequence of the non-execution of some of her engagements by Denmark, and that if these engagements have become impracticable, he would wish to know what there would be to substitute for them, and what arrangement would appear to be sufficient. He adds that the proposal to abandon the Treaty has been made, but that sufficient reasons for it have not been given.

Count de Bernstorff repeats that until the previous question is decided, it would be difficult to make any positive proposals; and in reply to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, who inquires of him whether the German Powers have decided on any combinations, he says that they have, but that it is necessary that the preliminary question should be settled, and that the field should be open.

Baron de Brunnow insists again on the interests of the balance of power, which he is not authorized by his Government to abandon. He feels compelled to remark that Austria and Prussia, as well as the neutral Powers, signed the Treaty of London, and that the engagements of the German Powers are not confined to their German interests, but that they extend to their European interests.

Count de Bernstorff declares that Prussia has engagements towards the Confederation, as well as towards the Powers who joined with her in the signature of the Treaty, and that she can no more release herself from the one than from the other.

The German Plenipotentiaries having observed that the Danish Government refused to submit the Treaty of 1852 to the Confederation, the Danish Plenipotentiaries contest this fact, and add that if the accession of the Confederation to this Treaty has not been requested, this is not to be attributed to the Danish Government, who, moreover, maintain the opinion generally held at that time that there was no legal necessity for this step.

Earl Russell again reads the note of Count de Rechberg, dated January 31, remarking that at that period the Governments of Austria and Prussia had not renounced the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

Count Apponyi, referring to the common declaration, read at the commencement of the sitting, replies that the question of the integrity is not excluded from the deliberations, but that the situation having subsequently changed, the German Powers must reserve to themselves full liberty as to the bases of the discussion.

Baron de Brunnow says, that His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in authorizing him to take part in the present deliberation, placed entire confidence in the intentions which have been manifested towards him by the Courts of Austria and Prussia. He affirms that the instructions with which he is provided are drawn up in a conservative spirit. He finally remarks that it is with this object, and in view of the re-establishment of peace, that the Conference has met.

Count de Bernstorff maintains that the object of the Conference should be to conclude a solid and durable peace, and he repeats the first part of the declaration which he made at the beginning of the sitting.

The Earl of Clarendon, while abstaining from touching upon the question whether war has put an end to the engagements between the German Powers and Denmark, thinks it right to affirm that war does not absolve the German Powers from their responsibility towards the other Powers who signed the Treaty with them, and that all discussion would become impossible unless the validity of these reciprocal obligations were recognized.

Count de Bernstorff says, that the Governments of Austria and Prussia recognize the engagements which they have taken towards the other Powers who signed the Treaty, in this sense, that they are ready to come to an understanding with them as to the bases of pacification. The Plenipotentiaries will be ready in consequence to enter upon this subject at the next sitting of the Conference, which is fixed for Tuesday, May 17, at 1 o'clock.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 5.—Séance du 17 Mai, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte Russell rappelle l'engagement pris par M. le Comte de Bernstorff d'annoncer dans la séance d'aujourd'hui les bases de pacification que les Cours de l'Autriche et de la Prusse se proposent de soumettre à la Conférence.

M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de la Prusse répond à l'invitation de M. le Comte Russell en donnant lecture de la déclaration suivante :—

"Dans la dernière séance les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont signalé comme le principal objet des délibérations de la Conférence de trouver la base de nouvelles combinaisons qui soient de nature à assurer une pacification solide et durable. Ils croient devoir expliquer aujourd'hui ce qu'ils entendent sous une pacification solide et durable. C'est une pacification qui assure aux Duchés des garanties absolues contre le retour de toute oppression étrangère, et qui, en excluant ainsi pour l'avenir tout sujet de querelle, de révolution, et de guerre, garantisse à l'Allemagne la sécurité dans le Nord, dont elle a besoin pour ne pas retomber périodiquement dans l'état de choses qui a amené la guerre actuelle. Ces garanties ne sauraient être trouvées que dans l'indépendance politique complète des Duchés étroitement unis par des institutions communes."

M. de Quaade, en prenant toutes les réserves nécessaires contre les motifs sur lesquels sont fondées les propositions Allemandes, demande en quoi consisterait l'union entre les deux Duchés, et par quel lien ils seraient rattachés à la Couronne Danoise.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond qu'il s'agirait d'une union constitutionnelle complète, avec des institutions et une représentation communes, et il rappelle cette partie de sa déclaration insérée dans le dernier Protocole, par laquelle les Puissances Allemandes n'entendaient exclure aucune combinaison de nature à assurer une pacification solide et durable, "sans porter préjudice à des droits acquis." Il s'agirait d'établir d'abord quel serait le Souverain légitime de ces Duchés.

M. le Comte de Clarendon fait observer que les droits de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark dans les Duchés ont été reconnus par le Traité de 1852 dans un intérêt Européen, et que quoique les Puissances Allemandes ne considèrent plus ce Traité comme valide entre elles et le Danemark, les autres Puissances signataires le regardent toujours comme réciproquement obligatoire. Il serait important de savoir quel serait l'état futur des Duchés, selon les idées de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands, et quelle en serait la position vis-à-vis du Roi de Danemark. Il suppose que les Puissances Allemandes n'ont point perdu de vue ni l'avenir stable qu'elles désirent pour les Duchés, ni leurs obligations envers les Puissances co-signataires du Traité.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff croit avoir expliqué dans la dernière séance que les stipulations du Traité n'ont pas été exécutées, et que la Succession n'a pas été régulièrement établie dans les Duchés.

M. le Comte de Clarendon exprime l'avis qu'avant de déchirer un Traité, il faudrait en donner des raisons très complètes et satisfaisantes, et même alors ne s'en écarter que le moins possible.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff ne saurait admettre que le Traité de 1852 puisse se comparer avec des Traités dont l'exécution a été complète et généralement reconnue depuis longtemps. Les Gouvernements Allemands n'ont pas pu prévoir que l'ordre de Succession serait introduit dans les Duchés par l'omnipotence du Roi de Danemark.

Une discussion s'engage entre MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark et ceux de la Prusse et de la Confédération Germanique sur le droit de Succession dans les Duchés, et sur la compétence de la Confédération.

En ce qui concerne la question du Traité de 1852, M. de Quaade soutient que son Gouvernement le regarde comme étant toujours en vigueur, et M. le Baron de Beust rappelle que sa validité n'a jamais été reconnue par la Confédération.

M. le Comte Russell cite la dépêche de M. de Bismarck, dont M. le Comte de Clarendon a donné lecture dans la dernière séance, comme preuve que jusqu'au 31 Janvier dernier les Puissances Allemandes reconnaissaient la validité du Traité, aussi bien que le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise.

M. le Comte Apponyi rappelle les réserves faites dans cette dépêche en vue d'éventualités qui pourraient exiger des combinaisons nouvelles.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne demande s'il ne serait pas possible de donner une forme plus précise à la proposition faite par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands.

M. le Comte Apponyi répond que la proposition comprend l'autonomie complète des Duchés, avec des institutions communes et une entière indépendance sous le rapport politique et administratif, afin d'éviter les complications qui ont eu lieu jusqu'à présent. Quant à la question de la Succession, elle est restée ouverte, la Diète n'ayant fait qu'en suspendre la solution sans se prononcer sur les droits du Roi de Danemark.

M. le Comte de Clarendon regarde la proposition comme tendant à effectuer une séparation complète entre les Duchés et la Couronne de Danemark, malgré les réserves faites sur la question de la Succession. Ce serait l'abrogation complète du Traité. Il est d'autant plus nécessaire de comprendre la portée de la proposition, puisque M. le Comte Aponnyi a fait entrevoir la possibilité que la question de Succession ne soit pas decidée en faveur du Roi Chrétien.

M. de Krieger ne comprend pas non plus que la question dynastique puisse rester ouverte; il lui semble que l'idée de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands est d'effectuer une séparation complète et absolue du Holstein et du Slesvig de la Couronne Danoise.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister comprendrait qu'en délibérant sur l'état d'un pays comme la Grèce une question comme celle de la Succession pourrait être laissée ouverte, mais quand il s'agit de deux pays qui ont été réunis depuis des siècles la question dynastique est d'une trop haute importance pour être mise en doute.

M. de Biegeleben est d'avis que la question devrait être décidée d'après les lois Fédérales, et il expose que la Diète Germanique ne pourrait pas disposer du vote, actuellement suspendu, du Holstein, sans que le point de droit fût éclairci dans les voies légales.

M. le Comte Russell rappelle que lors de la Succession du Roi actuel, la Diète a ordonné une exécution dans le Holstein, et que la Prusse et l'Autriche ont occupé le Slesvig, sans faire des réserves sur la question dynastique.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait remarquer qu'au contraire des réserves ont été faites.

M. le Comte Russell soutient que ces réserves n'ont jamais été communiquées officiellement à la Grande Bretagne.

M. le Comte Apponyi émet l'avis que la Confédération est plutôt appelée à considérer cette partie de la question que la Conférence, qui n'est pas un tribunal compétent.

M. le Baron de Beust insiste sur le droit de la Confédération de régler la Succession dans le Holstein. La Confédération ne saurait permettre que la question soit préjugée.

M. le Comte de Clarendon ne conçoit pas que la Confédération puisse avoir une prétention pareille quant à la Succession dans le Slesvig; elle lui semble n'avoir jamais réclamé le droit d'ordonner une exécution dans ce Duché.

M. de Balan dit que les droits de la Confédération dans le Slesvig ne s'étendent pas en effet jusque là, mais qu'elle a des droits plutôt internationaux dans ce Duché.

M. le Baron de Brunnow constate qu'il n'a été question que du Holstein dans les Actes Fédéraux, qu'il s'est fait un devoir de consulter, et que ces actes ne s'étendent nullement au Slesvig.

M. de Balan explique qu'il a voulu parler des stipulations faites plus tard en 1851 et 1852.

M. le Baron de Beust soutient que la Confédération est intéressée dans la question de la Succession dans le Slesvig, d'abord par rapport à l'union constitutionnelle avec le Holstein, et ensuite en vue des prétentions que le Duc de Holstein aurait à élever à titre d'hérédité.

Pendant une discussion qui a lieu entre MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse et ceux du Danemark, M. de Quaade, pour répondre à une observation dans laquelle M. le Comte de Bernstorff avait parlé d'une déclaration faite par le Ministre du Roi de Danemark à la Diète en 1846, au sujet de l'union des Duchés, donne lecture d'un extrait de l'annexe à la dépêche du Ministre Président d'Autriche à l'Envoyé d'Autriche à Copenhague, datée du 26 Décembre, 1851, dans laquelle le Cabinet de Vienne a déclaré que "quant aux autres déclarations que dans la séance du 7 Septembre, 1846, le Roi Christian VIII a données, *motu proprio*, à la Diète, que celle-ci a reconnues pour satisfaisantes, et suivant lesquelles il n'était pas dans la pensée du Roi d'apporter aucun changement aux rapports qui reliaient alors le Holstein au Duché de Slesvig, le Gouvernement actuel estime qu'elles ne conviennent plus sous tous les rapports à l'état de choses actuel; il est convaincu que la communauté des deux Duchés relativement à l'administration et au tribunal suprême, qui avait existé depuis 1834, et que les événements récents ont abolie par le fait, doit rester abolie à l'avenir. A l'égard de ces points la Cour Impériale reconnaît que les déclarations citées du 7 Septembre, 1846, avaient pour base la situation qui existait à cette époque, et n'avaient point pour effet légal de faire dépendre de l'assentiment de la Confédération les résolutions que des circonstances modifiées pouvaient amener le Roi à prendre en vertu de ses droits souverains à l'égard de la connexité en question, attendu que ces résolutions n'intéressaient pas la compétence légale de la Confédération Germanique. Le Gouvernement Impérial, pour sa part, n'élevera donc pas d'objections à l'abolition de la dite communauté, et il emploiera même son influence pour que la dite mesure ne rencontre pas de difficultés de la part de la Diète Fédérale."

M. de Balan ayant fait observer que cette dépêche n'est qu'une preuve des ménagements que les Cours de l'Autriche et de la Prusse ont témoignés alors envers le Roi de Danemark, M. de Krieger donne lecture de l'extrait d'une dépêche adressée en date du 18 Mars dernier au Ministre de Danemark à Londres, pour faire voir combien il est impossible aux Plénipotentiaires Danois d'admettre la compétence de la Diète dans les affaires du Slesvig. Cette dépêche, qui annonce au Gouvernement Anglais l'adhésion de celui du Danemark au projet d'une Conférence, dit expressément: "Pour le succès des négociations éventuelles, il est absolument indispensable enfin que tout projet de solution soit écarté d'avance qui semblerait impliquer, directement ou indirectement, une influence quelconque de la part de la Diète Germanique sur des territoires n'appartenant pas à la Confédération."

A l'invitation de M. le Comte Russell, M. le Comte de Bernstorff relit la déclaration contenant la proposition qu'il avait faite au commencement de la séance.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne constate que quelles que soient les précautions de forme qui ont été observées, la proposition tend à établir l'indépendance complète des Duchés.

M. de Quaade soutient que la discussion devient inutile, si elle n'a pas pour base que les Duchés sont attachés à la Couronne Danoise. Si ces pays n'appartiennent pas au Roi, comment expliquer la présence des Plénipotentiaires Danois à la Conférence?

D'ailleurs, quand est-ce que la Diète arriverait à une décision? Il a tant de confiance dans les sentiments de justice qui animent la Confédération, ainsi que dans la justice de la cause du Danemark, qu'il ne craindrait nullement un examen de la Succession Holsteinoise par la Confédération; mais il ne saurait admettre la compétence de ce corps politique sur ce point, et en tout cas, pour que la Conférence aboutisse, il est indispensable qu'aucun élément essentiel ne soit soustrait à son appréciation.

M. de Bille relève une expression dans la déclaration de M. le Comte de Bernstorff qui fait mention de l'oppression étrangère dans les Duchés. Il la trouve blessante pour le Danemark.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff donne l'assurance qu'il n'y a aucune intention blessante dans l'expression, et que c'est au contraire par égard pour MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois que les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse ont cru devoir choisir cette expression générale au lieu de la préciser.

M. de Krieger rappelle que M. de Quaade a déjà pris les réserves nécessaires contre les motifs des propositions Allemandes.

M. le Baron de Brunnow ne comprend pas le sens de la proposition. Il s'attendait à un programme qui pourrait amener à une paix solide et durable.

M. de Biegeleben ayant demandé pourquoi la question de la Succession ne pourrait pas être laissée à la Diète, M. le Comte de Clarendon répond qu'il faudrait au moins deux ans pour en référer à la Diète, et que l'occupation de Slesvig durerait pendant tout ce temps; et M. le Comte Russell ajoute qu'il y aurait beaucoup de danger dans cette occupation presque permanente. MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ne doutent pas que la Diète ne donnât un verdict juste et équitable; mais ce serait dépouiller le Danemark de ses droits d'une manière indirecte, et la Conférence s'est réunie pour mettre fin au *status quo*, et non pas pour le prolonger.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne répète qu'il faudrait préciser la proposition, et demande si les Gouvernements alliés ont en vue la séparation complète.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que ce serait ainsi dans le cas où la question serait décidée contre le Roi de Danemark.

M. le Comte de Clarendon fait observer que la proposition est tellement vague qu'aucun Membre de la Conférence ne peut en saisir la portée.

M. le Baron de Brunnow s'exprime dans le même sens, et dit que l'on ne peut pas consentir à apporter un changement au Traité sans savoir en quoi ce changement consisterait.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff assure qu'il n'a eu aucune intention de rester dans le vague, et explique que l'Autriche et la Prusse demandent pour les Duchés une complète indépendance de toute influence Danoise.

A une question par laquelle M. le Comte Russell demande si MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ont des conditions de paix à proposer, M. de Quaade répond en rappelant qu'en acceptant la proposition d'une Conférence pour aviser aux moyens de rétablir la paix, le Gouvernement Danois n'a pas cessé de supposer que les transactions intervenues pendant l'hiver de 1851–52 entre le Danemark et les deux Grandes Puissances Allemandes formeraient la base des délibérations de la Conférence.

M. le premier Plénipotentiaire du Danemark ajoute qu'il est vrai qu'en faisant dépendre de cette condition son adhésion au projet d'une Conférence, le Gouvernement Danois n'a point insisté pour que la base indiquée par lui fût acceptée par les Puissances Allemandes avant la réunion de la Conférence, et il n'a donc pas absolument exclu des délibérations un arrangement reposant sur une autre base. Mais la base de l'arrangement proposé par MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes s'écarte tellement de la base indiquée par le Cabinet de Copenhague que les Plénipotentiaires Danois doivent la considérer comme entièrement inadmissible.

La question de M. le Comte Russell ayant été répétée par M. le Baron de Brunnow, M. de Quaade déclare de nouveau que le Danemark maintient toujours la base des arrangements de 1851 et 1852; et que de là découle pour les Duchés une organisation politique qui leur assure, à chacun d'eux, l'indépendance et l'autonomie qui leur reviennent de droit.

M. Biegeleben demande pourquoi les Duchés ne jouiraient pas de la même indépendance vis-à-vis du Danemark dont jouit la Norvège vis-à-vis de la Suède.

M. de Quaade soutient que, même abstraction faite du Traité de 1852, les Duchés, au moins celui de Slesvig, font partie intégrante de la Couronne Danoise; et M. de Krieger signale, parmi les raisons nombreuses qui s'opposent à l'établissement de ce parallèle, la différence évidente dans les positions géographiques respectives du Slesvig et de la Norvège,

M. de Krieger continue en disant qu'ainsi que M. de Quaade l'a rappelé, le Gouvernement Danois a toujours supposé que les transactions de 1851 et 1852 formeraient la base des délibérations de la Conférence. Mais MM. les Plénipotentiaires Autrichiens et Prussiens n'ayant voulu donner aucune explication sur la portée qui, à leur point de vue, revient de droit à ces transactions, les Plénipotentiaires Danois ne sauraient faire aucune proposition utile, puisqu'ils ignorent à présent, comme par le passé, s'il serait possible d'écarter les obstacles que les Puissances Allemandes opposent à la liberté d'action du Gouvernement Danois.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare que ses instructions ne lui permettent pas de discuter les transactions de 1851 et 1852.

M. de Biegeleben ne voit pas pourquoi MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois ne prendraient pas la proposition des Puissances Allemandes *ad referendum*.

Ces Plénipotentiaires affirment que la proposition serait entièrement inadmissible, même dans la supposition qu'une décision de la Diète admît les droits de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

M. le Baron de Beust croit devoir constater que les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse sont de l'avis qu'en faisant leur proposition, ils ne songent nullement à remettre les Duchés entre les mains du Danemark, avant que la question de droit ne soit jugée par la Confédération Germanique.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne fait observer que ce ne serait pas alors une solution, et quant à la combinaison de l'union personnelle en elle-même, il la considère également comme n'étant pas une solution. Elle laisse subsister entièrement l'antagonisme qui existe entre les deux populations, et n'écarte nullement pour l'avenir les complications auxquelles l'état de choses actuel a donné lieu.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie s'est exprimé en ces termes :—

"L'Empereur en m'appelant à l'honneur de le représenter dans cette réunion, a daigné me confier le soin d'amener entre le Danemark et l'Allemagne une réconciliation sincère et durable, dans l'intérêt général du rétablissement de la paix.

"Ce but ne saurait être atteint que par une transaction honorable, librement consentie par les deux parties.

"Le devoir qui m'est imposé, d'ordre de l'Empereur, consiste à contribuer à accomplir ce résultat dans un véritable esprit de conciliation et de concorde. Les instructions dont je suis muni me prescrivent d'écarter les résolutions extrêmes et de tâcher d'ouvrir la voie à une entente à l'amiable. Dans cette intention je désire d'une part que l'arrangement qui interviendra soit placé sous la protection de garanties efficaces, satisfaisantes pour l'Allemagne, et destinées à prévenir le retour de nouvelles complications ; de l'autre je dois veiller à ce que la Monarchie Danoise conserve parmi les Puissances de l'Europe le rang, la dignité, et l'indépendance nationale que la Cour de Russie regarde comme un élément nécessaire de l'équilibre général et du maintien de la paix du Nord.

"La question qui nous occupe se résume à savoir quelles garanties seront jugées de nature à satisfaire à la fois aux réclamations de l'Allemagne, aux droits du Danemark, aux intérêts de l'Europe.

"Nous venons d'entendre les propositions de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Cours d'Allemagne. Elles seront consignées dans le Protocole de la présente séance.

"Je m'abstiendrai d'entrer en examen de leur portée et de leur mérite, avant de connaître la pensée de la Cour de Danemark. La confiance que j'ai dans les sentiments élevés de Sa Majesté le Roi me dit que ce Souverain, inaccessible à toute considération personnelle, prendra uniquement conseil des vrais intérêts de son pays. Il ne m'appartient point de préjuger les déterminations du Gouvernement Danois. Je respecte la liberté des décisions qu'il arrêtera dans sa sagesse.

"Lorsqu'elles auront été portées à la connaissance de l'Empereur, Sa Majesté daignera me transmettre les ordres qui serviront de règle à ma conduite.

"Jusque là je m'abstiens d'une discussion, à mon avis, prématurée, et je me borne à réserver l'opinion de ma Cour."

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège annonce que ses instructions lui prescrivent de déclarer que son Gouvernement considère la solution qui consisterait dans l'autonomie absolue des Duchés, même sous une union personnelle sous le Roi de Danemark, comme inadmissible et destructive de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique croit devoir rappeler qu'il ne s'est pas associé à la proposition faite par les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse ; et que, sans en être chargé par ses instructions, il ne peut s'empêcher d'affirmer officieusement que la majorité de la Diète ne consentira point à un arrangement qui, même sous une forme éventuelle ou conditionnelle, rétablirait une union entre les Duchés et le Danemark,

MM. les Plénipotentiaires conviennent de remettre la prochaine réunion de la Conférence au Samedi 28 Mai, à 1 heure.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 5.—Sitting of May 17, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Earl Russell recalls the engagement taken by Count de Bernstorff to announce in to-day's sitting the bases of pacification which the Courts of Austria and Prussia propose to submit to the Conference.

The first Plenipotentiary of Prussia replies to Earl Russell's invitation by reading the following declaration:—

"In the last sitting the German Plenipotentiaries pointed out that the principal object of the deliberations of the Conference was to find the basis of new combinations which should be of a nature to ensure a solid and durable pacification. They think it right to explain to-day what they understand by a solid and durable pacification. It is a pacification which would assure to the Duchies absolute guarantees against the recurrence of any foreign oppression, and which, by thus excluding for the future any subject of dispute, of revolution, and of war, would guarantee to Germany that security in the North which she requires in order not to fall again periodically into the state of affairs which brought on the present war. These guarantees can only be found in the complete political independence of the Duchies, and their close connection by means of common institutions."

M. de Quaade, making all the necessary reservations with regard to the motives on which the German proposals are founded, asks in what the union between the two Duchies would consist, and by what tie they would be attached to the Danish Crown.

Count de Bernstorff replies that the union in question would be a complete constitutional one, with common institutions and a common representation; and he refers to that part of his declaration inserted in the last Protocol, in which the German Powers declared their intention of not excluding any combination which might be of a nature to ensure a solid and durable pacification "without prejudicing acquired rights." It would first be necessary to ascertain who would be the legitimate Sovereign of these Duchies.

The Earl of Clarendon observes that the rights of His Majesty the King of Denmark in the Duchies have been recognized by the Treaty of 1852 in the interest of Europe, and that although the German Powers no longer consider this Treaty as valid between them and Denmark, the other Powers who signed it still regard it as reciprocally binding. It would be important to know what would be the future state of the Duchies, according to the ideas of the German Plenipotentiaries, and what would be their position in relation to the King of Denmark. He supposes that the German Powers have not lost sight either of the stable future which they desire for the Duchies, or of their obligations towards the Powers who joined in the signature of the Treaty.

Count de Bernstorff thinks he explained in the last sitting that the stipulations of the Treaty have not been executed, and that the Succession has not been regularly established in the Duchies.

The Earl of Clarendon expresses his opinion that, before tearing up a Treaty, it would be necessary to give very complete and satisfactory reasons, and even then only to depart from it as little as possible.

Count de Bernstorff cannot admit that the Treaty of 1852 can be compared to Treaties the execution of which has been complete and generally recognized for a long period. The German Governments could not foresee that the order of Succession would be introduced into the Duchies by the King of Denmark's sole power.

A discussion takes place between the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark and those of Prussia and the Germanic Confederation as to the law of Succession in the Duchies, and the competence of the Germanic Confederation.

In as far as concerns the question of the Treaty of 1852, M. de Quaade maintains that his Government consider it as being still in force, and Baron de Beust remarks that its validity has never been recognized by the Confederation.

Earl Russell quotes the despatch of M. de Bismark, which the Earl of Clarendon read in the last sitting, as a proof that up to the 31st of January last the German Powers recognized the validity of the Treaty, as well as the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

Count Apponyi refers to the reservation made in that despatch in view of eventualities which might require new combinations.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne asks whether it would not be possible to give a more precise form to the proposal made by the German Plenipotentiaries.

Count Apponyi replies that the proposal comprises the complete autonomy of the Duchies, with common institutions and entire independence in their political and administrative relations, in order to avoid the complications which have hitherto taken place. As to the question of the Succession, it remains open, the Diet having only suspended its solution, without pronouncing on the rights of the King of Denmark.

The Earl of Clarendon regards the proposal as tending to effect a complete separation between the Duchies and the Crown of Denmark, notwithstanding the reservations made as to the question of Succession. It would be the complete abrogation of the Treaty. It is so much the more necessary to understand the bearing of the proposal, as Count Apponyi has admitted the possibility of the question of Succession not being decided in favour of King Christian.

M. de Krieger does not understand either that the dynastic question can remain open. It appears to him that the idea of the German Plenipotentiaries is to effect a complete and absolute separation of Holstein and Sleswig from the Danish Crown.

Count Wachtmeister could understand that in deliberating on the state of a country like Greece a question like that of the Succession might be left open, but when the question relates to two countries which have been united for centuries, the dynastic question is of too great importance to be left in doubt.

M. de Biegeleben is of opinion that the question should be decided according to the Federal laws, and he points out that the Germanic Diet could not dispose of the vote of Holstein, at present suspended, unless the question of right was decided in the legal course.

Earl Russell remarks that, on the accession of the present King, the Diet ordered an Execution in Holstein, and that Prussia and Austria occupied Sleswig, without making any reservations as to the dynastic question.

Count de Bernstorff remarks, on the contrary, that reservations were made.

Earl Russell maintains that those reserves were never officially communicated to Great Britain.

Count Apponyi expresses his opinion that the Confederation is called upon to consider this part of the question rather than the Conference, which is not a competent tribunal.

Baron de Beust insists on the right of the Confederation to settle the Succession in Holstein. The Confederation cannot allow the question to be prejudged.

The Earl of Clarendon cannot suppose that the Confederation has any such pretensions as regards the Succession in Sleswig; it does not appear to have ever claimed the right of decreeing an Execution in that Duchy.

M. de Balan says that the rights of the Confederation as to Schleswig do not in fact extend to that point, but that it rather possesses international rights as to that Duchy.

Baron de Brunnow affirms that Holstein only is mentioned in the Federal Acts, which he has made it his duty to consult, and that those Acts in no way extend to Sleswig.

M. de Balan explains that he alluded to the stipulations made later in 1851 and 1852.

Baron de Beust maintains that the Confederation is interested in the question of the Succession in Schleswig, firstly, with regard to its constitutional union with Holstein, and further in view of the pretensions which the Duke of Holstein may have to assert on the ground of hereditary rights.

During a discussion which takes place between the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia and those of Denmark, M. de Quaade, in answer to an observation in which Count de Bernstorff had spoken of a declaration made by the Minister of the King of Denmark to the Diet in 1846, on the subject of the union of the Duchies, reads an extract from the annex to the despatch of the Minister President of Austria to the Austrian Envoy at Copenhagen, dated the 26th December, 1851, in which the Cabinet of Vienna declared that "as to the other declarations which in the sitting of the 7th September, 1846, King Christian VIII made, *motu proprio*, to the Diet, which the latter recognized as satisfactory, and according to which it was not the intention of the King to make any change in the relations which then connected Holstein with the Duchy of Sleswig, the present Government are of opinion that they are no longer in any respect adapted to the present state of things; they are convinced that the connexion between the two Duchies with regard to the administration and the supreme tribunal which had existed since 1834, and which recent events have actually abolished, should remain abolished for the future. With regard to these points the Imperial Court recognizes that the said declaration of the 7th September, 1846, was based on the situation existing at that period, and had in no way the legal effect of rendering dependent on the assent of the Confederation the resolutions which modified circumstances might induce the King to take in virtue of his sovereign rights with regard to the connexion in question, considering that these resolutions did not come within the legal competence of the Germanic Confederation. The Imperial Government, therefore, on their part, will not raise any objections to the abolition of the said connexion, and they will even employ their influence in order that the said measure may not meet with any difficulties on the part of the Federal Diet."

M. de Balan having observed that this despatch is only a proof of the consideration shown to the King of Denmark at that time by the Courts of Austria and Prussia, M. de Krieger reads the extract of a despatch addressed on the 18th of March last to the Danish Minister in London, in order to show how impossible it is for the Danish Plenipotentiaries to admit the competence of the Diet in the affairs of Schleswig. This despatch, which announces to the English Government the adhesion of that of Denmark to the plan of a Conference, says expressly: "Finally, for the success of eventual negotiations, it is absolutely indispensable that any plan of arrangement which would seem directly or indirectly to imply any influence on the part of the Germanic Diet over territories not belonging to the Confederation, should be previously put aside."

At Earl Russell's request, Count de Bernstorff again reads the declaration containing the proposal which he made at the commencement of the sitting.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne affirms that whatever may be the precautions of form which have been observed, the proposal tends to establish the complete independence of the Duchies.

M. de Quaade maintains that the discussion is useless unless it is on the basis that the Duchies are attached to the Danish Crown. If these countries do not belong to the King, how can the presence of the Danish Plenipotentiaries at the Conference be explained? Moreover, when will the Diet arrive at a decision? He has such confidence in the sentiments of justice which animate the Confederation, as well as in the justice of the cause of Denmark, that he would in no way fear an examination of the Holstein Succession by the Confederation; but he cannot admit the competence of that political body on this point, and in any case, in order that the Conference may come to a result, it is indispensable that no essential element should be withdrawn from its appreciation.

M. de Bille comments upon an expression in Count de Bernstorff's declaration which makes mention of foreign oppression in the Duchies. He considers it injurious to Denmark.

Count de Bernstorff gives an assurance that there is no injurious intention in the expression, and that, on the contrary, it is from deference for the Danish Plenipotentiaries that the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia have thought it right to select this general expression, instead of specifying it.

M. de Krieger remarks that M. de Quaade has already made all the necessary reservations with regard to the motives of the German proposals.

Baron de Brunnow does not understand the meaning of the proposal. He expected a programme which might lead to a solid and durable peace.

M. de Biegeleben having inquired why the question of the Succession should not be left to the Diet, the Earl of Clarendon replies that it would require at least two years to refer it to the Diet, and that the occupation of Sleswig would continue during all that time; and Earl Russell adds that there would be much danger in this almost permanent occupation. The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain do not doubt but that the Diet would give a just and equitable verdict; but it would be depriving Denmark of her rights in an indirect manner, and the Conference has met in order to put an end to the *status quo*, and not to prolong it.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne repeats that the proposal must be clearly defined, and asks if the allied Governments have the complete separation in view.

Count de Bernstorff replies that it would be so, in case the question was decided against the King of Denmark.

The Earl of Clarendon observes that the proposal is so vague that no member of the Conference can understand its bearing.

Baron de Brunnow expresses himself in the same sense, and says that it is impossible to consent to make an alteration in the Treaty without knowing in what such alteration would consist.

Count de Bernstorff assures them that he has no intention of expressing himself vaguely, and explains that Austria and Prussia demand for the Duchies a complete independence from all Danish influence.

To a question by which Earl Russell inquires whether the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark have conditions of peace to propose, M. de Quaade replies by recalling the fact that in accepting the proposal of a Conference to consider the means of restoring peace, the Danish Government never ceased to suppose that the transactions which took place during the winter of 1851-52 between Denmark and the two great German Powers would form the basis of the deliberations of the Conference.

The first Plenipotentiary of Denmark adds that it is true that in making their adhesion to the plan of a Conference dependent on this condition, the Danish Government did not insist on the basis indicated by them being accepted by the German Powers before the meeting of the Conference, and they did not, therefore, absolutely exclude from the deliberations an arrangement resting on another basis. But the basis of arrangement proposed by the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers diverges so widely from the basis indicated by the Cabinet of Copenhagen that the Danish Plenipotentiaries must consider it as entirely inadmissible.

Earl Russell's question having been repeated by Baron de Brunnow, M. de Quaade again declares that Denmark still maintains the basis of the arrangements of 1851 and 1852; and that from these arrangements the Duchies derive a political organization which assures to each of them the independence and autonomy which of right belong to them.

M. de Biegeleben inquires why the Duchies should not enjoy the same independence in their relations with Denmark as Norway does with regard to Sweden.

M. de Quaade maintains that, even leaving the Treaty of 1852 out of the question, the Duchies, at least that of Sleswig, are an integral part of the Danish Crown; and M. de Krieger points out, amongst the numerous reasons which exist against the establishment of this comparison, the evident difference in the respective geographical positions of Sleswig and Norway.

M. de Krieger goes on to say that, as M. de Quaade has remarked, the Danish Government always supposed that the transactions of 1851 and 1852 would form the basis of the deliberations of the Conference. But the Austrian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries having declined to give any explanation as to the bearing which, in their views, belongs of right to these transactions, the Danish Plenipotentiaries are unable to make any useful proposal, as they are ignorant, at present, as they were before, whether it would be possible to remove the obstacles which the German Powers throw in the way of the liberty of action of the Danish Government.

Count de Bernstorff declares that his instructions do not allow of his discussing the transactions of 1851 and 1852.

M. de Biegeleben does not see why the Danish Plenipotentiaries should not take the proposal of the German Powers *ad referendum*.

These latter Plenipotentiaries affirm that the proposal would be entirely inadmissible, even on the supposition that a decision of the Diet admitted the rights of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

Baron de Beust thinks it right to state that the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia are of opinion that, in making their proposal, they in no way think of placing

the Duchies again in the hands of Denmark before the question of right has been judged by the Germanic Confederation.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne observes that this would not then be a solution; and as to the combination of the personal union in itself, he considers it equally as not being a solution. It allows the antagonism existing between the two populations to subsist in its full force, and in no way prevents, for the future, the complications to which the present state of affairs has given rise.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia expressed himself in the following terms:—

"The Emperor by conferring on me the honour of representing him in this Conference, deigned to entrust to me the task of bringing about a sincere and lasting reconciliation between Denmark and Germany, in the general interests of the restoration of peace.

"This object can only be accomplished by an honourable transaction freely consented to by both parties.

"The duty which is imposed on me, by order of the Emperor, consists in contributing to accomplish this result in a real spirit of conciliation and concord. The instructions with which I am provided direct me to prevent extreme resolutions, and to endeavour to open the way to an amicable understanding. With this intention I desire, on the one hand, that the arrangement which may take place should be placed under the protection of effectual guarantees, satisfactory to Germany, and destined to prevent the return of fresh complications: I am bound, on the other, to take care that the Danish Monarchy shall preserve amongst the Powers of Europe, the rank, the dignity and the national independence which the Court of Russia regards as a necessary element of the balance of power and the maintenance of peace in the North.

"The question which occupies us, consists in discovering what guarantees may be considered of a nature to satisfy at once the demands of Germany, the rights of Denmark, and the interests of Europe.

"We have just heard the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Germany. They will be recorded in the Protocol of the present sitting.

"I shall abstain from entering into an examination of their bearing and merits, until I am acquainted with the opinions of the Court of Denmark. The confidence which I have in the elevated sentiments of His Majesty the King assures me that that Sovereign, inaccessible to any personal considerations, will only be advised by the true interests of his country. It is not for me to prejudge the determinations of the Danish Government. I respect the liberty of the decisions which they may come to in their wisdom.

"When they have been brought to the knowledge of the Emperor, His Majesty will deign to transmit to me the orders which will serve to guide my conduct.

"Until then I abstain from a discussion, in my opinion, premature, and I confine myself to reserving the opinion of my Court."

The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway announces that his instructions direct him to declare that his Government consider a solution consisting in the absolute independence of the Duchies, even under a personal union under the King of Denmark, as inadmissible and destructive of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy.

The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation thinks it right to remark that he has not joined in the proposal made by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia; and that, although not directed to do so by his instructions, he cannot help affirming officiously that the majority of the Diet will not consent to an arrangement which, even under an eventual or conditional form, would restore the union between the Duchies and Denmark.

The Plenipotentiaries agree to adjourn the next meeting of the Conference to Saturday, May 28, at 1 o'clock.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 6.—Séance du 28 Mai, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte Russell demande à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands s'ils ont des propositions à faire à la Conférence.

M. le Comte Apponyi répond en donnant lecture d'une proposition conçue en ces termes :—

"Après que les demandes de l'Autriche et de la Prusse, présentées dans la dernière séance de la Conférence, ont été déclarées entièrement inadmissibles par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, même dans la supposition qu'une décision de la Diète admît les droits de Succession de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark dans les Duchés, les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes ont reçu l'ordre de demander, de concert avec le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique, la séparation complète des Duchés de Schleswig et de Holstein du Royaume de Danemark, et leur réunion dans un seul Etat sous la souveraineté du Prince Héréditaire de Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Augustenbourg, qui peut non seulement faire valoir, aux yeux de l'Allemagne, le plus de droits à la Succession dans les dits Duchés, et dont la reconnaissance par la Diète Germanique est assurée en conséquence, mais qui réunit aussi les suffrages indubitables de l'immense majorité des populations de ces pays."

M. le Comte Russell donne lecture ensuite de la déclaration suivante :—

"Les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont vu avec un vif regret que la dernière séance de la Conférence n'a pas eu pour résultat d'établir les bases d'un accord entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark.

"Selon nous on ne saurait pas trouver les éléments d'une paix solide et durable, ni dans les engagements de 1851, lesquels pendant douze ans n'ont porté d'autre fruit que dissentiments et troubles, ni dans l'analyse d'un droit obscur et compliqué.

"Mais à moins de pouvoir poser les bases d'une paix solide et durable, il n'est pas de la compétence des Puissances neutres de renoncer au Traité solennel par lequel elles ont reconnu l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et elles ne pourraient non plus concourir à un nouvel arrangement qui serait insuffisant pour l'Allemagne, ou humiliant pour le Danemark.

"Il faut donc chercher ailleurs les éléments d'une paix solide et durable.

"Depuis de longues années une vive sympathie envers leurs frères sujets du Roi de Danemark anime les Allemands de la Confédération Germanique. Les Danois, de leur côté, sont inspirés par l'amour de l'indépendance et le désir de maintenir leur ancienne Monarchie. Ces sentiments, de part et d'autre, méritent le respect de l'Europe.

"Pour prévenir une lutte future, et pour satisfaire à l'Allemagne, il faudrait, selon nous, séparer entièrement de la Monarchie Danoise, le Holstein, le Lauenbourg, et la partie méridionale du Slesvig.

"Pour justifier un sacrifice aussi vaste de la part du Danemark, et pour maintenir l'indépendance de la Monarchie Danoise, il est à désirer, selon nous, que la ligne de la frontière ne soit pas traçée plus au nord que l'embouchure de la Slei et la ligne du Dannewerke.

"Il faut aussi pour la sécurité du Danemark que la Confédération Germanique n'érige et ne maintienne pas des forteresses, ni n'établisse pas des ports fortifiés, dans le territoire cédé par le Danemark.

"Un arrangement équitable de la dette publique, et la renonciation par l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Confédération Germanique, à tout droit d'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures du Danemark, serviraient à compléter les relations amicales entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark.

"Il reste une question qui ne serait pas l'objet du Traité de Paix, mais qui intéresse l'Allemagne et ne peut pas être passée sous silence. Dans l'opinion des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, il doit être entendu que la destinée future du Duché de Holstein,

du Duché de Lauenbourg, et de la partie méridionale du Duché de Slesvig qui sera annexée au Duché de Holstein, ne sera pas réglée sans leur consentement.

"Si le Roi de Danemark consent aux sacrifices de territoire qu'au nom de la paix on lui demande, il sera juste que l'indépendance de son Royaume soit garantie par les Grandes Puissances Européennes."

M. le Baron de Brunnow, répondant d'abord à la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands, exprime le sentiment de regret que lui fait éprouver cette proposition, à laquelle il ne s'attendait nullement. Ce plan aurait pour objet de détacher de la Monarchie Danoise le Holstein et le Slesvig en entier, et de placer cet Etat sous une Dynastie nouvelle. D'abord, en ce qui regarde l'arrangement territorial projeté, de quel droit disposerait-on de ces contrées? Elles sont occupées de fait par les alliés, mais de droit elles ne leur appartiennent point.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ne saurait donc se persuader qu'il soit de l'intention des Cours d'Autriche et de Prusse de disposer de ces territoires, et cela sans une entente préalable avec les autres Puissances. Il rappelle l'engagement que les deux Cours ont pris envers les Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres, de s'entendre avec elles sur les bases de la pacification. Il constate que cet engagement a été reconnu de nouveau dans l'une des séances précédentes. La confiance qu'il place dans les intentions des deux Cours lui donne la ferme assurance que cet engagement sera rempli.

Quant à la combinaison dynastique dont la proposition des Cours d'Allemagne fait mention, M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie fait observer qu'elle préjugerait une question qui ne saurait être résolue isolément. Elle n'est pas encore ouverte pour celles des Puissances qui tiennent le Traité de Londres pour obligatoire. A l'appui de cette vérité, il cite les paroles de M. le Comte de Clarendon, que le Protocole de la dernière séance rapporte en ces termes:—

"M. le Comte de Clarendon fait observer que les droits de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark dans les Duchés ont été reconnus par le Traité de 1852 dans un intérêt Européen, et que quoique les Puissances Allemandes ne considèrent plus ce Traité comme valide entre elles et le Danemark, les autres Puissances signataires le regardent toujours comme réciproquement obligatoire."

De plus, pour démontrer que la question dynastique reste encore ouverte et qu'elle ne saurait être préjugée, M. le Baron de Brunnow rappelle un autre passage du Protocole de la séance précédente, qui rapporte l'opinion de M. le second Plénipotentiaire de l'Autriche. Ce passage est conçu en ces termes:—

"M. de Biegeleben est d'avis que la question devrait être décidée d'après les Lois Fédérales, et il expose que la Diète Germanique ne pourrait pas disposer du vote actuellement suspendu du Holstein, sans que le point de droit fût éclairci dans les voies légales."

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie constate que cette opinion a été confirmée d'ailleurs par M. le Baron de Beust, qui a insisté "sur le droit de la Confédération de régler la Succession dans le Holstein," et qui a ajouté: "que la Confédération ne saurait permettre que la question soit préjugée."

A l'avis du Plénipotentiaire de Russie, Monseigneur le Prince d'Augustenbourg n'est pas le seul qui ait des prétentions à élever. Lorsque la question de Succession dans le Holstein viendrait à s'ouvrir, d'autres droits réclameraient un examen sérieux. Notamment Monseigneur le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg aurait à faire valoir de justes titres. Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie s'est fait un devoir de les réserver.

Après avoir exposé ces considérations, il déclare qu'à son vif regret il se trouve dans l'obligation de manifester son dissentiment à l'égard de la proposition que MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Cours d'Allemagne viennent d'émettre.

Passant ensuite à l'appréciation de la proposition de M. le Comte Russell, M. le Baron de Brunnow dit que c'est pour lui un devoir agréable de rendre une entière justice aux intentions qui inspirent à MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne le désir d'ouvrir la voie à une transaction destinée d'une part à assurer à l'Allemagne une paix durable, de l'autre à sauvegarder l'indépendance et la sécurité de la Monarchie Danoise.

Dans l'opinion du Cabinet de Russie, il appartient à Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien IX de se prononcer le premier sur ce qui convient aux intérêts de son pays. Si cet auguste Souverain approuvait les bases de la pacification à conclure, le Cabinet Impérial ne refuserait point son assentiment à une transaction que la Cour de Copenhague aurait librement acceptée.

Mais, aussi longtemps que les stipulations du Traité de Londres conservent pour le Danemark, comme pour les Puissances neutres, leur force obligatoire, le Plénipotentiaire de Russie doit décliner une délibération, selon lui, prématurée, sur le sort futur de territoires dont Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark n'a pas fait abandon.

Si, par la suite, Sa Majesté le Roi Chretien IX renonçait au Duché de Holstein, la

question de la Succession serait ouverte. A l'avis du Plénipotentiaire de Russie, elle ne pourrait recevoir une solution légale qu'en portant respect à la justice de la cause des parties intéressées, qui auraient à faire valoir leurs titres, conformément aux principes du droit public.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie, dans l'attente des instructions qui lui sont annoncées, réserve expressément l'opinion de sa Cour.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de France s'exprime en ces termes :—

"Les idées que M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat vient d'exposer, relativement aux principes d'après lesquels devrait être réglée l'affaire Dano-Allemande, s'accordent pleinement avec les vues que j'étais chargé moi-même de soutenir dans la Conférence. Après avoir étudié les causes du conflit actuel, mon Gouvernement est demeuré convaincu qu'elles résidaient dans la mauvaise distribution des différents groupes de population dont la Monarchie Danoise est composée, ainsi que dans leurs rivalités incessantes, et qu'il était, dès lors, nécessaire de rechercher les bases d'une entente dans des dispositions nouvelles plus en harmonie avec le sentiment national des deux peuples. L'arrangement dont M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat nous indique les bases, consistant à départager, autant que possible, les deux nationalités dans le Slesvig, en incorporant les Danois au Danemark, et en reliant plus étroitement les Allemands au Holstein et au Lauenbourg, ne pouvait donc manquer de rencontrer l'adhésion du Gouvernement de l'Empereur. L'application de ce principe ne semble pas, au surplus, devoir donner lieu à aucune difficulté pour les deux parties extrêmes du Slesvig, où la nationalité se trouve nettement déterminée. Quant aux districts mixtes du centre, de quelque manière que l'on décide de leur sort, il y aura toujours là des Danois soumis à un pays Allemand ou des Allemands soumis au Danemark. Devant l'impossibilité absolue de prendre, sur ce point, la nationalité pour règle, nous pensons qu'il serait juste de trancher le différend en faveur de la plus faible des parties, surtout quand elle subit déjà les sacrifices que cette règle lui impose sur tous les points où elle est manifestement contre elle. Mon Gouvernement considère également comme essentiel que la frontière soit tracée conformément aux nécessités de la défense du Danemark, car ces nécessités doivent être prises en considération par la Conférence, dont la mission est, en donnant satisfaction aux légitimes réclamations de l'Allemagne, de veiller à ce que les arrangements nouveaux garantissent suffisamment l'indépendance du Danemark et les intérêts de l'équilibre Européen dans le Nord.

"Quant à la désignation du Souverain sous l'autorité duquel le nouvel Etat devrait être placé, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur n'a aucun parti pris. Il donnerait volontiers son appui à toute combinaison qui serait conforme au vœu des populations loyalement consultées."

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège annonce que ses instructions lui défendent d'entrer en discussion sur la proposition émise par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands, comme tendant à séparer les Duchés de Slesvig et de Holstein du Danemark.

En ce qui concerne la proposition dont M. le Comte Russell a donné lecture, il doit déclarer que, comme la Grande Bretagne, son Gouvernement reconnaît que si les Traités de 1852 doivent être abandonnés, on ne saurait trouver une solution en dehors du principe de la séparation des deux nationalités Danoise et Allemande. Partant de ce point de vue, son Gouvernement aurait trouvé plus naturel que la frontière nouvelle du Danemark fût établie sur l'Eider, parceque ce fleuve a de tout temps séparé le Danemark et l'Allemagne.

Il est toutefois autorisé à adhérer à la proposition émise par M. le Comte Russell, à condition que la frontière du Danemark ne soit pas placée plus au nord que la Slei et le Dannewerke, que la partie du Slesvig située au nord de cette ligne soit complètement incorporée au Danemark, que l'Allemagne n'ait à l'avenir aucun droit d'immixtion dans les affaires intérieures de cette Monarchie, et que la nouvelle frontière à établir soit placée sous une garantie Européenne.

Quant aux provinces qui dans l'éventualité susdite seraient cédés par le Roi de Danemark, son Gouvernement entend que leur sort futur ne soit point réglé sans leur consentement, et que la liberté du choix des populations soit entourée de garanties suffisantes.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff prenant alors la parole, déclare que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands n'ont comme de raison pas d'instructions pour se prononcer d'une manière définitive sur les détails de la proposition qu'ils viennent d'entendre de la part de MM. les Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique. Mais connaissant l'esprit de conciliation qui anime leurs Gouvernements respectifs, et qui répond à celui qui a guidé le Gouvernement Anglais dans son désir de trouver une base qui puisse servir de compromis entre les points de vue opposés des Puissances belligérantes, ils croient pouvoir déclarer dès-à-présent que ni l'Autriche et la Prusse, ni la Confédération Germanique, ne se refuseront à prendre en sérieuse considération un projet de transaction qui puisse servir à faire atteindre le but que leurs Plénipotentiaires ont désigné dès le commencement comme

celui qu'ils ont en vue, c'est-à-dire, d'assurer une pacification solide et durable. Sous ce rapport, la ligne de démarcation proposée ne saurait cependant remplir le but, puisque le principal sujet de plainte et d'agitation pour la plus grande partie des populations du Schleswig continuerait non seulement de subsister, mais serait même infiniment aggravé par leur séparation d'avec le reste des Duchés, et leur incorporation dans le Royaume de Danemark.

Les Plénipotentiaires Allemands doivent donc réserver à leurs Gouvernements de faire des contre-propositions à cet égard.

Pour ce qui concerne le Duché de Lauenbourg, ils se permettront de faire observer que la question de la Succession y est également regardée comme douteuse. Mais, comme en effet les droits que la Couronne de Danemark peut y faire valoir sont moins contestés que dans les deux autres Duchés, les Puissances Allemandes seraient probablement disposées à le considérer comme un objet de compensation pour une partie du territoire septentrional du Duché de Schleswig.

Les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ne peuvent se croire autorisés à discuter la question de fortifications à ériger éventuellement sur tel ou tel point du territoire Fédéral, question qui touche à la compétence intérieure de la Diète et au système défensif de la Confédération Germanique.

Interpellé par M. le Comte Russell, M. le Baron de Beust se réfère à la déclaration dont M. le Comte Apponyi a donné lecture, et où il est dit que la proposition des Puissances Allemandes est faite de concert avec le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération.

M. le premier Plénipotentiaire du Danemark ne se trouve pas à même de s'engager dès à présent dans la discussion de la proposition de M. le Comte Russell, qui non seulement abandonne la base des transactions de 1851, mais s'écarte aussi du principe du Traité de Londres, dont la validité ne saurait être mise en question. Il s'engage toutefois à la porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement. Quant à la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands, si le Gouvernement Danois a trouvé que celle de la séance précédente était inadmissible, à plus forte raison lui est-il impossible de discuter celle-ci.

M. le Comte de Clarendon croit que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois ayant eu connaissance préalable de la proposition Anglaise, doivent être plus ou moins munis d'instructions à cet égard.

M. de Quaade répond que M. le Comte Russell lui a fait part de cette proposition dans ses termes généraux en temps utile pour que son Gouvernement en ait connu le sens; mais il fait observer qu'elle n'a pas encore pu être soumise au Cabinet de Copenhague avec tous les éclaircissements nécessaires, et dans une forme qui permît d'en apprécier toute la portée, et de juger si l'adhésion du Danemark offrirait des chances sérieuses pour une solution.

M. de Krieger soutient également que les Plénipotentiaires Danois entendent aujourd'hui pour la première fois les termes précis de la proposition dont il s'agit, et explique combien il importe au Gouvernement Danois de connaître, avant de se prononcer, non seulement la manière de voir des autres Puissances neutres, mais aussi, s'il est possible, celle des Puissances Allemandes. Il fait observer qu'il a déjà entendu les objections de ces Plénipotentiaires sur deux points très importants de la proposition, dont l'une se rapporte à la frontière, et l'autre à l'établissement de forteresses et de ports fortifiés sur le territoire qui serait cédé à la Confédération.

M. de Balan relève qu'il ne lui paraît point équitable de réserver à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois toute déclaration, jusqu'à ce que ceux de l'Allemagne aient encore davantage précisé l'adhésion de leurs Gouvernements au principe de la proposition Anglaise.

M. le Prince de la Tour de l'Auvergne rappelle que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont déclaré que la proposition sera prise en sérieuse considération par leurs Gouvernements, et demande si MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois ne se croiraient pas autorisés à faire une déclaration semblable.

M. de Quaade exprime la conviction que son Gouvernement vouera à cette proposition, comme à toute proposition faite par les Puissances neutres, l'attention la plus sérieuse; il s'empressera de faire connaître à Copenhague ce qui s'est passé dans la Conférence, et il est sûr de recevoir des instructions définitives dans le plus bref délai.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait observer que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont accepté le principe de la proposition de M. le Comte Russell, et qu'il faut, par conséquent, que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois déclarent, de leur côté, s'ils acceptent le principe de cette proposition.

M. de Krieger signale la difficulté de parler du principe d'une proposition, quand cette proposition embrasse plusieurs éléments également importants. Des réserves ayant été faites sur des points de la plus haute importance, il ne saurait admettre que le principe ait été accepté.

Après une discussion sur la nécessité d'en référer à Copenhague, M. le Comte de Clarendon répète que MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark auraient déjà pu recevoir les instructions de leur Gouvernement au sujet de la proposition Anglaise, dont ils ont eu connaissance préalable. Il s'explique la position de ces Plénipotentiaires, en supposant qu'ils ne se trouvent pas à même de consentir à un sacrifice aussi considérable que celui qui leur a été proposé, sans être assurés d'avance qu'il serait accepté par les Puissances Allemandes et qu'il aurait pour résultat le rétablissement de la paix.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark se réfèrent à leurs déclarations précédentes, en ajoutant que pour leur part ils ne demandent aucun délai pour la prochaine réunion au delà du jour qui conviendrait à Messieurs les autres membres de la Conférence.

M. le Comte Apponyi tient à constater que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont fait un grand pas dans la voie de la conciliation en modifiant leur proposition par l'acceptation du principe de la proposition Anglaise.

M. de Quaade fait observer que la question de frontière est un point capital.

M. le Comte Russell espère que MM. les Plénipotentiaires se trouveront en mesure de discuter la question de la frontière dans la séance prochaine.

M. le Comte Apponyi rappelle que la question des forteresses dans le territoire qui serait cédé est une affaire intérieure de l'Allemagne, et que comme telle elle est de la compétence de la Diète Germanique.

M. le Comte de Clarendon fait alors remarquer que quand il s'agit de s'écarter du Traité de Vienne, ainsi que du Traité de 1852, et de créer un état de choses nouveau dans les Duchés, il lui semble que les Puissances signataires de ces deux Traités ont bien le droit de donner leur avis sur ce point, et d'y poser les conditions qu'elles puissent juger nécessaires.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister dit que le changement de frontière est le point principal à prendre en considération; que les positions respectives du Danemark et de la Confédération Germanique s'en trouveront profondément changées; que le Danemark, en perdant une partie si considérable de son territoire, a besoin de garanties plus fortes contre toute agression possible dans l'avenir, et que la Confédération Germanique en recevant un accroissement de territoire pourrait bien consentir à certaines conditions.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération fait observer que les conditions qui défendent à une Puissance d'avoir des places fortes sur tel ou tel point de son territoire ont été en effet souvent imposées après une campagne désastreuse, mais jamais dans le cas inverse.

M. le Baron de Beust, répondant ensuite à une observation de M. de Krieger sur la validité du Traité de 1852, dit qu'il lui est impossible de le suivre sur ce terrain; qu'une politique agressive n'est pas dans les tendances de la Confédération, mais qu'elle ne saurait consentir à accepter des conditions qui limiteraient d'avance son action politique et militaire. Passant à la critique à laquelle M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie a soumis la proposition des Puissances Allemandes, il fait remarquer d'abord que lors même qu'une Puissance belligérante ne considère pas un territoire occupé par elle comme lui appartenant, elle a incontestablement le droit de se prononcer sur la question de savoir à qui ce territoire doit être remis, et en le faisant dans la Conférence on n'a pas manqué aux égards dûs aux autres Puissances.

En ce qui regarde l'objection faite au sujet des questions encore pendantes à la Diète et qu'aujourd'hui elle semble préjuger, la question de la voix pour le Holstein est résolue en ce sens, que les pouvoirs du Baron Dirkink-Holmfeld, Ministre de Danemark, ont été reconnus inacceptables. La question de la Succession est en effet pendante, mais elle est résolue matériellement depuis longtemps par la plupart des Gouvernements; les retards apportés jusqu'ici à une décision formelle cessent du moment où les deux Grandes Puissances se déclarent en faveur du Duc d'Augustenbourg. M. de Krieger ayant dit ne pas considérer la proposition comme sérieuse, M. le Baron de Beust le prie de la regarder comme très sérieuse.

M. de Krieger fait observer que ne pouvant pas aujourd'hui entrer dans la discussion de la proposition Anglaise, qui va jusqu'à demander au Danemark la résolution pénible et grave de sacrifier le Traité de 1852, il ne saurait suivre M. le Baron de Beust sur le terrain qu'il vient de choisir. Mais il doit pourtant, par rapport à l'observation faite en premier lieu par M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique, relever expressément qu'il ne pense pas que la Conférence ait précisément pour tâche de mesurer les forces matérielles des deux parties respectives, mais qu'elle est plutôt appelée à soutenir des principes d'une portée plus élevée, à sauvegarder des intérêts d'un ordre Européen.

En réponse à une question qui lui est adressée par M. le Baron de Brunnow, M. le Comte Apponyi explique comment les Plénipotentiaires Allemands croient avoir faite une

importante concession en modifiant leur première proposition, qui insistait sur l'intégrité du Schleswig, et en acceptant le principe de la division de ce Duché.

M. le Baron de Brunnow fait observer qu'il doit être entendu, selon l'avis de son Gouvernement, que la question de la Succession n'est pas préjugée. Certains droits doivent être pris en considération, et la Famille d'Oldenbourg peut faire valoir les siens. Il maintient toujours la validité du Traité de Londres, et ne peut pas reconnaître d'autre Souverain dans les Duchés que le Roi de Danemark. Il croit qu'un arrangement qui créerait un nouvel Etat exige une entente entre les Puissances. Il doit prendre à cet égard ses réserves.

M. de Biegeleben se rapportant à une observation par laquelle M. le Baron de Brunnow avait reproché à la proposition Allemande un manque de respect pour les droits acquis, rappelle que l'Autriche et la Prusse avaient proposé de laisser la question dynastique ouverte jusqu'à ce qu'elle ait été résolue dans les voies légales, mais que la Conférence n'avait pas paru considérer cette proposition comme un moyen pratique de solution. La réserve de l'examen de la question de droit n'ayant pas été jugée admissible, et le Danemark ayant rejeté l'union personnelle, les Puissances Allemandes devaient se prévaloir des droits qui dérivent pour elles des événements de la guerre pour former d'autres conditions de la pacification.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie résume la discussion, et appelle l'attention de la Conférence sur l'importance qu'il y aurait à convenir dans la prochaine séance d'une prolongation de la suspension d'hostilités.

M. de Balan déclare que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont déjà été mis en état d'accéder à une telle prolongation aussi étendue que possible.

M. de Quaade dit qu'il serait difficile pour son Gouvernement d'y consentir, à moins qu'il ne fût probable que la paix résulterait de la négociation. Il ne paraît pas du reste que les clauses de la suspension d'hostilités actuelle aient été exécutées par les Puissances alliées.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que d'après ses informations les clauses en ont été au contraire parfaitement exécutées.

M. le Comte Russell exprime l'espoir que M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie s'adjoindra aux Plénipotentiaires des autres Puissances neutres en appuyant la proposition des Plénipotentiaires Anglais.

M. le Baron de Brunnow se dit prêt à y adhérer si le Danemark consent à l'accepter; et répondant à M. le Comte Apponyi, qui lui demande comment il peut adhérer également au Traité de Londres et à la proposition Anglaise, il cite le texte de la déclaration de M. le Comte Russell, dans laquelle il est expressément affirmé "qu'à moins de pouvoir poser les bases d'une paix solide et durable, il n'est pas de la compétence des Puissances neutres de renoncer au Traité," &c.

La discussion ultérieure de la proposition est renvoyée au Jeudi, 2 Juin, à 1 heure.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 6.—*Sitting of May* 28, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation,
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Earl Russell inquires of the German Plenipotentiaries if they have any proposals to make to the Conference.

Count Apponyi replies by reading a proposal expressed in these terms:—

"Since the demands of Austria and Prussia, presented in the last sitting of the Conference, have been declared entirely inadmissible by the Danish Plenipotentiaries, even supposing that a decision of the Diet were to admit the rights of Succession of His Majesty the King of Denmark in the Duchies, the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers have received orders to demand, in concert with the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation, the complete separation of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from the Kingdom of Denmark, and their union in a single State under the sovereignty of the Hereditary Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, who can not only bring forward, in the eyes of Germany, the greatest right to the Succession in the said Duchies, and whose recognition by the Germanic Diet is consequently assured, but who also possesses the undoubted suffrages of an immense majority of the population of those countries."

Earl Russell then reads the following declaration:—

"The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain have seen with deep regret that the last sitting of the Conference has not resulted in the establishment of the bases of an agreement between Germany and Denmark.

"In our opinion the elements of a solid and durable peace can neither be found in the engagements of 1851, which during twelve years have borne no other fruit than dissensions and troubles, nor in the analysis of an obscure and complicated law.

"But unless it is possible to lay down the bases of a solid and durable peace, it is not competent for the neutral Powers to renounce the solemn Treaty by which they recognized the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, neither could they concur in a new arrangement which would be insufficient for Germany, or humiliating for Denmark.

"The elements of a solid and durable peace must therefore be sought elsewhere.

"For many years a lively sympathy for their brethren who are subject to the King of Denmark has animated the Germans of the Germanic Confederation. The Danes, on their side, are inspired by the love of independence, and the desire of maintaining their ancient Monarchy. These sentiments on either side deserve the respect of Europe.

"In order to prevent a future contest, and to satisfy Germany, it would be necessary, in our opinion, entirely to separate Holstein, Lauenburg, and the southern part of Sleswig from the Danish Monarchy.

"To justify so vast a sacrifice on the part of Denmark, and to maintain the independence of the Danish Monarchy, it is desirable, in our opinion, that the line of the frontier should not be drawn more to the north than the mouth of the Schlei and the line of the Dannewerke.

"It is also necessary for the security of Denmark that the Germanic Confederation should not erect or maintain fortresses, nor establish fortified ports in the territory ceded by Denmark.

"An equitable arrangement of the public debt and the renunciation by Austria, Prussia, and the Germanic Confoderation of all right of interference in the internal affairs of Denmark, would serve to complete the friendly relations between Germany and Denmark.

"A question remains which would not form the object of the Treaty of Peace, but which interests Germany, and cannot be passed by in silence. In the opinion of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain it should be understood that the future destiny of the Duchy of Holstein, of the Duchy of Lauenburg, and of the southern part of the Duchy of

Sleswig which will be annexed to the Duchy of Holstein, shall not be settled without their consent.

"If the King of Denmark consents to the sacrifices of territory which are required of him in the name of peace, it would be just that the independence of his Kingdom should be guaranteed by the great European Powers."

Baron de Brunnow, replying, in the first place, to the proposal of the German Plenipotentiaries, expresses the feeling of regret which he has experienced at this proposal, which he in no way expected. The object of this plan would be to detach the whole of Holstein and Sleswig from the Danish Monarchy, and to place this State under a new Dynasty. In the first place, as regards the projected territorial arrangement, by what right would these countries be disposed of? They are occupied, in fact, by the allies, but they do not belong to them by right.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia cannot therefore believe that it is the intention of the Courts of Austria and Prussia to dispose of these territories, and that without a previous understanding with the other Powers. He recalls the engagement which the two Courts have taken towards the Powers who signed the Treaty of London, to come to an understanding with them as to the bases of pacification. He affirms that this engagement has been again recognized in one of the preceding sittings. The confidence which he places in the intentions of the two Courts inspires him with a firm conviction that this engagement will be fulfilled.

As to the dynastic combination of which the proposal of the German Courts makes mention, the Plenipotentiary of Russia observes that it prejudges a question which cannot be solved in an isolated manner. It is not yet open for those of the Powers who consider the Treaty of London as binding. In support of this truth, he quotes the words of Lord Clarendon, which the Protocol of the last sitting reports in these terms:—

"The Earl of Clarendon observes that the rights of His Majesty the King of Denmark in the Duchies have been recognized by the Treaty of 1852 in the interests of Europe, and that although the German Powers no longer consider this Treaty as valid between them and Denmark, the other Powers who signed it still regard it as reciprocally binding."

Moreover, in order to show that the dynastic question still remains open, and that it cannot be prejudged, Baron de Brunnow refers to another passage of the Protocol of the preceding sitting, which reports the opinion of the second Plenipotentiary of Austria. This passage runs as follows:—

"M. de Biegeleben is of opinion that the question should be decided according to the Federal laws, and he points out that the Germanic Diet could not dispose of the vote of Holstein, at present suspended, unless the question of right was decided in the legal course."

The Plenipotentiary of Russia states that this opinion was, moreover, confirmed by Baron de Beust, who insisted "on the right of the Confederation to settle the Succession in Holstein," and who added "that the Confederation could not allow the question to be prejudged."

In the opinion of the Plenipotentiary of Russia, the Prince of Augustenburg is not the only person who has claims to assert. Whenever the question of Succession in Holstein becomes open, the rights of others will be entitled to serious examination. Especially the Grand Duke of Oldenburg would have just claims to assert. The Plenipotentiary of Russia has made it his duty to reserve them.

After having put forward these considerations he declares that, to his deep regret, he finds himself compelled to express his dissent with regard to the proposal which the Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Germany have just made.

Passing next to the consideration of Earl Russell's proposal, Baron de Brunnow says that it is for him an agreeable duty to render full justice to the intentions which inspire the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain with the desire to open the way to a transaction destined, on the one hand, to ensure to Germany a lasting peace, and on the other, to preserve the independence and security of the Danish Monarchy.

In the opinion of the Cabinet of Russia, it is for His Majesty King Christian IX to pronounce himself the first as to what is expedient for the interests of his country. If that august Sovereign approved the bases of the pacification to be concluded, the Imperial Cabinet would not refuse its assent to a transaction which the Court of Copenhagen had freely accepted.

But, so long as the stipulations of the Treaty of London preserve their binding force for Denmark, as well as for the neutral Powers, the Plenipotentiary of Russia must decline a deliberation, which in his opinion is premature, as to the future fate of the territories which His Majesty the King of Denmark has not surrendered.

If, subsequently, His Majesty King Christian IX were to surrender the Duchy of

Holstein, the question of the Succession would be open. In the opinion of the Plenipotentiary of Russia, it could only receive a legal solution by paying due respect to the justice of the cause of the parties interested, who would have to assert their titles, in conformity with the principles of international law.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia, in expectation of instructions which have been announced to him, expressly reserves the opinion of his Court.

The Plenipotentiary of France expresses himself in these terms:—

"The ideas which the Principal Secretary of State has just expressed, with regard to the principles according to which the Dano-German affair should be settled, are in full accordance with the views which I was myself instructed to maintain in the Conference. After having studied the causes of the present conflict, my Government has remained convinced that they were attributable to the improper division of the different groups of population of which the Danish Monarchy is composed, as well as to their incessant rivalries, and that it was from that moment necessary to seek for the bases of an agreement in new arrangements more in harmony with the national sentiment of the two races. The arrangement of which the Principal Secretary of State has pointed out to us the bases, consisting in dividing, as far as possible, the two nationalities in Sleswig, incorporating the Danes with Denmark, and uniting the Germans more intimately with Holstein and Lauenburg, could not fail therefore to receive the adhesion of the Government of the Emperor. Moreover, it does not seem that the application of this principle can give rise to any difficulty as regards the two extreme parts of Schleswig, where the nationality is clearly determined. As to the mixed districts of the centre, in whatever manner their fate may be determined, there will always be Danes subject to a German country, or Germans subject to Denmark in them. Considering the absolute impossibility of taking nationality as a rule on this point, we think that it would be just to decide the difference in favour of the weaker party, especially when she is already undergoing the sacrifices which this rule imposes on her in all the points where it is manifestly against her. My Government equally consider it as essential that the frontier should be traced in conformity with the necessities of the defence of Denmark, for these necessities must be taken into consideration by the Conference, whose mission is, whilst satisfying the legitimate claims of Germany, to take care that the new arrangements should sufficiently guarantee the independence of Denmark, and the interests of the balance of power in the North of Europe,

"As to the nomination of the Sovereign under whose authority the new State is to be placed, the Emperor's Government have come to no decision. They would willingly give their support to any combination which would be in conformity with the wishes of the population loyally consulted."

The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway announces that his instructions forbid him to enter upon a discussion of the proposal put forward by the German Plenipotentiaries, as tending to separate the Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein from Denmark.

As regards the proposal which Earl Russell has read, he must declare that, like Great Britain, his Government recognize that if the Treaties of 1852 must be abandoned, no solution could be found except on the principle of the separation of the two nationalities, Danish and German. Starting from this point of view, his Government would have considered it more natural that the new frontier of Denmark should have been established on the Eider, as this river has always separated Denmark and Germany.

He is, however, authorized to adhere to the proposal put forward by Lord Russell, on condition that the frontier of Denmark shall not be drawn more to the north than the Slei and the Dannewirke; that the part of Sleswig situated to the north of this line shall be completely incorporated with Denmark; that Germany shall in future have no right of interference in the internal affairs of that Monarchy; and that the new frontier to be established shall be placed under a European guarantee.

As to the provinces which in the aforesaid eventuality would be ceded by the King of Denmark, his Government expect that their future destiny will not be decided without their consent, and that the freedom of choice of the population will be protected by sufficient guarantees.

Count de Bernstorff then speaks. He declares that the German Plenipotentiaries have, as is natural, no instructions to pronounce their opinion in a definitive manner on the details of the proposal of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain which they have just heard. But knowing the spirit of conciliation which animates their respective Governments, and which coincides with that which has guided the English Government in their desire to discover a basis which might serve as a compromise between the opposite views of the belligerent Powers, they think they may at once declare that neither Austria and Prussia, nor the Germanic Confederation, will refuse to take into serious consideration the proposal of a transaction which may serve to attain the object which their Plenipotentiaries have designated from

the beginning as that which they have in view, namely, to insure a solid and durable peace. With regard to this point, the line of demarcation proposed cannot, however, attain the desired end, as the principal subject of complaint and agitation as regards the greater part of the population of Schleswig would not only continue to exist, but would even be infinitely aggravated by their separation from the rest of the Duchies and their incorporation in the Kingdom of Denmark.

The German Plenipotentiaries must, therefore, reserve to their Governments the right of making counter-proposals on this point.

As regards the Duchy of Lauenburg, they must be allowed to observe that the question of the Succession is regarded as doubtful in that Duchy also. But as, in fact, the claims which the Crown of Denmark can put forward to it are less contested than in the two other Duchies, the German Powers would probably be disposed to consider it as an object of compensation for a part of the northern territory of the Duchy of Schleswig.

The German Plenipotentiaries cannot consider themselves authorized to discuss the question of fortifications to be eventually erected upon such and such points of Federal territory—a question which concerns the internal competence of the Diet and the defensive system of the Germanic Confederation.

In reply to an inquiry of Earl Russell's, Baron de Beust refers to the declaration which Count Apponyi has read, and in which it is said that the proposal of the German Powers is made in concert with the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation.

The first Plenipotentiary of Denmark is not in a position at once to engage in the discussion of Earl Russell's proposal, which not only abandons the basis of the transactions of 1851, but also departs from the principle of the Treaty of London, the validity of which cannot be questioned. He engages, however, to bring it to the knowledge of his Government. As to the proposal of the German Plenipotentiaries, if the Danish Government considered that of the preceding sitting inadmissible, so much the more is it impossible for them to discuss this one.

The Earl of Clarendon thinks that the Danish Plenipotentiaries having been previously acquainted with the English proposal, must be more or less furnished with instructions on this subject.

M. de Quaade replies that Earl Russell communicated this proposal to him in its general terms in sufficient time for his Government to learn the sense of it, but he observes that it has been impossible as yet to submit it to the Cabinet of Copenhagen with all the necessary explanations, and in a form which would allow its full bearing to be appreciated, and an opinion to be formed whether the adhesion of Denmark would offer a serious chance of a solution.

M. de Krieger also maintains that the Danish Plenipotentiaries have heard to-day for the first time the precise terms of the proposal in question, and explains how important it is for the Danish Government to know, before making their decision, not only the opinion of the other neutral Powers, but also, if possible, that of the German Powers. He observes that he has already heard the objections of those Plenipotentiaries on two most important points of the proposal, one of which relates to the frontier, and the other to the establishment of fortresses and fortified ports on the territory which may be ceded to the Confederation.

M. de Balan remarks that it does not seem to him to be fair to reserve any declaration on the part of the Danish Plenipotentiaries, until those of Germany have expressed in still more precise terms the adhesion of their Governments to the principle of the English proposal.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne observes that the German Plenipotentiaries have declared that the proposal shall be taken into serious consideration by their Governments, and asks if the Danish Plenipotentiaries would not consider themselves authorized to make a similar declaration.

M. de Quaade expresses his conviction that his Government will devote to this proposal, as to any proposal made by the neutral Powers, the most serious attention. He will hasten to make known at Copenhagen what has passed at the Conference, and he is certain to receive definitive instructions in the shortest possible time.

Count de Bernstorff observes that the German Plenipotentiaries have accepted the principle of Earl Russell's proposal, and that the Danish Plenipotentiaries must consequently declare whether for their part they accept the principle of this proposal.

M. de Krieger points out the difficulty of speaking of the principle of a proposal, when that proposal embraces several elements equally important. Reservations having been made on points of the highest importance, he cannot admit that the principle has been accepted.

After a discussion as to the necessity of referring to Copenhagen, the Earl of Clarendon

repeats that the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark could already have received the instructions of their Government on the subject of the English proposal, of which they were previously informed. He explains the position of these Plenipotentiaries by the supposition that it is not in their power to consent to so considerable a sacrifice as that which has been proposed to them, without being previously certain that it will be accepted by the German Powers, and that it will result in the re-establishment of peace.

The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark refer to their preceding declarations, adding that for their part they demand no delay in the next meeting beyond the day which may be convenient to the other members of the Conference.

Count Apponyi begs to observe that the German Plenipotentiaries have made a great step in the path of conciliation in modifying their proposal by their acceptance of the principle of the English proposal.

M. de Quaade observes that the question of the frontier is a capital point.

Earl Russell hopes that the Plenipotentiaries will be in a position to discuss the question of the frontier in the next sitting.

Count Apponyi observes, that the question of the fortresses in the territory which would be ceded is an internal affair of Germany, and that as such it is within the competence of the Germanic Diet.

The Earl of Clarendon then remarks, that when it is proposed to depart from the Treaty of Vienna, as well as from the Treaty of 1852, and to create a new order of things in the Duchies, it seems to him that the Powers who signed those two Treaties have certainly the right to express their opinion on this point, and to couple therewith such conditions as they may judge necessary.

Count Wachtmeister says, that the change of frontier is the principal point to be considered; that the respective positions of Denmark and the Germanic Confederation would be completely changed thereby; that Denmark in losing so considerable a part of her territory, has need of stronger guarantees against any possible aggression for the future, and that the Germanic Confederation on receiving an increase of territory might well consent to certain conditions.

The Plenipotentiary of the Confederation observes, that the conditions which forbid a Power to have fortresses on such and such points of its territory have, in fact, often been imposed after a disastrous campaign, but never in the contrary case.

Baron de Beust then says, in reply to an observation of M. Krieger, on the validity of the Treaty of 1852, that it is impossible for him to follow him on this topic; that the Confederation has no tendency towards aggressive policy, but that it cannot consent to the acceptance of conditions which would limit, by anticipation, its political and military action. Passing on to the criticism to which the Plenipotentiary of Russia has submitted the proposal of the German Powers, he remarks in the first place, that even although a belligerent Power does not consider a territory occupied by it as belonging to it, it has undoubtedly the right of pronouncing an opinion on the question as to whom that territory shall be delivered up to, and in doing so in the Conference there has been no want of proper respect to the other Powers.

As regards the objection made on the subject of the questions still pending before the Diet, and which it seems now to prejudge, the question of the vote of Holstein is decided in this sense, that the powers of Baron Dirkink-Holmfeld, Minister of Denmark, have been declared unacceptable. The question of the Succession is, in fact, pending, but it has been virtually decided for a long time by the greater part of the Governments; the delays which have hitherto prevented a formal decision cease from the moment that the two Great Powers declare themselves in favour of the Duke of Augustenburg. M. de Krieger having said that he does not consider the proposal as serious, Baron de Beust begs him to regard it as most serious.

M. de Krieger observes, that as he is unable to-day to enter into the discussion of the English proposal, which goes so far as to require from Denmark the grave and painful resolution of sacrificing the Treaty of 1852, he cannot follow Baron de Beust on the ground which he has chosen. But with reference to the first observation made by the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation, he must expressly declare that he does not think that the task of the Conference is exactly that of measuring the material strength of the respective parties, but that it is rather called upon to maintain principles of a more elevated bearing, to protect interests of an European order.

In answer to a question which is addressed to him by Baron de Brunnow, Count Apponyi explains, that the German Plenipotentiaries consider that they have made an important concession in modifying their first proposal, which insisted on the integrity of Schleswig, and in accepting the principle of the division of that Duchy.

Baron de Brunnow observes that, in the opinion of his Government, it should be

understood that the question of Succession is not prejudged. Certain rights must be taken into consideration, and the family of Oldenburg may bring forward its claims. He still maintains the validity of the Treaty of London, and cannot recognize any other Sovereign in the Duchies than the King of Denmark. He thinks that an arrangement which would create a new State requires an understanding between the Powers. He must make a reservation on this subject.

M. de Biegeleben, referring to an observation by which Baron de Brunnow had objected to the German proposal as wanting in respect for acquired rights, remarks that Austria and Prussia had proposed to leave the dynastic question open until it was settled in the legal course, but that the Conference did not appear to consider this proposal as a practical means of solution. The reservation of the examination of the question of right not having been considered admissible, and Denmark having rejected the personal union, the German Powers were obliged to avail themselves of the rights which accrue to them from the events of the war to form other conditions of pacification.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia sums up the discussion and calls the attention of the Conference to the importance of agreeing on a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities in the next sitting.

M. de Balan declares that the German Plenipotentiaries have already been authorized to accede to such a prolongation for as long a time as possible.

M. de Quaade says that it would be difficult for his Government to consent to it, unless it were probable that peace would result from the negotiation. It does not appear, moreover, that the clauses of the actual suspension of hostilities have been executed by the allied Powers.

Count de Bernstorff replies that, according to his information, the clauses have, on the contrary, been perfectly executed.

Earl Russell expresses the hope that the Plenipotentiary of Russia will associate himself with the Plenipotentiaries of the other neutral Powers in supporting the proposal of the English Plenipotentiaries.

Baron de Brunnow says that he is ready to adhere to it if Denmark consents to accept it; and in reply to Count Apponyi, who inquires how he can adhere equally to the Treaty of London and to the English proposal, he quotes the text of Earl Russell's declaration, in which it is expressly affirmed "that, unless it is possible to lay down the basis of a solid and durable peace, it is not competent for the neutral Powers to abandon the Treaty," &c.

The further discussion of the proposal is adjourned to Tuesday, the 2nd of June, at 1 o'clock.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 7.—Séance du 2 Juin, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

Sur l'invitation de M. le Comte Russell, M. de Quaade donne lecture de la déclaration suivante :—

"Lorsque, à l'époque de la conclusion du Traité de Londres, le Roi actuel de Danemark accepta le choix qu'on avait fait de sa personne pour succéder éventuellement au Roi régnant alors, la résolution de Sa Majesté avait pour motif principal et décisif le ferme espoir que l'Europe saurait maintenir ce qu'elle avait reconnu et arrêté par ce Traité solennel. Sa Majesté ne voulut point par son refus mettre obstacle à ce que l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise reçût un gage ultérieur de stabilité, et elle savait, grâce aux renonciations et aux sacrifices faits par les ayant-droit, qu'elle ne lésait les droits de personne, en acceptant l'offre qu'on lui avait faite.

"Depuis lors les choses ont changé, et Sa Majesté a dû subir un désappointement des plus cruels ; malgré ses propres efforts et ceux de son peuple dévoué, son seul soutien pour faire aboutir une œuvre à laquelle presque toute l'Europe avait concouru, Sa Majesté a dû prendre en considération la possibilité que ses espérances ne seront pas réalisées.

"S'il en devait être ainsi, si réellement les Puissances de l'Europe veulent abandonner le Traité de Londres, Sa Majesté, pour éviter la reprise des hostilités, ne s'opposera pas à une cession territoriale, pourvu toutefois qu'elle obtienne par là non seulement la paix, mais aussi une existence indépendante et parfaitement autonome pour ce qui lui restera de ses Etats, et à la condition que la destinée future des territoires cédés ne soit pas réglée sans leur consentement.

"Le Gouvernement Danois accepte donc en principe la proposition faite à la dernière séance par M. le Comte Russell pour le rétablissement de la paix entre le Danemark et les deux Grandes Puissances Allemandes.

"Mais pour que la paix que nous appelons de tous nos vœux apporte une véritable pacification, il faut qu'elle soit sous tous les rapports propre à assurer au Danemark l'indépendance qui lui revient de droit, l'indépendance politique que le Traité de Londres devait lui garantir, et pour la conservation de laquelle le peuple Danois n'a pas hésité à s'engager seul dans une lutte sanglante avec des forces bien supérieures aux siennes.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Danois doivent donc faire observer dès-à-présent qu'il y a dans les sacrifices que l'on veut imposer au Danemark des limites que le Gouvernement Danois ne saurait dépasser.

"Ainsi la nouvelle frontière du Danemark est une question capitale pour ce pays. Il lui faut une frontière qui tienne compte et de ses intérêts militaires et de ses intérêts commerciaux, et cette frontière doit être entourée de garanties suffisantes.

"Il est un autre point sur lequel le Gouvernement Danois se réserve toute sa liberté.

"Ce n'est qu'à des conditions toutes spéciales que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark consentira à la cession du Duché de Lauenbourg. Ce pays fut acquis en son temps par le Roi de Danemark, en échange d'une partie de la Poméranie, pour servir d'équivalent du Royaume de Norvège sacrifié pour le rétablissement de la paix de l'Europe, et il est essentiellement étranger au différend qui a causé la guerre actuelle.

"Finalement, les Plénipotentiaires Danois doivent revendiquer pour leur Gouvernement la pleine liberté de reprendre la position qu'il a invariablement maintenue jusqu'à présent sur le terrain du Traité de Londres, aussitôt qu'il verra que l'abandon provisoire et conditionnel de cette position ne conduira pas à un arrangement juste et équitable, propre à remplacer les dispositions de ce Traité."

M. le Comte Russell rappelle que M. le Baron de Brunnow avait réservé l'opinion de sa Cour sur la proposition Anglaise. Il prie ce Plénipotentiaire de vouloir bien faire connaître son opinion.

M. le Baron de Brunnow donne l'assurance que si la proposition est acceptée par le

Danemark, il se trouve parfaitement autorisé à adhérer à une transaction convenue dans ce sens.

M. le Comte Russell se référant alors à l'objection faite par M. le Comte de Bernstorff dans la séance précédente sur la ligne de frontière proposée, demande à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands s'ils sont préparés à présenter à la Conférence les contre-propositions qu'ils se sont réservé de faire à cet égard.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands n'ont eu connaissance qu'à présent de l'acceptation du principe de la proposition par le Danemark. Ils n'ont donc pas encore des contre-propositions détaillées à présenter. Ils sont d'avis qu'il est avant tout nécessaire de convenir d'une prolongation de la suspension d'hostilités.

M. le Comte de Clarendon croit que cette prolongation doit être désirée par tout le monde. A la dernière séance MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois ne pouvaient y consentir sans savoir d'avance s'il y aurait chance sérieuse de parvenir au rétablissement de la paix ; mais cette chance n'existerait pas, si on ne tombait pas d'accord sur un point aussi capital que celui de la frontière.

M. le Comte Apponyi dit que puisque les Puissances belligérantes ont de part et d'autre accepté le principe de la proposition Anglaise, ce serait maintenant le moment de s'entendre pour prolonger la suspension d'armes. Si les vues des Puissances diffèrent sur la question de la frontière, il leur faut plus de temps pour en délibérer. Il ne leur reste maintenant que dix jours jusqu'à l'expiration de la suspension d'hostilités.

Sur une observation de M. le Comte Russell, M. le Comte de Bernstorff rappelle que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands se sont déjà prononcés à la séance précédente sur la frontière proposée, et il cite une partie de la déclaration qu'il avait alors faite au nom de ces Plénipotentiaires sur ce point. Il croit pouvoir annoncer cependant que leurs instructions les autorisent à proposer une ligne de démarcation qui serait à tracer entre Apenrade et Tondern.

M. de Quaade ne saurait accepter la discussion d'une ligne pareille, et fait valoir l'impossibilité dans laquelle il se trouve de la prendre en considération.

M. le Comte Apponyi explique que le point de départ des Puissances Allemandes avait été la séparation du Duché de Schleswig tout entier, et que la proposition de la ligne d'Apenrade est par conséquent déjà une concession.

M. le Comte Russell rappelle que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands n'avaient pas compris la cession de Lauenbourg dans leur première proposition, mais seulement la séparation complète des Duchés de Slesvig et de Holstein d'avec le Danemark.

M. le Comte Apponyi rappelle qu'en effet la cession du Lauenbourg n'était pas mentionnée dans la première proposition des Plénipotentiaires Allemands, et que ce n'est qu'à la suite de la proposition Anglaise qu'ils ont consenti à accepter le Duché de Lauenbourg comme une compensation pour une partie du Schleswig Septentrional.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne exprime l'opinion que la cession de Lauenbourg devrait être regardée comme un objet d'échange pour la partie mixte du Slesvig.

M. de Krieger soutient que le principe de nationalité est un élément très essentiel de la question, mais non pas le seul à être pris en considération.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond qu'il en a été précisément tenu compte dans la proposition Allemande ; et M. de Biegeleben fait observer que d'après la déclaration de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois eux-mêmes, ce sont les intérêts militaires et commerciaux du Danemark qui devraient déterminer le tracé de la frontière, sans que dans cette déclaration il ait été fait mention du principe de nationalité.

M. le Baron de Brunnow dit que ses instructions lui prescrivent d'appuyer les opinions émises par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne au sujet de la ligne de démarcation, c'est-à-dire, qu'elle ne devrait pas être tracée plus au nord que la ligne de la Slei et du Dannewirke.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister demande à faire observer que le point qui, dans le projet d'arrangement dont il s'agit, préoccupe le plus son Gouvernement, est la nécessité d'obtenir une bonne frontière pour le Danemark. Cette frontière, destinée à séparer pour des siècles le Danemark de l'Allemagne, devrait dans sa pensée offrir des garanties sérieuses pour la sécurité future du Danemark ; et comme il l'a déjà fait observer dans la séance précédente, il ne saurait trouver ces conditions dans aucune ligne de frontière tracée plus au nord que celle du Dannewirke et de la Slei, qu'il est par conséquent chargé de soutenir comme la seule compatible avec l'indépendance et la sécurité futures du Danemark.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège demande à ajouter quelques mots en ce qui concerne le Lauenbourg. Cette province ayant été acquise par le Danemark en échange d'une partie de la Pomeranie qui lui avait été cédée par la Suède, son Gouverne-

ment est particulièrement intéressé à ce que l'union de ce Duché avec le Danemark soit laissée intacte. De plus, il n'est jamais revenu au Gouvernement Suédois que les habitants du Lauenbourg avaient formulé contre le Gouvernement Danois des griefs analogues à ceux du Holstein et d'une partie de Slesvig. Il espère donc que si, par des considérations d'une haute gravité, le Roi de Danemark se trouve amené à céder le Lauenbourg, ce sera contre une compensation équitable; et il pense que cette compensation pourrait être trouvée dans la partie mixte et Allemande du Slesvig, qui selon le projet proposé par Lord Russell resterait au Danemark, dont la frontière serait ainsi établie le long de la Slei et du Dannewirke.

M. le Comte de Clarendon demande en quel sens M. le Comte de Bernstorff a voulu parler de la Succession dans le Lauenbourg comme douteuse. Ce ne serait qu'en déchirant les Traités en vertu desquels le Lauenbourg fait partie du Royaume de Danemark, que des doutes pourraient s'élever à cet égard.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que beaucoup de jurisconsultes Allemands la regardent comme douteuse. Ce Duché a été cédé en 1816 par le Hanovre à la Prusse, et par celle-ci au Danemark, et ses anciens privilèges et sa Constitution, dont on peut regarder comme partie intégrante l'ordre de Succession de mâle en mâle, ont été expressément garantis par les trois Puissances.

M. le Baron de Brunnow dit qu'il faut envisager la situation dans son actualité. Le Danemark a bien le droit de demander des compensations reconnues comme étant acceptables par les Puissances neutres. Toute la Conférence doit être d'accord sur ce point.

M. le Comte de Clarendon croit que M. le Comte de Bernstorff a voulu mettre trop peu de prix à la cession de Lauenbourg, qui selon M. de Quaade a une population de 50,000 habitants, et des revenus s'élevant à une moyenne de 30,000 livres (sterling) par an.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff, se référant à une observation de M. le Comte de Wachtmeister, tient à constater que le Lauenbourg a réclamé, comme les autres Duchés, auprès de la Diète contre le Gouvernement Danois, et que les Etats de ce Duché ont également protesté en 1846, par suite des lettres patentes du Roi Christian VIII, contre l'introduction de la Succession féminine comme étant contraire à leur constitution.

M. de Quaade fait remarquer que le grief dont il s'agissait n'était que d'une importance très minime, et que dans sa déclaration il ne s'est servi que du mot "essentiellement" étranger.

M. le Baron de Brunnow demande la permission de placer une observation. Il dit que MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark viennent de manifester par leur déclaration faite au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi des intentions si nobles et si élevés qu'il doit rendre hommage à l'expression de ces sentiments. Il est convaincu que tous les Plénipotentiaires partagent son avis sur ce point. Les plaintes formées de la part du Holstein, du Lauenbourg, &c., de quelle époque datent-elles? Certes ce n'est pas du règne actuel, mais d'une époque antérieure. A peine le Roi Chrétien IX est-il monté sur le trône qu'il s'est vu environné de difficultés, devenus plus graves de jour en jour. On ne lui a pas laissé le temps de réparer les fautes du passé, ni de calmer des ressentiments qui datent de fort loin. Il serait donc injuste de faire retomber sur son règne la responsabilité de griefs qui ne sont nullement son ouvrage. L'Ambassadeur de Russie ne fait qu'interpréter l'opinion des autres Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, en rendant justice aux sentiments et aux intentions de Sa Majesté le Roi.

M. le Comte Apponyi fait observer qu'il ne s'agit nullement de la personne du Roi, mais seulement du système poursuivi par le Gouvernement Danois dans les Duchés; et M. le Comte de Bernstorff ajoute que l'incorporation du Schleswig a été sanctionnée sous le règne actuel.

M. de Krieger ne pense pas qu'il y ait lieu à présent de démontrer d'une manière plus détaillée combien sont mal fondés les griefs allégués, mais il doit relever que le Duché de Slesvig, incorporé depuis longtemps à la Couronne Danoise, n'a point été incorporé au Royaume de Danemark, ni sous le règne du Roi défunt, ni sous celui du Roi actuel; et il soutient que le seul point qui ait causé des préoccupations sérieuses dans le Lauenbourg, a été la question du droit d'aliénation des domaines dans ce Duché.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond qu'au contraire la plainte portée devant la Diète Germanique concerne la question constitutionnelle.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne signale la différence qui existe entre la situation de Lauenbourg et celle des autres Duchés vis-à-vis de la Monarchie Danoise. Dans la déclaration de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands, il n'a pas été question de Lauenbourg, mais seulement des autres Duchés. Dans le premier les droits du Roi de Danemark sont incontestables. La cession de ce Duché peut donc être considérée comme un objet sérieux de compensation.

M. de Biegeleben regarde la compensation comme ayant été offerte par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands.

M. le Comte de Clarendon insiste sur la nécessité de trouver une bonne frontière tant militaire que commerciale pour le Danemark. Selon lui, il ne doit pas y avoir grande difficulté de tomber d'accord là-dessus. Le tiers du Duché de Slesvig ne serait pas une compensation suffisante pour le Lauenbourg.

M. le Baron de Beust dit qu'il n'a pas voulu intervenir dans la discussion des anciens griefs du Schleswig et du Holstein ; elle lui a paru oiseuse, puisque la Confédération regarde leur union avec le Danemark comme ayant cessé depuis la mort du feu Roi de Danemark. En ce qui concerne la question de Succession dans le Lauenbourg, elle est regardée comme douteuse et en suspens. La proposition Allemande a été faite de manière à dire que le Lauenbourg serait un objet de compensation, la question de droit y étant moins contestée que dans les autres Duchés.

A l'invitation de M. le Comte Russell, M. de Quaade propose alors pour frontière une ligne qui serait tracée au sud de la ville d'Eckenforde et au sud de la ville de Slesvig, suivant la ligne du Dannewirke jusqu'à Friedrichstadt.

Une carte indiquant les principaux points par lesquels cette ligne devrait passer est annexée au présent Protocole sous la lettre A.

L'examen en ayant été fait par MM. les Plénipotentiaires, M. le Comte Russell croit qu'il devient utile de constater les points sur lesquels la Conférence pourrait peut-être tomber d'accord :—

1. Le Roi de Danemark ne s'opposera pas à une cession territoriale, pourvu qu'elle assure au Danemark non seulement la paix, mais aussi une existence indépendante et parfaitement autonome ;

2. Et à condition que la destinée future des territoires cédés ne soit pas réglée sans leur consentement.

3. Il faut au Danemark une frontière qui tienne compte à la fois de ses intérêts militaires et de ses intérêts commerciaux.

4. Cette frontière devrait être entourée de garanties suffisantes.

Dans cet état de choses, il semble à M. le Comte Russell qu'il conviendrait peu à l'honneur des Puissances Européennes de ne pas réussir à trouver la solution des difficultés qui restent à régler, sans le recommencement de la guerre, qui serait la plus déplorable de toutes les solutions. Les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres regardent les conditions dont il est question comme parfaitement justes et raisonnables. Il serait donc bien à regretter dans l'intérêt de l'Europe que la guerre vînt à recommencer, et dans ce cas il serait vraiment difficile de prévoir où et quand elle s'arrêterait.

M. le Comte Apponyi croit devoir faire ses réserves quant au point 2, en tant qu'il implique un appel direct au suffrage des populations. Il ne saurait accepter cette modalité, ni en principe, ni comme un moyen de solution pratique, à cause de la difficulté d'obtenir dans les districts mixtes une frontière acceptable et répondant en même temps, dans chaque localité, aux vœux de deux nationalités aussi mélangées.

A cette occasion M. de Biegeleben rappelle que M. le Plénipotentiaire de France a reconnu dans la dernière séance l'impossibilité absolue de prendre sur ce point la nationalité pour règle.

M. le Baron de Beust est d'avis qu'une consultation des populations serait susceptible d'amener un résultat pratique. Il n'entend pas qu'on demande à chaque bourg et à chaque village s'il veut être Allemand ou Danois, et qu'on en dispose en conséquence, mais que dans tel ou tel district, qui serait destiné à être détaché du Schleswig on constate si la majorité de la population est vraiment Danoise.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne fait remarquer que la Conférence ayant posé le principe de la séparation du Slesvig, et ce principe ayant été admis aussi bien par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands que par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, le mode de procéder indiqué par M. le Baron de Beust pourrait amener un résultat tout différent de celui que la Conférence a en vue. Dans la pensée du Gouvernement de l'Empereur, c'est principalement dans les territoires qui seraient détachés de la Monarchie Danoise, et où il s'agit d'établir un état de choses nouveau, qu'il est indispensable de consulter les populations.

M. le Baron de Beust persiste à soutenir que le même principe est applicable aux districts qui doivent être séparés du Schleswig.

M. le Comte Russell demande si MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes ne pourraient pas conférer ensemble avec quelque chance de se mettre d'accord sur la nouvelle frontière, sans perdre de vue les vœux des populations.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff se déclare prêt à conférer avec MM. les Plénipotentiaires

Danois dans ce but, et à adopter tous les moyens qui puissent conduire à une entente, nommément celui de consulter les vœux des populations.

Les Plénipotentiaires Danois se déclarent également prêts à conférer avec les Plénipotentiaires Allemands dans le cas où il y aurait probabilité de pouvoir s'entendre sur la frontière à tracer.

Vu la différence entre les deux lignes proposées, ainsi que la difficulté d'en tracer une qui combinerait l'avantage d'obtenir les suffrages des populations et celui de sauvegarder les intérêts tant militaires que commerciaux du Danemark, il semble douteux qu'une pareille consultation offrît pour le moment une chance sérieuse d'une solution.

Pendant une discussion à laquelle prennent part tous les Plénipotentiaires, sur les difficultés qui se rattachent à cette question et sur les moyens d'y obvier, M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit qu'il n'est pas autorisé à proposer d'autre ligne que celle d'Apenrade dont il a déjà fait mention, mais que lui et son collègue, désirant faire leur possible pour arriver à une solution, seraient disposés à recommander à leur Gouvernement l'adoption d'une ligne qui partirait de la Baie de Flensbourg au nord de la ville de ce nom, et aboutirait à Hoyer en passant au nord de Tondern, et qui comprendrait les Iles Frisonnes dans la partie du Duché à réunir à l'Allemagne.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois trouvent cette ligne également inadmissible.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff rappelle qu'il est surtout important de savoir si MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois peuvent consentir à une prolongation de la suspension d'hostilités.

M. de Quaade répond qu'il a déjà exprimé l'opinion que son Gouvernement ne consentirait pas, à moins qu'il n'y eût probabilité d'une solution pacifique. Mais jusqu'à présent cette probabilité n'est pas à entrevoir. Il doit déclarer du reste que les stipulations de la suspension d'hostilités actuelle n'ont pas été mises à exécution par les autorités militaires alliées.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands soutiennent le contraire, et M. de Balan donne lecture de la déclaration suivante :—

"Les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse sont autorisés à adhérer à une prolongation de la suspension des hostilités. Ils ont reçu l'ordre de demander que cette prolongation soit aussi étendue que possible, et qu'à cet effet elle ne soit pas limitée par un terme fixé d'avance, mais par une dénonciation qui le précéderait de quatre semaines.

"Les Plénipotentiaires sont en outre chargés par leurs Gouvernements d'appeler l'attention de la Conférence sur la différence qui existe entre une suspension d'hostilités et un armistice. Les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse étaient autorisés en son temps à consentir à un armistice sur la base proposée par M. le Comte Russell. MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, bien qu'ils eussent pris cette proposition *ad referendum*, ne s'y sont point arrêtés plus tard, mais sont au contraire revenus sur les modalités d'une suspension d'hostilités qu'ils avaient rejetée dans la séance précédente. Or il est évident qu'un des caractères distinctifs de la simple suspension d'hostilités, qui laisse les armées respectives dans les pays qu'elles continuent à occuper, est que le logement des troupes est obligatoire.

"Les armées alliées ont lieu de se plaindre à ce sujet du mauvais vouloir qu'ils ont rencontré de la part des autorités et des populations dans le Jutland, et les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse doivent en conséquence pour l'avenir demander des arrangements qui assurent aux armées alliées les voitures et les chevaux indispensables pour l'administration militaire, qui en règlent les fournitures d'une manière équitable, qui mettent les troupes alliées à l'abri d'un refus de logement, et qui écartent en général toute interprétation des termes de la suspension d'hostilités du 9 Mai incompatibles avec les exigences d'une occupation militaire.

"Les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse s'abstiennent d'entrer à ce sujet dans les détails. Ils se réservent toutefois d'y revenir et de préciser, en cas de besoin, les différents objets de plainte."

M. de Quaade, sans vouloir entrer dans des appréciations rétrospectives, se permet de faire observer que la différence entre une suspension d'hostilités et un armistice consiste essentiellement en ce que la première cesse par le fait qu'elle n'est pas renouvelée, tandis qu'un armistice ne cesse qu'après avoir été dénoncé. Il conteste les faits dont M. de Balan vient de parler, et soutient que les clauses de la suspension d'hostilités actuelle n'ont pas été exécutées par les armées alliées, que notamment les habitants n'ont pas été payés, comme il avait été convenu.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare qu'au contraire tout a été payé en argent tous les Samedis, depuis le commencement.

M. de Krieger place sous les yeux de MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse la lettre d'un Général Prussien en date du 13 Mai, dans laquelle cet officier s'est refusé de faire aucun payement.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff explique ce fait en supposant que le Général en question ne connaissait pas encore les clauses de la suspension d'armes. Tout a été payé depuis, ajoute M. le Comte de Bernstorff, et son Gouvernement continuera à tout payer.

M. de Bille dit qu'il a adressé un Memorandum à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique, dont il est disposé à demander la présentation à la Conférence, au sujet de la violation des clauses de la suspension d'hostilités.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens ne pourront s'empêcher de présenter de leur côté un Memorandum pour prouver le contraire.

Les renseignements reçus par MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark et ceux de la Prusse ne s'accordent pas sur ce point.

Sur la question de la prolongation, MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois répètent que tout dépendrait de la probabilité d'un rapprochement, et que dans ce cas la prolongation ne pourrait être que de très-courte durée jusqu'à ce qu'il y eût certitude d'une pacification. Il y aurait toujours le temps avant le dernier jour de convenir d'une prolongation, s'il y a lieu, et de donner des ordres par le télégraphe à cet effet.

M. de Biegeleben signale les torts qu'en subira le commerce, si l'incertitude au sujet du blocus doit durer jusqu'au dernier moment.

M. de Krieger fait observer que le blocus n'a cessé que provisoirement.

M. le Baron de Brunnow demande en quoi consisterait la persuasion de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois qu'ils arriveraient à la paix.

M. de Quaade répond en rappelant que le Danemark a accepté en principe la proposition de M. le Comte Russell, reposant sur la base du partage du Duché de Slesvig moyennant une ligne qui ne fût pas tracée plus au nord que l'embouchure de la Slei et la ligne du Dannewirke; tandis que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands disent que leurs Gouvernements consentiraient peut-être à une ligne prenant son point de départ au nord de Flensbourg. Dans cet état de choses on est si loin de s'entendre que le Gouvernement Danois ne saurait consentir à la prolongation demandée.

M. le Comte Russell, parlant au nom de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, rend justice à Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark et à l'esprit de conciliation dont Sa Majesté s'est montré animée en acceptant les conditions proposées. De concert avec M. le Baron de Brunnow, il prie MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark de demander à leur Gouvernement une prolongation, afin de donner le temps nécessaire pour continuer les négociations.

M. le Baron de Brunnow, s'adressant ensuite à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands, rappelle que la ligne acceptée par le Danemark est celle qui a obtenu l'appui des Puissances neutres. Il prie ces Plénipotentiaires de s'en rapprocher le plus possible, afin d'empêcher que les hostilités ne soient reprises.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne et M. le Comte Wachtmeister s'expriment dans le même sens.

M. de Quaade répète qu'il serait difficile pour son Gouvernement d'accéder à une prolongation dans l'état actuel des négociations, mais il s'engage à recommander au Cabinet de Copenhague de prendre la question en sérieuse considération, en lui faisant connaître par le télégraphe ce qui s'est passé à la Conférence.

M. le Comte de Clarendon fait observer que même si le blocus doit être rétabli, il serait bon dans l'intérêt du commerce de le faire savoir le plus tôt possible. Son rétablissement mettrait fin à la Conférence, ce qui serait un résultat bien regrettable.

M. de Bille rappelle qu'il y a dissentiment sur la question des forteresses aussi bien que sur celle de la frontière. Il tient à ne pas laisser croire qu'en recommandant la prolongation de la suspension d'hostilités à la considération de leur Gouvernement, les Plénipotentiaires Danois regardent la ligne proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands comme acceptable.

M. de Balan dit que la dernière proposition des Plénipotentiaires Prussiens constitue toujours un rapprochement entre les deux lignes proposées.

M. le Baron de Brunnow, d'ordre de sa Cour, fait part à la Conférence de la communication suivante :—

" L'Ambassadeur de Russie a annoncé que l'Empereur, désirant faciliter, autant qu'il dépend de lui, les arrangements à conclure entre le Danemark et l'Allemagne, en vue du rétablissement de la paix, a cédé à Monseigneur le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg les droits éventuels que le § 3 du Protocole de Varsovie du $\frac{21 \text{ Mai}}{5 \text{ Juin}}$, 1851, a réservés à Sa Majesté comme chef de la branche ainée de Holstein-Gottorp."

Après avoir fait cette déclaration, d'ordre de sa Cour, l'Ambassadeur de Russie a déposé le dit Protocole aux actes de la Conférence.

Une copie en est annexée au présent Protocole sous la lettre B.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff s'exprime alors en ces termes :—

"Nous nous faisons un devoir, mon collègue et moi, de rendre hommage aux sentiments élevés qui ont dicté à Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie la résolution dont M. le Baron de Brunnow vient de nous donner connaissance, et qui est destinée à faciliter l'œuvre de la paix qui fait l'objet de nos délibérations."

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche s'associent entièrement aux paroles prononcées par M. le Comte de Bernstorff.

M. le Baron de Beust s'est exprimé ainsi: "Tout en m'empressant de rendre hommage aux sentiments de générosité et de désintéressement dont Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie a donné une nouvelle preuve par la déclaration que son Ambassadeur vient de porter à notre connaissance, je ne puis pas me dispenser de faire, au nom de la Confédération, les réserves que la Diète jugera nécessaires relativement à l'effet du Protocole de Varsovie et aux prétentions qui pourraient être fondées sur ce document."

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne dit qu'il doit profiter de l'occasion qui lui est offerte par M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie, pour maintenir formellement le point de vue de son Gouvernement, d'après lequel aucun état de choses nouveau ne saurait être établi dans les territoires détachés de la Monarchie Danoise, sans le concours et le consentement des populations loyalement consultées. Il est heureux d'ailleurs de pouvoir rendre hommage à l'esprit de conciliation qui a dicté la déclaration de la Cour de Russie.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister s'exprime de la manière suivante:

"Je dois rendre hommage à la haute preuve d'intérêt à la réussite des travaux de cette Conférence donnée de la part de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie par la déclaration dont M. le Baron de Brunnow vient de donner lecture. Cette renonciation de l'Empereur aux droits qui pourraient revenir à Sa Majesté dans certaines éventualités sur une partie du Holstein ne peut que faciliter à un haut degré l'arrangement final qui disposera du sort du Holstein. En même temps je dois rappeler ma déclaration antérieure, que dans la pensée de mon Gouvernement la destinée future des pays qui pourront être cédés par le Danemark ne pourrait être définitivement arrêtée sans le consentement de leurs habitants."

M. de Quaade tient aussi à rendre hommage à l'intérêt que Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie voue au rétablissement de la paix, mais croit en même temps devoir faire observer que son Gouvernement regardant le Traité de Londres comme étant toujours en vigueur, la combinaison arrêtée par ce Traité n'est pas encore venue à manquer.

M. le Comte Russell rend justice également aux sentiments désintéressées dont Sa Majesté Impériale a fait preuve dans cette circonstance, afin de faciliter les négociations dans le cas où la Conférence ait à s'écarter du Traité de Londres.

M. le Baron de Brunnow a répondu:—

"Je remplirai un agréable devoir en rendant compte à l'Empereur de l'accueil que MM. les Plénipotentiaires, réunis en Conférence, ont bien voulu faire à la communication dont j'ai eu l'honneur de m'acquitter, d'ordre de Sa Majesté. Je suis certain de la vive satisfaction avec laquelle l'Empereur appréciera les sentiments manifestés par les Représentants des Puissances amies qui ont rendu à ses intentions pacifiques un hommage unanime.

"De mon côté, je reconnais les motifs qui ont engagé M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique, ainsi que M. l'Ambassadeur de France, à ne pas émettre leur opinion sans y joindre les réflexions et les réserves qui leur sont prescrites par leurs instructions et par le sentiment de leur devoir. Chacun de nous doit maintenir les principes dont il est l'organe. Chacun doit signaler le point de vue sous lequel nos Gouvernements envisagent les questions qui forment l'objet de nos délibérations. Dans cette réunion nous sommes tous appelés à échanger nos idées avec franchise, avec cordialité, sans irritation. Pour ma part, j'ai exprimé avec une entière sincérité les principes du Cabinet de Russie. Le Protocole de la séance précédente les constate en ces termes:—

"'Si, par la suite, Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien IX renonçait au Duché de Holstein, la question de la Succession serait ouverte. A l'avis du Plénipotentiaire de Russie elle ne pourrait recevoir une solution légale qu'en portant respect à la justice de la cause des parties intéressées qui auraient à faire valoir leurs titres, conformément aux principes du droit public.'"

Après avoir donné lecture de ce passage du Protocole No. 6, de la séance du 28 Mai, M. le Baron de Brunnow a résumé les considérations sous l'influence desquelles l'Empereur de Russie a résolu de transférer les droits éventuels de la branche ainée de Holstein-Gottorp, dont il est le Chef, à la branche cadette, représentée par Monseigneur le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg. Sa Majesté a réservé à ce Souverain de faire valoir ces titres réunis, lorsqu'il jugerait que le moment en serait venu. Membre de la Confédération Germanique, ce Prince serait appelé à élever ses réclamations lui-même dans les voies légales, devant l'autorité Fédérale, dont il relève. L'Empereur de Russie restera étranger à ce litige. Il demeure dégagé désormais de toute intervention directe dans une question de Succession

contestée dans le Holstein—question qu'il tient à ne point compliquer. Loin de vouloir aggraver des difficultés qui peuvent retarder le rétablissement de la paix, Sa Majesté cherche à les aplanir.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie, après avoir exposé ces vues, d'ordre de l'Empereur, a ajouté:—

"Je me félicite d'avoir été appelé à exprimer, comme je viens de le faire, les sentiments de Sa Majesté, en déposant aux Actes de la Conférence le Protocole de Varsovie, de l'année 1851. Ce document a donné lieu, plus d'une fois, à de fausses interprétations. Elles seront démenties par la publicité que ne tardera pas à acquérir la déclaration que je viens d'émettre, au nom de l'Empereur. La pensée de conciliation qui préside à la politique de Sa Majesté sera alors généralement connue, de même qu'elle a été appréciée unanimement aujourd'hui, par tous les membres de la Conférence."

Il est convenu que la prochaine réunion de la Conférence aura lieu le Lundi, 6 Juin, à 1 heure.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Annexe A au Protocole No. 7.

Carte de la Partie Méridionale du Duché de Slesvig.

Annexe B au Protocole No 7.

Protocole de Varsovie (1851).

SA Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, prenant en considération les transactions conclues entre leurs augustes Prédécesseurs dans les années 1767 et 1773;

Considérant qu'autant pour établir le repos du Nord de l'Europe sur un pied durable, que pour écarter tout ce qui pouvait alors, ou dans l'avenir, donner lieu à des malentendus ou différends dans l'auguste Maison d'Oldenbourg, l'Empereur Paul de glorieuse mémoire, alors Grand-Duc de Russie, a renoncé pour lui-même ainsi que pour ses héritiers et descendants, en faveur de Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien VII de glorieuse mémoire, ainsi que des héritiers de Sa Couronne Royale, à tous ses droits et prétentions au Duché de Slesvig en général, comme à la partie ci-devant Princière de ce Duché en particulier;

Que de la même manière et par les mêmes motifs Sa Majesté l'Empereur Paul a cédé pour lui-même, ainsi que pour ses descendants, héritiers et successeurs, tout ce qu'il possédait dans le Duché de Holstein, soit en commun avec Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, soit séparément;

Considérant que cet acte de cession du Duché de Holstein n'a eu lieu expressément qu'en faveur de Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien VII et de sa descendance mâle, ainsi qu'éventuellement en faveur de feu le Prince Frédéric, frère du Roi, et de la descendance mâle de ce Prince; et

Que les éventualités, qu'admettaient les termes même de cet acte de cession, se sont en partie déjà réalisées par l'extinction de la descendance mâle du Roi Chrétien VII, ou peuvent se réaliser dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, sans que les dites transactions y aient pourvu d'aucune manière;

Prévoyant les dangers que ce silence des Traités existants peut avoir pour la Monarchie Danoise, si, à la suite de l'extinction de la lignée mâle actuellement sur le Trône de Danemark, la *lex regia* recevait son application pure et simple à une partie de cette Monarchie,—

Se sont reconnu l'obligation et le droit, comme successeurs des augustes Parties

Contractantes aux transactions de 1767 et 1773, de s'entendre ultérieurement sur les combinaisons les plus appropriées au double but qu'elles ont eu en vue.

En conséquence les Soussignés, après un mûr examen de toutes les questions qui se rattachent à cette affaire, ont arrêté entre eux, sous la réserve expresse de la haute approbation de leurs Souverains respectifs, et ont consigné dans le présent Protocole les points qui suivent:—

1. Le but qu'on se propose dans l'intérêt de la paix du Nord autant que dans celui de la paix intérieure de l'auguste Maison d'Oldenbourg, savoir, le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, ne peut être réalisé qu'au moyen d'une combinaison qui appelle à la Succession dans la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, la seule descendance mâle à l'exclusion des femmes.

2. La descendance mâle du Prince Chrétien de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg et de son épouse Madame la Princesse Louise de Hesse réunit en elle les droits d'hérédité qui, à l'extinction de la lignée mâle actuellement régnante en Danemark, lui échoient en vertu des renonciations de Son Altesse Royale Madame la Landgrave Charlotte de Hesse, de son fils Monseigneur le Prince Frederik de Hesse, et de sa fille Madame la Princesse Marie d'Anhalt-Dessau.

3. Voulant de son côté compléter les titres résultant de ces renonciations et amener ainsi une combinaison qui serait d'un si haut intérêt pour le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, comme Chef de la branche ainée de Holstein-Gottorp, serait prêt à renoncer aux droits éventuels qui lui appartiennent, en faveur de Monseigneur le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle.

Toutefois il est entendu:

Que les droits éventuels des deux branches cadettes de Holstein-Gottorp seraient expressément réservés;

Que ceux dont l'auguste Chef de la branche ainée ferait l'abandon pour lui-même et pour sa descendance mâle en faveur du Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg et de sa descendance mâle, renaîtraient dans la Maison Impériale de Russie à l'époque où, ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise, la descendance mâle de ce Prince viendrait à s'éteindre;

Que puisque la renonciation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur aurait principalement pour but de faciliter une combinaison que réclament les premiers intérêts de la Monarchie, l'offre d'une pareille renonciation cesserait d'être obligatoire, si la combinaison elle-même venait à manquer.

4. Par suite des considérations qu'indiquent les §§ 2 et 3 ci-dessus, Monseigneur le Prince Chrétien de Glücksbourg, conjointement avec Madame la Princesse son épouse, et à leur défaut la descendance mâle de leurs Altesses, aurait plus qu'aucune autre branche des titres qui les rendent habiles à succéder, le cas échéant, dans les Etats réunis actuellement sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté Danoise. En conséquence les deux Cours de St. Pétersbourg et de Copenhague sont convenues:

Que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark désignera le Prince et la Princesse de Glücksbourg conjointement comme les héritiers présomptifs de sa Couronne pour le cas où la ligne mâle de la dynastie actuellement régnante viendrait à s'éteindre;

Que Sa Majesté fera connaître sa haute détermination aux Puissances amies du Danemark;

Que si, pour assurer la complète réussite de cette combinaison, encore d'autres renonciations étaient jugées utiles et désirables, ce serait à Sa Majesté Danoise à se charger des indemnités auxquelles il pourrait être reconnu des titres justes et équitables;

Enfin que c'est à Londres qu'auront lieu les négociations nécessaires pour donner aux arrangements en vertu desquels le Prince et la Princesse de Glücksbourg seront reconnus comme successeurs présomptifs au Trône de Danemark, le caractère d'une transaction Européenne.

Les Soussignés se réservent de soumettre le présent Protocole à leurs augustes Souverains et de solliciter leur haute approbation en faveur des dispositions qu'il renferme.

Varsovie, ce $\frac{24 \text{ Mai}}{5 \text{ Juin}}$ 1851.

(Signé) NESSELRODE.
MEYENDORFF.
REEDTZ.

Pour copie conforme:
(Signé) PRINCE A. GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 7.—Sitting of June 2, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

At Earl Russell's request, M. de Quaade reads the following declaration:—

"When, at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of London, the present King of Denmark accepted the choice which had been made of his person to succeed eventually to the King then reigning, the principal and decisive motive for His Majesty's resolution was the firm hope that Europe would know how to maintain what she had recognized and resolved by that solemn Treaty. His Majesty would not by his refusal prevent the Danish Monarchy from receiving a further pledge of stability, and he knew, thanks to the renunciations and sacrifices made by the rightful claimants, that he infringed the rights of no one by accepting the offer which had been made to him.

"Since then things have changed, and His Majesty has been subjected to a most cruel disappointment. Notwithstanding his own efforts, and those of his devoted people, his sole support in carrying out a work in which almost all Europe had concurred, His Majesty has been compelled to consider the possibility of his hopes not being realized.

"If such is to be the case, if really the Powers of Europe wish to abandon the Treaty of London, His Majesty, to prevent the resumption of hostilities, will not oppose a territorial cession, provided always that he obtains thereby, not only peace, but also an independent and perfectly autonomous existence as regards the remainder of his States, and on condition that the future destiny of the territories ceded be not decided without their consent.

"The Danish Government accept, therefore, in principle the proposal made in the last sitting by Earl Russell for the re-establishment of peace between Denmark and the two great German Powers.

"But in order that this peace, so earnestly desired by us, may bring with it a true reconciliation, it is necessary that it should be in every respect adapted to secure to Denmark the independence which belongs to her of right, the political independence which the Treaty of London was meant to guarantee to her, and for the preservation of which the Danish people have not hesitated to engage singlehanded in a sanguinary conflict with forces far superior to their own.

"The Danish Plenipotentiaries must, therefore, at once observe that there are limits to the sacrifices which it is desired to impose upon Denmark which the Danish Government cannot exceed.

"Thus the new frontier of Denmark is a capital question for that country. She requires a frontier which shall provide for both her military and her commercial interests, and that frontier must be protected by sufficient guarantees.

"There is another point on which the Danish Government reserve to themselves full liberty.

"It is only on special conditions that His Majesty the King of Denmark will consent to the cession of the Duchy of Lauenburg. That country was acquired at the time by the King of Denmark in exchange for a part of Pomerania, to serve as an equivalent for the Kingdom of Norway, which was sacrificed for the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, and it is essentially unconcerned in the dispute which has caused the present war.

"Finally, the Danish Plenipotentiaries must claim for their Government full liberty to resume the position which they have invariably maintained until now on the ground of the Treaty of London, as soon as they may find that the provisional and conditional abandonment of that position will not conduce to a just and equitable arrangement, adapted to replace the provisions of that Treaty."

Earl Russell remarks that Baron de Brunnow had reserved the opinion of his Court as to the English proposals. He begs that Plenipotentiary to be so good as to inform him of their opinion.

Baron de Brunnow assures him that if the proposal is accepted by Denmark, he is perfectly authorized to adhere to a transaction arranged in this sense.

Earl Russell then referring to the objection made by Count de Bernstorff in the preceding sitting to the proposed line of frontier, inquires of the German Plenipotentiaries if they are prepared to present to the Conference the counter-proposals which they reserved the right of making on this subject.

Count de Bernstorff replies that the German Plenipotentiaries were not till now aware of the acceptance of the principle of the proposal by Denmark. They have not therefore as yet any detailed counter-proposals to present. They are of opinion that it is above all necessary to come to an understanding as to the prolongation of the suspension of hostilities.

The Earl of Clarendon thinks that this prolongation must be desired by everybody. At the last sitting the Danish Plenipotentiaries could not consent to it without being previously certain that there would be a serious chance of arriving at the restoration of peace; but this chance would not exist if an agreement could not be come to on so capital a point as that of the frontier.

Count Apponyi says that as the belligerent Powers on either side have accepted the principle of the English proposal, now would be the moment for coming to an understanding as to prolonging the suspension of arms. If the views of the Powers differ on the question of the frontier, they require more time to deliberate upon it. There now remain only ten days before the expiration of the suspension of hostilities.

On an observation of Earl Russell, Count de Bernstorff remarks that the German Plenipotentiaries have already pronounced their views at the last sitting with regard to the frontier proposed, and he quotes a part of the declaration which he had then made in the name of those Plenipotentiaries on this point. He thinks, however, he may announce that their instructions authorize them to propose a line of demarcation to be traced between Apenrade and Tondern.

M. de Quaade cannot accept the discussion of such a line, and points out that it is impossible for him to take it into consideration.

Count Apponyi explains that the starting point of the German Powers had been the entire separation of the Duchy of Schleswig, and that the proposal of the line of Apenrade is consequently already a concession.

Earl Russell remarks that the German Plenipotentiaries had not included the cession of Lauenburg in their first proposal, but only the complete separation of the Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein from Denmark.

Count Apponyi observes that, in fact, the cession of Lauenburg was not mentioned in the first proposal of the German Plenipotentiaries, and that it was only in consequence of the English proposal that they consented to accept the Duchy of Lauenburg as a compensation for a part of North Schleswig.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne expresses his opinion that the cession of Lauenburg should be regarded as an object of exchange for the mixed part of Sleswig.

M. de Krieger maintains that the principle of nationality is a very essential element of the question, but not the only one to be taken into consideration.

Count de Bernstorff replies that particular regard has been paid to it in the German proposal; and M. de Biegeleben observes that according to the declaration of the Danish Plenipotentiaries themselves, it is the military and commercial interests of Denmark which should determine the tracing of the frontier, without any mention having been made of the principle of nationality in that declaration.

Baron de Brunnow says that his instructions direct him to support the opinions put forward by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain on the subject of the line of demarcation, that is to say, that it should not be traced more to the north than the line of the Slei and of the Dannewirke.

Count Wachtmeister begs to observe that the point which, in the plan of arrangement in question, most interests his Government, is the necessity of obtaining a good frontier for Denmark. This frontier, destined for centuries to separate Denmark and Germany, must, in his ideas, offer serious guarantees for the future security of Denmark, and as he has already observed in the preceding sitting, he could not consider these conditions as fulfilled by any line traced further to the north than that of the Dannewirke and the Slei, which he is consequently instructed to support, as the only one compatible with the future independence and security of Denmark.

The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway begs to add some words with regard to Lauenburg. That province having been acquired by Denmark in exchange for a part of Pomerania which had been ceded to her by Sweden, his Government is peculiarly interested in the union of this Duchy with Denmark being left intact. Moreover, the Swedish

Government have never heard that the inhabitants of Lauenburg had made against the Danish Government complaints similar to those made by Holstein and a part of Sleswig. He hopes, therefore, that if the King of Denmark is induced by considerations of great importance to cede Lauenburg, it will be in return for an equitable compensation; and he thinks that that compensation might be found in the mixed and German part of Sleswig, which, according to the plan proposed by Lord Russell, would remain to Denmark, whose frontier would thus be established along the Slei and the Dannewirke.

The Earl of Clarendon asks in what sense Count de Bernstorff spoke of the Succession in Lauenburg as doubtful. It could only be by tearing up the Treaties in virtue of which Lauenburg forms part of the Kingdom of Denmark that doubts could be raised on this subject.

Count de Bernstorff replies that many German jurisconsults regard it as doubtful. That Duchy was ceded in 1816 by Hanover to Prussia, and by the latter to Denmark, and its ancient privileges and its Constitution, of which the order of Succession from male to male may be regarded as an integral part, were expressly guaranteed by the three Powers.

Baron de Brunnow says that the situation must be regarded in its actual state. Denmark has full right to demand compensations which are recognized as acceptable by the neutral Powers. The whole Conference must agree on this point.

The Earl of Clarendon believes that Count de Bernstorff does not set sufficient value on the cession of Lauenburg, which, according to M. de Quaade, has a population of 50,000 inhabitants, and revenues amounting to an average of 30,000*l.* (sterling) per annum.

Count de Bernstorff, referring to an observation of Count Wachtmeister's, is desirous of stating that Lauenburg made representations, like the other Duchies, to the Diet against the Danish Government, and that the States of that Duchy also protested in 1846, in consequence of the Letters-Patent of King Christian VIII, against the introduction of the feminine Succession as being contrary to their Constitution.

M. de Quaade remarks that the complaint in question was of very trifling importance, and that in his declaration he only made use of the word "essentially" unconcerned.

Baron de Brunnow requests permission to make an observation. He says that the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark have just manifested in their declaration, made in the name of His Majesty the King, intentions so noble and so elevated that he must render homage to the expression of those sentiments. He is convinced that all the Plenipotentiaries share his opinion on this point. From what time do the complaints made on the part of Holstein, Lauenburg, &c., date? Certainly not during the present reign, but from a former period. Hardly had King Christian mounted the Throne when he found himself surrounded with difficulties which became more threatening every day. No time was allowed him to repair the faults of the past, nor to calm the antipathies which date from distant periods. It would, therefore, be unjust to throw on his reign the responsibility of grievances which are in no way his work. The Ambassador of Russia only interprets the opinion of the other Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers in rendering justice to the sentiments and intentions of His Majesty the King.

Count Apponyi observes that there is no question as to the person of the King, but merely as to the system pursued by the Danish Government in the Duchies; and Count de Bernstorff adds that the incorporation of Schleswig was sanctioned during the present reign.

M. de Krieger does not think that it is at present necessary to demonstrate in a detailed manner how unfounded the alleged grievances are, but he must observe that the Duchy of Sleswig, long since incorporated in the Danish Crown, has never been incorporated in the Kingdom of Denmark, either during the late King's reign or during that of the present King; and he maintains that the only point which has caused serious discontent in Lauenburg was the question of the right of alienation of the domains in that Duchy.

Count de Bernstorff replies that, on the contrary, the complaint brought before the German Diet concerned the constitutional question.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne points out the difference which exists between the situation of Lauenburg and that of the other Duchies with regard to the Danish Monarchy. In the declaration of the German Plenipotentiary there was no question of Lauenburg, but only of the other Duchies. In the first, the rights of the King of Denmark are incontestable. The cession of this Duchy may therefore be considered as a serious object for compensation.

M. de Biegeleben considers the compensation as having been offered by the German Plenipotentiaries.

The Earl of Clarendon insists on the necessity of finding a good frontier, military as well as commercial, for Denmark. In his opinion there should be no great difficulty in

coming to an agreement on the subject. The third part of the Duchy of Sleswig would not be a sufficient compensation for Lauenburg.

Baron de Beust says that he has been unwilling to interfere in the discussion of the old grievances of Schleswig and Holstein. It has seemed to him to be useless, as the Confederation regards their union with Denmark as having ceased since the death of the late King of Denmark. As regards the question of Succession in Lauenburg, it is regarded as doubtful and suspended. The German proposal has been made in such a manner as to say that Lauenburg would be an object of compensation, the question of right in that Duchy being less contested than in the other Duchies.

At Earl Russell's invitation, M. de Quaade then proposes as frontier a line to be traced to the south of the town of Eckenforde, and to the south of the town of Sleswig, following the line of the Dannewirke to Friedrichstadt.

A map showing the principal points through which this line would pass is annexed to the present Protocol under the letter A.

After it has been examined by the Plenipotentiaries, Earl Russell thinks it would be useful to state the points on which the Conference might perhaps agree :—

1. The King of Denmark will not oppose a territorial cession, provided it secures to Denmark not only peace, but also an independent and perfectly autonomous existence.

2. And on condition that the future destiny of the territories ceded shall not be arranged without their consent.

3. Denmark requires a frontier which shall provide at once for her military and her commercial interests.

4. This frontier must be protected by sufficient guarantees.

In this state of affairs, it appears to Earl Russell that it would agree but little with the honour of the European Powers not to succeed in finding a solution for the difficulties which remain to be settled without a recommencement of the war, which would be the most deplorable of all solutions. The Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers regard the conditions in question as perfectly just and reasonable. It would therefore be much to be regretted in the interests of Europe that war should recommence, and in that case it would be really difficult to foresee where and when it would stop.

Count Apponyi thinks it right to make a reservation as to the second point, in so far as it implies a direct appeal to the vote of the population. He cannot accept this form of proceeding either in principle or as the means of a practical solution, on account of the difficulty of obtaining in the mixed districts a frontier which would be acceptable, and at the same time would agree in each locality with the wishes of two nationalities so intermingled.

On this occasion M. de Biegeleben remarks that the Plenipotentiary of France recognized in the last sitting the absolute impossibility of taking nationality as a rule on this point.

Baron de Beust is of opinion that the plan of consulting the population would be susceptible of bringing about a practical result. He does not mean that each town and each village should be asked whether it wishes to be German or Danish, and should be disposed of in consequence, but that in such and such districts, destined to be detached from Schleswig, it should be ascertained whether the majority of the population is really Danish.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne remarks that the Conference having laid down the principle of the separation of Sleswig, and that principle having been admitted as well by the German Plenipotentiaries as by the Danish Plenipotentiaries, the manner of proceeding indicated by Baron de Beust might produce a very different result from that which the Conference has in view. In the opinion of the Government of the Emperor, it is principally in the territories which are to be detached from the Danish Monarchy, and where it is intended to establish a new order of things, that it is indispensable to consult the population.

Baron de Beust persists in maintaining that the same principle is applicable to the districts which are to be separated from Schleswig.

Earl Russell inquires if the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers could not confer together with some chance of coming to an agreement as to the new frontier, without losing sight of the wishes of the population.

Count de Bernstorff declares himself ready to confer with the Danish Plenipotentiaries with this object, and to adopt all the means which may lead to an agreement, especially that of consulting the wishes of the population.

The Danish Plenipotentiaries declare themselves equally ready to confer with the German Plenipotentiaries, in case there should be any probability of their being able to come to an understanding as to the frontier to be traced.

Considering the difference between the two lines proposed, as well as the difficulty in tracing one which would combine the advantage of obtaining the suffrages of the population and that of protecting the military as well as the commercial interests of Denmark, it seems doubtful whether such a consultation would offer for the moment a serious chance of a solution.

During a discussion, in which all the Plenipotentiaries take part, on the difficulties connected with this question and on the means of obviating them, Count de Bernstorff says that he is not authorized to propose any other line but that of Apenrade, which he has already mentioned, but that he and his colleague desiring to do their best to arrive at a solution, would be disposed to recommend to their Government the adoption of a line which should commence at the Bay of Flensburg to the north of the town of that name, and terminate at Hoyer, passing to the north of Tondern, and which should include the Frisian Islands in the part of the Duchy to be united to Germany.

The Danish Plenipotentiaries consider this line as equally inadmissible.

Count de Bernstorff remarks that it is particularly important to know whether the Danish Plenipotentiaries can consent to a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities.

M. de Quaade replies that he has already expressed his opinion that his Government would not consent unless there were a probability of a pacific solution. But at present this probability is not apparent. He must declare, moreover, that the stipulations of the present suspension of hostilities have not been executed by the allied military authorities.

The German Plenipotentiaries maintain the contrary, and M. de Balan reads the following declaration :—

"The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia are authorized to adhere to a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities. They have received orders to demand that this prolongation should be as extended as possible, and that for this purpose it should not be limited by a term fixed beforehand, but by being denounced at four weeks' notice.

"The Plenipotentiaries are moreover charged by their Governments to call the attention of the Conference to the difference which exists between a suspension of hostilities and an armistice. The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia were authorized at the time to consent to an armistice on the basis proposed by Earl Russell. The Danish Plenipotentiaries, although they took this proposal *ad referendum*, did not decide on it subsequently, but returned, on the contrary, to the conditions of a suspension of hostilities, which they had rejected in the preceding sitting. Now it is evident that one of the distinctive characteristics of a simple suspension of hostilities, which leaves the respective armies in the countries which they continue to occupy, is that the quartering of the troops is compulsory.

"The allied armies have reason to complain on this subject of the ill-will which they have met with on the part of the authorities and of the population in Jutland, and the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia must consequently demand for the future that arrangements should be made to secure to the allied armies the carriages and horses which are indispensable for military administration, to regulate the supplies in an equitable manner, to protect the allied troops from a refusal of shelter, and to prevent in general any interpretation of the terms of the suspension of hostilities of the 9th of May incompatible with the requirements of a military occupation.

"The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia abstain from entering into details on this subject. They, however, reserve the right of returning to it, and of specifying, if necessary, the different subjects of complaint."

M. de Quaade, without wishing to enter into retrospective discussions, begs to observe that the difference between a suspension of hostilities and an armistice consists essentially in the point that the former ceases by the fact of its not being renewed, while an armistice does not cease until it has been denounced. He disputes the facts of which M. de Balan has just spoken, and maintains that the clauses of the present suspension of hostilities have not been executed by the allied armies, and that especially the inhabitants have not been paid, as had been agreed.

Count de Bernstorff declares that, on the contrary, everything has been paid for in money every Saturday, from the beginning.

M. de Krieger places under the eyes of the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia the letter of a Prussian General, dated the 13th of May, in which that officer refused to make any payment.

Count de Bernstorff explains this fact by supposing that the General in question was not yet aware of the clauses of the suspension of arms. Everything has been paid for since, adds Count de Bernstorff, and his Government will continue to pay for everything.

M. de Bille says that he has addressed a Memorandum to Her Britannic Majesty's

Principal Secretary of State, the presentation of which to the Conference he is disposed to demand, on the subject of the violation of the clauses of the suspension of hostilities.

Count de Bernstorff replies that the Prussian Plenipotentiaries will be compelled to present, on their part, a Memorandum to prove the contrary.

The information received by the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark and those of Prussia on this point does not agree.

On the question of the prolongation, the Danish Plenipotentiaries repeat that everything would depend on the probability of an understanding, and that in that case the prolongation could only be of very short duration until there should be a certainty of a pacification. There could always be time before the last day to agree on a prolongation, if necessary, and to give orders by telegraph to that effect.

M. de Biegeleben points out the injury which commerce will suffer, if uncertainty on the subject of the blockade is to continue up to the last moment.

M. de Krieger observes that the blockade has only ceased provisionally.

Baron de Brunnow asks in what the persuasion of the Danish Plenipotentiaries that they would arrive at peace would consist.

M. de Quaade replies by remarking that Denmark has accepted in principle the proposal of Earl Russell, resting on the basis of the division of Sleswig by means of a line not to be traced more to the north than the mouth of the Slei and the line of the Dannewirke; whilst the German Plenipotentiaries say that their Government might perhaps consent to a line taking its point of departure on the north of Flensburg. In this state of things, they are so far from coming to an understanding that the Danish Government cannot consent to the prolongation demanded.

Earl Russell, speaking in the name of the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, renders justice to His Majesty the King of Denmark, and to the spirit of conciliation by which His Majesty has shown himself to be animated in accepting the proposed conditions. In concert with Baron de Brunnow, he begs the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark to request a prolongation from their Government, in order to give the time necessary to continue the negotiations.

Baron de Brunnow, then addressing himself to the German Plenipotentiaries, remarks that the line accepted by Denmark is that which has obtained the support of the neutral Powers. He begs those Plenipotentiaries to approximate to it as far as possible, in order to prevent the resumption of hostilities.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne and Count Wachtmeister express themselves in the same sense.

M. de Quaade repeats that it would be difficult for his Government to accede to a prolongation in the actual state of the negotiation, but he engages to recommend to the Cabinet of Copenhagen to take the question into serious consideration, and to inform them by telegraph of what has passed in the Conference.

The Earl of Clarendon observes that, even if the blockade is to be re established, it would be well in the interests of commerce to make it known as soon as possible. Its re-establishment would put an end to the Conference, which would be a result much to be regretted.

M. de Bille remarks, that there is a disagreement on the question of the fortresses, as well as on that of the frontier. He does not wish it to be supposed that in recommending the prolongation of the suspension of hostilities to the consideration of their Government, the Danish Plenipotentiaries consider the line proposed by the German Plenipotentiaries as acceptable.

M. de Balan says, that the last proposal of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries is, at all events, an approximation between the two lines proposed.

Baron de Brunnow, by order of his Court, makes the following communication to the Conference:—

"The Ambassador of Russia announces that the Emperor, wishing to facilitate, as far as depends on him, the arrangements to be concluded between Denmark and Germany, in view of the re-establishment of peace, has ceded to the Grand Duke of Oldenburg the eventual right which § 3 of the Protocol of Warsaw, of $\frac{\text{May 24}}{\text{June 5}}$, 1851, reserved to His Majesty as head of the elder branch of Holstein-Gottorp."

After having made this declaration by order of his Court, the Ambassador of Russia deposited the said Protocol among the archives of the Conference.

A copy thereof is annexed to the present Protocol under the letter B.

Count de Bernstorff then expresses himself in these terms:—

"I and my colleague feel it to be our duty to pay a tribute of respect to the exalted sentiments which have dictated to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia the resolution of

which Baron de Brunnow has just informed us, and which is destined to facilitate the work of peace, which forms the object of our deliberations."

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria entirely agree in the words pronounced by Count de Bernstorff.

Baron de Beust thus expressed himself: "Whilst hastening to show my respect for the sentiments of generosity and disinterestedness of which His Majesty the Emperor of Russia has given a fresh proof in the declaration which his Ambassador has just brought to our knowledge, I am compelled, in the name of the Confederation, to make the reservations which the Diet may consider necessary with regard to the effect of the Protocol of Warsaw, and to the pretensions which may be founded on that document."

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne says that he must take the opportunity which is offered him by the Ambassador of Russia, to maintain formally the views of his Government, according to which no new state of things can be established in the territories detached from the Danish Monarchy without the concurrence and consent of the populations loyally consulted. In other respects he is happy to be able to express his respect for the spirit of conciliation which has dictated the declaration of the Court of Russia.

Count Wachtmeister expresses himself in the following manner:—

"I must express my appreciation of the great proof of interest in the success of the labours of this Conference which has been given on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia by the declaration which Baron de Brunnow has just read. This renunciation by the Emperor of the rights over part of Holstein which might fall to His Majesty under certain eventualities cannot but facilitate in a high degree the final arrangement which will dispose of the fate of Holstein. At the same time I must refer to my previous declaration, that in the opinion of my Government the future destiny of the countries which may be ceded by Denmark could not be decided without the consent of their inhabitants."

M. de Quaade is also desirous of rendering homage to the interest which His Majesty the Emperor of Russia takes in the re-establishment of peace; but thinks it right at the same time to observe that his Government considering the Treaty of London as being still in force, the combination settled by that Treaty has not yet failed.

Earl Russell also renders justice to the disinterested sentiments of which His Imperial Majesty has given proof under these circumstances, in order to facilitate the negotiations in case the Conference has to depart from the Treaty of London.

Baron de Brunnow replied:—

"I shall perform an agreeable duty in reporting to the Emperor the reception which the Plenipotentiaries, met together in Conference, have given to the communication which I have had the honour to make by His Majesty's commands. I am certain of the lively satisfaction with which the Emperor will appreciate the sentiments manifested by the Representatives of the friendly Powers who have rendered unanimous homage to his pacific intentions.

"On my part, I recognize the motives which have induced the Plenipotentiaries of the Germanic Confederation, as well as the Ambassador of France, not to express their opinion without adding thereto the reflections and reservations which are prescribed to them by their instructions and by their feeling of duty. Each of us should maintain the principles of which he is the organ. Each should point out the view which his Government takes of the questions which form the object of our deliberations. In this meeting we are all called upon to exchange our ideas with frankness, with cordiality, and without irritation. For my part I have expressed with perfect sincerity the principles of the Cabinet of Russia. The Protocol of the preceding sitting states them in these terms:—

"'If, subsequently, His Majesty Christian IX were to surrender the Duchy of Holstein, the question of the Succession would be open. In the opinion of the Plenipotentiary of Russia it could only receive a legal solution by paying due respect to the justice of the cause of the parties interested, who would have to assert their titles, in conformity with the principles of international law.'"

After having read this passage of Protocol No. 6 of the sitting of the 28th of May, Baron de Brunnow stated the considerations under the influence of which the Emperor of Russia has resolved to transfer the eventual rights of the elder branch of Holstein-Gottorp, of which he is the head, to the younger branch, represented by the Grand Duke of Oldenburg. His Majesty has reserved to that Sovereign to assert these united claims, when he may consider that the moment has arrived. As a member of the Germanic Confederation, that Prince will be called upon to make his claim himself in the legal course, before the Federal authority, on which he depends. The Emperor of Russia will remain unconcerned in this suit. He is henceforth released from any direct intervention in a question of contested Succession in Holstein—a question which he is desirous of not complicating.

Far from wishing to aggravate the difficulties which may retard the re-establishment of peace, His Majesty endeavours to diminish them.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia after having expressed these views, by order of the Emperor, added :—

"I congratulate myself on having been called upon to express, as I have just done, the sentiments of His Majesty, in depositing the Protocol of Warsaw of the year 1851 among the archives of the Conference. That document has given rise, more than once, to false interpretations. They will be contradicted by the publicity which the declaration I have just made in the name of the Emperor will not fail to acquire. The spirit of conciliation which presides over His Majesty's policy will then be generally known, as it has been unanimously appreciated to-day by all the members of the Conference."

It is agreed that the next meeting of the Conference shall take place on Monday, the 6th of June, at 1 o'clock.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Annex A to Protocol No. 7.

Map of the Southern part of the Duchy of Slesvig.

Annex B to Protocol No. 7.

Protocol of Warsaw, 1851.

(Translation.)

HIS Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Denmark, taking into consideration the engagements entered into between their august predecessors, in the years 1767 and 1773 ;

Considering that, as well for establishing the tranquillity of the north of Europe on a durable footing, as for removing all that could then, or for the future, give rise to misunderstandings or differences in the august House of Oldenburg, the Emperor Paul, of glorious memory, then Grand Duke of Russia, renounced for himself, as also for his heirs and descendants, in favour of His Majesty King Christian VII, of glorious memory, as also of the heirs of his Royal Crown, all his rights and pretensions to the Duchy of Schleswig in general, and to the heretofore princely portion of that Duchy in particular ;

That in the same manner, and from the same motives, His Majesty the Emperor Paul ceded for himself, as also for his descentants, heirs, and successors, all that he possessed in the Duchy of Holstein, whether in common with His Majesty the King of Denmark, or separately ;

Considering that this Act of Cession of the Duchy of Holstein has only been made expressly in favour of His Majesty King Christian VII, and of his male lineage, and also eventually in favour of the late Prince Frederick, the King's brother, and of the male lineage of that Prince ; and

That the eventualities which the terms themselves of this Act of Cession admitted, have already, in part, been realized by the extinction of the male lineage of King Christian VII, or may be realized at a period more or less near, without the said transactions having in any manner provided for them ;

Foreseeing the dangers which this silence in existing Treaties may cause to the Danish Monarchy, if, on the extinction of the male line actually on the Throne of Denmark, the *lex regia* should receive its pure and simple application to one part of the Monarchy ;—

Have acknowledged the obligation and the right, as successors of the august Contracting Parties to the engagements of 1767 and 1773, to come to an understanding

as to the ulterior arrangements most suited to the double object which they have had in view.

In consequence, the Undersigned, after mature examination of all the questions connected with this affair, have agreed amongst themselves, under the express reservation of the high approbation of their respective Sovereigns, and have embodied in the present Protocol the points which follow :—

1. The objects proposed in the interest of the peace of the North, as well as that of the internal peace of the august House of Oldenburg, namely, the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, can only be realized by means of an arrangement summoning to the Succession of the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, the male lineage solely, to the exclusion of women.

2. The male lineage of Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and of his consort the Princess Louise of Hesse, unites in itself the rights of inheritance, which, on the extinction of the male line actually reigning in Denmark, devolve upon it in virtue of the renunciations of Her Royal Highness the Landgravine Charlotte of Hesse, of her son Prince Frederick of Hesse, and of her daughter the Princess Mary of Anhalt-Dessau.

3. Wishing, on his part, to complete the titles resulting from these renunciations, and thus to effect an arrangement which would be of such high importance and interest for the maintenance of the Danish Monarchy in its integrity, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, as Chief of the elder branch of Holstein-Gottorp, would be ready to renounce the eventual rights which belong to him in favour of Prince Christian of Glucksburg, and of his male lineage.

Nevertheless it is understood:

That the eventual rights of the two younger branches of Holstein-Gottorp should be expressly reserved;

That those which the august Chief of the elder branch should abandon for himself and for his male lineage in favour of Prince Christian of Glücksburg and of his male lineage, should be revived in the Imperial House of Russia whenever (which God forbid) the male lineage of that Prince should become extinct;

That inasmuch as the renunciation of His Majesty the Emperor would principally have for its object to facilitate an arrangement called for by the first interests of the Monarchy, the offer of such a renunciation would cease to be obligatory if the arrangement itself should fail.

4. In consequence of the considerations which are above pointed out by the above §§ 2 and 3, the Prince Christian of Glücksburg, conjointly with the Princess his consort, and in their default the male lineage of their Highnesses, would have, more than any other branch, claims which qualify them to succeed, if the contingency should arrive, to the States actually united under the sceptre of His Danish Majesty.

Consequently the two Courts of St. Petersburgh and Copenhagen have agreed,—

That His Majesty the King of Denmark shall designate the Prince and Princess of Glücksburg conjointly as heirs presumptive of his Crown, in case the male line of the dynasty actually reigning should become extinct;

That His Majesty shall make known his high determination to the Powers in amity with Denmark;

That if, to ensure the complete success of this arrangement, still further renunciations should be deemed useful and desirable, it would be for His Danish Majesty to make himself responsible for the indemnities to which just and equitable claims should be established;

Finally, that the negotiations necessary to give to the arrangements in virtue whereof the Prince and Princess of Glücksburg shall be acknowledged as successors presumptive to the Throne of Denmark, the character of an European transaction, shall take place in London.

The Undersigned reserve to themselves to submit the present Protocol to their august Sovereigns, and to solicit their high approbation in favour of the provisions it contains.

Warsaw, this 24 May / 5 June, 1851.

(Signed) NESSELRODE.
MEYENDORFF.
REEDTZ.

True copy.
(Signed) PRINCE A. GORTCHAKOW.

SLESVIGS FASTLAND

Scale of English Miles

Photo-zincographed at the Ordnance Survey Office Southampton under the superintendence of Capt.n H. Helsham Jones R.E. Col. Sir H. James R.E. F.R.S. &c Director.

1864

Protocole No. 8.—Séance du 6 Juin, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte Russell, se référant aux paroles par lesquelles, d'après le Protocole No. 7, MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes avaient proposé une prolongation de la suspension d'hostilités, et à l'appui que MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres avaient prêté à cette proposition, prie M. le premier Plénipotentiaire du Danemark de vouloir bien faire part à la Conférence de la réponse du Gouvernement Danois à ce sujet.

M. de Quaade cite sa déclaration de la séance précédente, dans laquelle il a exprimé l'opinion que son Gouvernement ne consentirait pas à une prolongation de la suspension d'hostilités à moins qu'il n'y eût chance sérieuse de tomber d'accord sur un point aussi capital que celui de la frontière. Le Cabinet de Copenhague cependant, afin de donner une nouvelle preuve de son désir d'arriver au rétablissement de la paix, consentira à une prolongation de quinze jours, à condition que les clauses en soient exécutées d'une manière loyale. Pour cette condition le concours de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands lui paraîtrait une garantie suffisante. Dans la pensée de son Gouvernement cette prolongation de quinze jours à partir du 12 Juin devrait suffire pour fixer les parties sur les chances d'une solution pacifique.

M. le Comte Russell demande à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands s'ils sont disposés à accepter la prolongation accordée.

M. le Comte Apponyi répond que son Gouvernement a toujours désiré une prolongation, et cela pour le plus longtemps possible ; mais il ne s'attendait pas à un terme aussi court que celui de quinze jours. Ce serait une espèce de pression morale qui peserait sur les délibérations de la Conférence.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff ne peut que se référer à la déclaration dont M. de Balan a donné lecture à la séance précédente, et dans laquelle il est dit que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens ont reçu l'ordre de demander une prolongation aussi étendue que possible, "et qu'à cet effet elle ne soit pas limitée par un terme fixé d'avance, mais par une dénonciation qui le précéderait de quatre semaines."

D'après les instructions de leur Gouvernement, il est impossible à MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse d'accepter une prolongation qui ne serait limitée qu'à quinze jours.

M. le Comte Russell fait observer que parmi les points qui ont été discutés par la Conférence, celui de la frontière lui paraît le seul qui offre des difficultés sérieuses, et que même sur ce point là on pourrait bien parvenir à s'entendre en trois semaines. Il regretterait beaucoup si MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ne consentaient pas à la prolongation concédée par le Danemark.

M. le Comte de Clarendon exprime l'opinion que tout le monde apprendrait avec une pénible surprise le refus de MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse d'y accéder. La question en dispute entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark s'est réduite depuis l'ouverture de la Conférence à des proportions beaucoup plus étroites, et le seul point vraiment difficile qui reste à régler est celui de la frontière. On pourrait bien tomber d'accord en principe sur ce point dans les trois semaines qui resteraient. Sans cet accord, il serait naturel que le Danemark ne consentît pas à une prolongation ultérieure. Si MM. les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens n'acceptent pas la concession actuelle, la responsabilité de la rupture de la Conférence tombera sur eux.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff en décline la responsabilité, et dit qu'il ne comprend pas la surprise dont M. le Comte de Clarendon vient de parler. Il est toujours prêt à prolonger la suspension d'hostilités, mais pas pour un terme aussi limité que quinze jours. La question est toute militaire. Il lui paraît impossible que les Puissances alliées restent sous la menace continuelle de la reprise des hostilités.

M. le Comte de Clarendon ayant observé qu'une prolongation de l'armistice ne pourrait en rien changer la question militaire, M. de Balan fait valoir que l'administration d'une

grande armée exige des mesures dont l'exécution n'est possible que si la suspension des hostilités est assurée pour plusieurs mois.

M. le Baron de Beust présume que le point de vue d'après lequel les Puissances Allemandes envisagent la question se rapporte en partie aux intérêts du commerce. Aucune espèce de mouvement commercial ne pourrait se faire à moins que le terme ne fût prolongé.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare que son Gouvernement n'a accepté la suspension pour un mois que par excès de conciliation.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne reconnaît qu'au point de vue des intérêts commerciaux, auxquels M. le Baron de Beust vient de faire allusion, il eût été très désirable qu'on pût s'entendre pour prolonger la suspension des hostilités au delà du terme proposé par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois ; mais il lui semble qu'une suspension, même de quinze jours, est encore préférable à la reprise des hostilités, et que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens, en supposant que leurs instructions ne leur permettent pas d'accepter cette proposition, ne sauraient se refuser à la prendre *ad referendum*.

M. le Baron de Brunnow s'associe aux sentiments exprimés par M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne. Considérant également la question dans l'intérêt des négociations actuellement ouvertes, il regrette qu'un espace de temps plus long n'ait pas été accordé par le Danemark, mais il invite MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands à ne pas refuser ce terme, quelqu'insuffisant qu'il soit.

M. de Krieger soutient que son Gouvernement fait déjà un sacrifice en accordant les quinze jours, et que Lord Clarendon a eu raison de dire que s'il y a possibilité de s'entendre sur la frontière, on devrait pouvoir le faire d'ici au 26 Juin.

Il semble aussi à M. le Comte Wachtmeister que le terme de quinze jours ou de trois semaines devrait suffire pour établir un accord sur la question de la frontière.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit qu'après les déclarations de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, la Conférence ne lui paraît pas aussi prête à s'entendre qu'on le suppose.

M. de Biegeleben demande pourquoi un terme aussi court a été proposé. Quatre semaines ne lui paraîtraient pas trop.

M. de Quaade répond que son Gouvernement a ses raisons, ainsi que le droit d'en juger.

M. le Comte Apponyi n'a pas d'instructions sur la limitation du terme, ni pour un maximum, ni pour un minimum. Il sait seulement que son Gouvernement attache un grand prix à ce que la suspension des hostilités soit prolongée, et qu'on regrette à Vienne que la question n'ait pas été déjà réglée. Cependant les instructions de ses collègues Prussiens sont tellement précises qu'il ne peut que prendre la proposition *ad referendum*.

M. le Comte Russell fait observer que si on tombait d'accord sur le point capital, le Gouvernement de Danemark ne s'opposerait probablement pas à une prolongation ultérieure, et qu'il y aurait alors le temps de discuter les autres points qui resteraient à régler.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff soutient qu'il serait mieux d'adopter une suspension qui ne serait limitée que par une dénonciation de part ou d'autre, et qui en tout cas ne durerait pas moins de deux mois. Dans ce cas l'une des Parties pourrait la dénoncer aussitôt qu'elle aurait acquis la certitude qu'il n'y a plus de chance de tomber d'accord.

M. de Krieger répète que si, comme il l'espère, il y a possibilité de s'entendre, on doit toujours pouvoir tomber d'accord dans les quinze jours.

M. de Balan parle de la position des troupes Allemandes dans le Jutland comme étant très onéreuse. Pour un espace de temps aussi court il ne serait pas possible à son Gouvernement de faire les arrangements militaires qu'exige la situation.

M. le Comte de Clarendon ne comprend pas quelle difficulté il y aurait à laisser continuer l'état de choses actuel pour quinze jours de plus. Dans l'intérêt du commerce également, ce serait toujours un avantage.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait remarquer que ses instructions sont toutefois plus pacifiques que celles de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois.

M. le Comte de Clarendon répond que c'est chose facile pour la Puissance qui occupe une province étrangère, mais que le Danemark peut bien désirer mettre fin à cet état de choses. Il rappelle que si la prolongation n'est pas acceptée, le blocus sera probablement rétabli le 12 Juin, et que le commerce ne pourra qu'en souffrir.

M. le Comte Apponyi exprime l'opinion que si la solution de la question était simple, les quinze jours suffiraient, mais qu'il faudra entrer en beaucoup de détails, et peut-être même prendre des renseignements sur les lieux, avant de s'entendre sur une question aussi compliquée que celle de la frontière.

M. le Comte de Clarendon admet que s'il devenait nécessaire d'envoyer sur les lieux une Commission de délimitation, il faudrait plus de quinze jours. Mais on arriverait

nécessairement à une entente préalable sur le principe avant de l'envoyer, et dans ce cas il ne resterait qu'à régler les détails.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff regrette d'être dans l'impossibilité d'accepter la proposition, mais ses instructions sont très précises sur ce point, et il n'est pas autorisé à accéder à un terme de plus courte durée que de deux mois, ou d'une durée illimitée avec un terme de dénonciation d'un mois après l'expiration du premier mois.

Après un échange d'idées entre tous les Plénipotentiaires, et après que MM. les Représentants des Puissances neutres ont exprimé leur vif désir que les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse portent, en la recommandant, la proposition du Gouvernement Danois à la connaissance de leur Cour, M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare que par égard pour ces Puissances, lui et son collègue ne se refuseront pas à faire connaître la proposition à leur Gouvernement, et que dès qu'ils auront reçu une réponse de Berlin, ils en avertiront M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat, afin que la Conférence puisse être réunie au plus tôt. Mais en se prêtant ainsi à porter la proposition Danoise à la connaissance de son Gouvernement, M. le Comte de Bernstorff croit devoir déclarer positivement qu'il ne pourra sous aucune condition être question d'une prolongation future de la suspension d'armes de quinze à quinze jours, et qu'il comprend la proposition actuelle en ce sens, que les hostilités doivent encore être suspendues pour quinze jours, afin d'avoir le temps de s'entendre sur la ligne de frontière, et que si l'on n'y réussit pas, la guerre recommencera infailliblement après l'expiration de ce terme.

M. de Quaade tient à rappeler que la prolongation de quinze jours n'a été accordée par son Gouvernement qu'à condition qu'un accord s'établisse quant à l'exécution des termes de la suspension d'hostilités. Il compte sur le concours loyal de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands dans ce but.

M. de Balan fait observer que les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse continueront de prêter leurs bons offices pour éclaircir les faits et faire cesser les malentendus, mais qu'ils sont en même temps chargés de se plaindre dans la Conférence de la manière dont les autorités Danoises éludent les stipulations du 9 Mai, ce qui n'exclut pas qu'on puisse se communiquer de part et d'autre confidentiellement et directement les renseignements reçus sur les différents objets de plainte.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 8.—*Sitting of June* 6, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiaries of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Earl Russell, referring to the words in which, according to Protocol No. 7, the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers had proposed a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities, and to the support which the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers had given to that proposal, begs the first Plenipotentiary of Denmark to be so good as to inform the Conference of the answer of the Danish Government with respect to it.

M. de Quaade quotes his declaration of the preceding sitting, in which he expressed his opinion that his Government would not consent to a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities, unless there should be a serious chance of coming to an agreement upon such a vital point as that of the frontier. Nevertheless, the Cabinet of Copenhagen, in order to give a fresh proof of its desire to attain the restoration of peace, will consent to a prolongation for a fortnight, provided that the terms of it are executed in a loyal manner. With a view to this condition, the assistance of the German Plenipotentiaries would appear to him to be a sufficient guarantee. In the opinion of his Government, this prolongation of a fortnight from the 12th of June, ought to be sufficient to show whether the Parties are likely or not to arrive at a pacific solution.

Earl Russell inquires of the German Plenipotentiaries whether they are disposed to accept the prolongation conceded.

Count Apponyi replies that his Government has always desired a prolongation, and that for as long a period as possible; but he did not expect such a short period as a fortnight. It would create a kind of moral pressure which would weigh upon the deliberations of the Conference.

Count de Bernstorff can only refer to the declaration read by M. de Balan in the course of the preceding sitting, in which it is said that the Prussian Plenipotentiaries have been ordered to ask for as extended a prolongation as possible, "and that with that view it should not be limited by a date fixed beforehand, but by being denounced at four weeks' notice."

According to the instructions of their Government, it is impossible for the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia to accept a prolongation of only a fortnight's duration.

Earl Russell observes that of the points which have been discussed by the Conference, that of the frontier appears to him to be the only one involving serious difficulties, and that even upon that point an understanding might be come to in three weeks. He would greatly regret if the German Plenipotentiaries did not agree to the prolongation granted by Denmark.

The Earl of Clarendon expresses his opinion that every one would learn with painful surprise the refusal of the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia to agree to it. The question in dispute between Germany and Denmark has been reduced to much narrower proportions since the opening of the Conference, and the only remaining point which is really difficult to arrange is that of the frontier. It would be quite possible to come to an agreement as to the principle upon this point in the three weeks which remain. Except in the case of such an agreement it would be natural that Denmark should not consent to a further prolongation. If the Prussian Plenipotentiaries do not accept the present concession, the responsibility of breaking up the Conference will devolve upon them.

Count de Bernstorff declines any such responsibility, and says that he does not understand the surprise just spoken of by the Earl of Clarendon. He is always ready to prolong the suspension of hostilities, but not for such a limited period as a fortnight. The question is entirely a military one. It appears to him impossible that the allied Powers can remain under the continual threat of a recommencement of hostilities.

The Earl of Clarendon having observed that a prolongation of the armistice could effect no change in the military question, M. de Balan points out that the administration of a large army requires measures, the execution of which is only possible if the suspension of hostilities is secured for several months.

Baron de Beust presumes that the light in which the German Powers view the question has partly reference to the interests of commerce. No kind of commercial movement could take place unless the duration should be prolonged.

Count de Bernstorff declares that his Government only accepted the suspension for one month from excess of conciliation.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne acknowledges that in regard to the commercial interests just alluded to by Baron de Beust, it would be very desirable to be able to arrange a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities for a longer period than that proposed by the Danish Plenipotentiaries; but it appears to him that a suspension, even for a fortnight, is far preferable to the recommencement of hostilities, and that the Prussian Plenipotentiaries in supposing that their instructions do not authorize them to accept this proposition, can scarcely refuse to take it *ad referendum*.

Baron de Brunnow agrees with the sentiments expressed by the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne. Considering the question likewise in the interest of the negotiations actually opened, he regrets that a longer time has not been granted by Denmark; but he begs the German Plenipotentiaries not to refuse the time, insufficient as it is.

M. de Krieger maintains that his Government are already making a sacrifice in granting a fortnight, and that Lord Clarendon was right in saying, that if there is a possibility of

coming to an understanding about the frontier, it ought to be possible between the present time and the 26th of June.

It appears also to Count Wachtmeister that the period of a fortnight or three weeks ought to suffice to bring about an understanding upon the Frontier question.

Count de Bernstorff says, that after the declaration of the Danish Plenipotentiaries, the Conference does not appear to him to be so near to an understanding as is supposed.

M. de Biegeleben asks why such a short period has been proposed. Four weeks would not in his opinion be too much.

M. de Quaade replies, that his Government have their reasons, as well as the right to judge of them.

Count Apponyi has no instructions with regard to the limitation of time, either as to a maximum or a minimum. He only knows that his Government attach great importance to getting the suspension of hostilities prolonged, and that it is regretted at Vienna that the question has not been already arranged. The instructions, however, of his Prussian colleagues are so precise that he can only take the proposal *ad referendum*.

Earl Russell remarks, that if an agreement was come to upon the principal point, the Danish Government would probably not object to a further prolongation, and that there would then be time to discuss the other points remaining for settlement.

Count de Bernstorff maintains that it would be better to adopt a suspension which would only be limited by a notice given by either party, and which would at any rate not last for less than two months. In this case either one of the parties would be able to denounce it, upon becoming convinced that there was no longer a chance of coming to an agreement.

M. de Krieger repeats that if, as he hopes, there is a possibility of coming to an agreement, it ought to be possible within a fortnight.

M. de Balan speaks of the position of the German troops in Jutland, as being very burdensome. For so short a space of time, it would not be possible for his Government to make the arrangements required by the situation.

The Earl of Clarendon does not understand what difficulty there would be in allowing the present state of things to continue for another fortnight. In the interest of commerce likewise, it would still be an advantage.

Count de Bernstorff remarks that his instructions are nevertheless more pacific than those of the Danish Plenipotentiaries.

The Earl of Clarendon answers that it is an easy thing for the Power which is in occupation of a foreign province, but that Denmark may well desire to put an end to such a state of things. He calls to mind that if the prolongation is not accepted, the blockade will probably be re-established on the 12th of June, and that commerce cannot but suffer from it.

Count Apponyi expresses his opinion that if the solution of the question was simple, a fortnight would be sufficient, but that it will be necessary to enter into many details, and perhaps even to collect information on the spot, before coming to an agreement upon such a complicated question as that of the frontier.

The Earl of Clarendon allows that if it were to become necessary to send a Boundary Commission to the spot, more than a fortnight would be required. But a preliminary understanding would necessarily be arrived at as to the point of principle, before sending out such a Commission, and in that case it would only remain to settle the details.

Count de Bernstorff regrets that it is impossible for him to accept the proposal, but his instructions are very precise upon the point, and he is not authorized to accede to any shorter period than one of two months, or of unlimited duration, with the power of denunciation at a month's notice after the end of the first month.

After an interchange of ideas between all the Plenipotentiaries, and after the Representatives of the neutral Powers had expressed their earnest desire that the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia should make known and recommend to their Court the proposal of the Danish Government, Count de Bernstorff declares that, from regard for those Powers, he and his colleague will not refuse to convey the proposal to the knowledge of their Government, and that as soon as they receive an answer from Berlin, they will inform the Principal Secretary of State, in order that the Conference may be summoned as soon as possible. But in agreeing thus to make known the Danish proposal to his Government, Count de Bernstorff thinks it right to declare positively that there can be no further question, under any circumstances, of a future prolongation of the suspension of arms from fortnight to fortnight; and that he understands the present proposal in this sense, that hostilities must be further suspended for a fortnight, in order to give time for coming to an under-

standing upon the line of frontier; and that if the Conference does not succeed in this, the war will infallibly recommence after the expiration of that period.

M. de Quaade wishes to remind the Conference that the prolongation for a fortnight has only been granted by his Government upon condition that an agreement is come to as to the fulfilment of the terms of the suspension of hostilities. He counts upon the loyal assistance of the German Plenipotentiaries for that purpose.

M. de Balan observes that the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia will continue to lend their good offices to explain facts and put an end to misunderstandings, but that they are at the same time instructed to complain in the Conference of the manner in which the Danish authorities elude the stipulations of the 9th of May, which need not prevent, however, their communicating to each other, confidentially and directly, the information received respecting the different matters of complaint.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 9.—Séance du 9 Juin, 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Baron de Brunnow, en se référant à la dernière observation faite par M. le Comte de Bernstorff, et rapportée dans le Protocole No. 8, dit qu'il diffère de l'interprétation que M. l'Ambassadeur de Prusse donne aux termes dans lesquels MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ont annoncé l'intention de leur Gouvernement de prolonger de quinze jours la suspension d'armes, établie jusqu'au 12 Juin.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie pense qu'on ne rendrait pas justice à la sagesse des déterminations du Cabinet de Copenhague si l'on voulait lui prêter l'intention de recommencer *infailliblement* la guerre après l'expiration de ce terme.

Dans son opinion, il ne faut jamais fermer la voie à des conseils de paix. Il ne faut pas dire que la guerre soit irrévocablement résolue, aussi longtemps que les Représentants des Grandes Puissances de l'Europe se trouvent réunis en Conférence, dans le but de vouer tous leurs efforts au rétablissement de la paix.

Pour sa part, M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie a confiance dans les sentiments de conciliation dont tous les Cabinets se montrent animés. Il espère que cette confiance sera justifiée par le résultat pacifique des travaux de la Conférence de Londres.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond qu'en consentant à porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement la proposition du Gouvernement Danois, il l'a précisée dans les mêmes termes qui se trouvent insérés dans le Protocole, et que M. le premier Plénipotentiaire du Danemark a reconnu que c'était là le sens de la proposition.

M. de Quaade reconnaît qu'il retrouve dans la déclaration faite à la séance du 6 Juin par M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de la Prusse le sens général de la proposition du Gouvernement Danois, mais il ajoute qu'il ne s'est pas servi du mot "infailliblement."

Sur l'invitation de M. le Comte Russell, M. le Comte de Bernstorff donne lecture de la déclaration suivante :—

"Nous sommes autorisés à déclarer, au nom de l'Autriche et de la Prusse, que nous acceptons la proposition Danoise d'une prolongation de la suspension d'armes pour quinze jours, à condition toutefois qu'il sera bien entendu que le renouvellement des hostilités au 26 Juin ne pourra être évité que si jusque là une paix acceptable nous est assurée, ou bien si un armistice d'une durée étendue est conclu sous des modalités qui n'admettent point d'interprétation arbitraire."

M. de Quaade n'a aucune observation à faire sur la déclaration dont M. le Comte de Bernstorff vient de donner lecture. Il croit pouvoir assurer la Conférence que son Gouvernement désire aussi bien que les Cabinets Allemands le rétablissement de la paix, et que si cet objet paraissait assuré, le Cabinet de Copenhague serait prêt à consentir, soit à la prolongation de la suspension d'armes, soit à un armistice sous des conditions acceptables et précisées de manière à ne pas laisser des doutes sur l'interprétation à y donner. Les clauses de la suspension d'hostilités actuelle lui paraissent laisser beaucoup à désirer sur ce dernier point.

M. le Baron de Brunnow exprime la satisfaction qu'il éprouve en apprenant que la suspension d'armes est maintenant prolongée jusqu'au 26 Juin. Il faut espérer que dans cet intervalle de temps la Conférence parviendra à tomber d'accord sur une solution pacifique.

M. de Balan, en se référant à l'observation de M. de Quaade que l'interprétation des stipulations du 9 Mai a donné lieu à des doutes, ainsi qu'à sa propre observation faite à la fin de la dernière séance, que les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse sont chargés de porter plainte à ce sujet dans la Conférence, donne, conformément aux ordres de son Gouvernement, lecture de la déclaration suivante :—

"En se prononçant pour une prolongation de la suspension des hostilités, le Gouvernement de Prusse a voulu donner une preuve de ses intentions conciliantes et de son amour de la paix. L'intérêt du commerce aurait exigé que cette prolongation fût aussi étendue que possible, et durât au moins deux mois.

"En consentant néanmoins, conformément au pressant désir exprimé par tous les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, à la prolongation de quinze jours seulement, proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, le Gouvernement de Prusse ne se cache pas les nombreux inconvénients que l'état actuel des choses, basé sur les termes de l'arrangement du 9 Mai, amène pour les armées alliées qui occupent le Jutland, inconvénients qui deviennent encore plus onéreux s'il s'agit d'une prolongation aussi limitée. Il ne croit toutefois pas devoir insister sur un changement des stipulations en question; mais plus il a, de son côté, scrupuleusement rempli ces stipulations dans toute l'étendue compatible avec une occupation militaire, plus il doit exiger que les difficultés inhérentes à la situation, et diminuées de son côté autant que possible par des procédés auxquels un jugement impartial finira par rendre justice, ne soient point augmentées de la part des autorités Danoises par des mesures et des interprétations contraires aux principes généralement reconnus pour l'état de guerre, momentanément interrompu par une suspension des hostilités, et aux stipulations spéciales du 9 Mai.

"Ni le commerce, ni les communications, ni la marche régulière de l'administration ne sont entravés dans le Jutland, et bien que les termes du 9 Mai admettent l'interprétation que ce n'est que la liberté des communications intérieures qui y a été assurée, cette liberté s'étend de fait à la communication entre le Jutland et les autres parties du Danemark, ainsi que le Schleswig, tandis que le Gouvernement Danois défend toute communication avec les Iles d'Alsen et d'Arroe, et les Iles Frisonnes.

"Aucune contribution n'a été levée depuis le 12 Mai, et si immédiatement après ce terme, et lorsque les stipulations du 9 Mai n'étaient point et ne pouvaient point être connues à tous les commandants des troupes, dans un pays où l'ennemi en se rétirant avait détruit les télégraphes, des ordres contraires avaient été donnés, ils ont été immédiatement révoqués.

"Les saisies ont de même cessé, à dater du 12 Mai, et on s'est scrupuleusement abstenu de vendre quoi que ce soit des dépôts séquestrés.

"Un Commissaire civil Danois, nommé pour régler les détails du nouveau *modus vivendi* à établir, a été annoncé par le Commandant-en-chef des troupes Danoises au quartier-général des troupes alliées, alors établi à Horsens. Peu de jours après il y est arrivé dans la personne de M. Dahlström, qui n'a pas tardé à entrer en relations personnelles, d'abord avec le Lieutenant-Général Baron de Moltke, Chef de l'Etat-Major Général, plus tard avec le Colonel de Podbielski. Il est incompréhensible comment on a pu dire que le Commissaire Danois n'ait pu trouver avec qui négocier. Lorsque plus tard, par suite du changement dans la personne du Général-en-chef des armées alliées, le quartier-général

a été transféré de Horsens à Louisenlund dans le Schleswig, on a proposé à M. Dahlström de l'y suivre ; sur son refus de s'y rendre, et comme il a également décliné d'entrer en rapports directs avec le Général commandant les troupes qui occupent le Jutland, les communications entre le quartier-général et M. Dahlström se font, conformément au désir de ce dernier, journellement par écrit. On n'a pas tardé à s'entendre sur plusieurs points essentiels. On est convenu particulièrement que tout ce qui serait directement fourni, soit en chevaux et voitures, soit pour les hôpitaux et magasins, d'après des taxes qui excluent l'arbitraire, serait payé par des quittances réalisées chaque semaine en argent comptant par des bureaux de comptabilité établis *ad hoc* à Horsens. M. Dahlström n'a pas tardé à publier cet arrangement en langue Danoise. Quant à la nourriture, les troupes la reçoivent en général par l'administration militaire, qui y pourvoit par l'intermédiaire de fournisseurs. Les localités nécessitées par ce mode sont louées et payées, quoiqu'on soit en droit de les demander gratis, comme le logement des troupes et les foyers nécessaires pour faire la cuisine. A ce sujet il n'y a pas le moindre doute, et toute autre interprétation serait entièrement incompatible avec les exigences d'une occupation militaire. Ce n'est que dans quelques endroits fort éloignés que la nourriture des troupes est directement fournie par les habitants. Mais ils en reçoivent des prix plus élevés que les taxes légales d'après lesquelles les troupes Fédérales Allemandes sont nourries sur le territoire de la Confédération.

"Une ligne de démarcation a été arrêtée de concert avec le Commandant-en-chef des troupes Danoises. La mer et le Lymfjord servent en général à former cette ligne. Mais quelques exceptions demandées par le Général Danois ont été volontairement accordées par les Commissaires des armées alliées, sans qu'ils aient cru devoir vérifier le prétendu *statu quo* du 12 sur lequel elles se fondent.

"Si de cette manière les autorités militaires Allemandes ont fait tout ce qui était en leur pouvoir pour remplir les stipulations du 9 Mai, elles ont dû catégoriquement défendre et réprimer toute infraction à ces mêmes stipulations de la part des autorités Danoises. Elles n'ont pu souffrir, et elles ne souffriront pas qu'une presse provoquante recommence ses agitations dirigées contre les Gouvernements Allemands. Elles n'ont pu admettre, et elles n'admettront jamais que des vivres destinés pour les armées alliées soient soumis à des impôts au profit du fisc Danois. Elles n'ont pu accorder au public et aux autorités Danoises l'usage du télégraphe que l'ennemi, avant de se retirer, avait détruit, et qu'elles avaient dû rétablir à leurs frais et avec de nouveaux fils. Elles ont toutefois, pour faire preuve de bon vouloir, permis que les autorités Danoises établissent pour leur usage de nouveaux fils aux télégraphes communs. Elles ne peuvent pas tolérer, et elles ne tolèreront certainement pas que des recrues soient levées sous leurs yeux et acheminées hors du pays. Un pareil état de choses serait au plus haut degré contraire à la dignité d'une armée d'occupation et aux garanties qu'elle réclame. Toute tentative d'y porter atteinte a donc dû et devra être réprimée ; et il est dans la nature de l'état de guerre que les mesures prises à cet effet ne puissent pas, afin d'être promptement efficaces, se borner aux procédures de la législation civile.

"Mais ce n'est pas seulement en voulant lever des recrues dans le Jutland que le Gouvernement Danois a agi contre l'esprit de la stipulation d'après laquelle les Puissances belligérantes s'interdisent de renforcer leurs positions militaires. Tandis que ni à Duppel ni à Friedéricia l'état des fortifications, tel qu'il était le 12 Mai, n'a été altéré depuis, sur l'Ile Alsen et en Fionie les positions militaires ont été renforcées par de nouvelles fortifications et par l'agrandissement de celles qui y existaient déjà. Cette infraction aux stipulations du 9 Mai a pu être observée des positions des troupes alliées par des télescopes, bien qu'on ait défendu, pour les cacher, toute communication avec les Iles susmentionnées.

"Un bâteau à vapeur Anglais a chargé à Nantes une forte cargaison de canons, de boulets, et d'autres projectiles, soi-disant en destination pour la Suède, mais débarquée à Copenhague pour le compte du Gouvernement Danois, qui a profité de l'inaction imposée à l'escadre Austro-Prussienne par la suspension des hostilités pour augmenter ses forces militaires.

"Mais de son côté le Gouvernement Danois semble ne pas avoir prescrit à ses bâtiments de s'abstenir de tout procédé contraire aux stipulations du 9 Mai. Car un croiseur douanier Danois a arrêté le 20 Mai un bâteau Schleswickois, chargé de houilles et venant de Newcastle, en destination pour Husum, à peu de distance de cette ville, qui, lorsque les hostilités furent suspendues, était incontestablement en possession des armées alliées. Il a mis les scellés sur le bâteau et sur sa cargaison, mais les autorités douanières de Husum ont naturellement refusé de les respecter.

"Les exemples précités suffisent pour démontrer que le Gouvernement de Prusse est en droit de se plaindre de la violation des stipulations du 9 Mai par les autorités Danoises. En consentant à ce que la suspension des hostilités soit prolongée, il entend donc que ces

stipulations soient mises à exécution de la part des autorités et des sujets Danois, en conformité avec les points de vue indiqués par la présente déclaration."

M. de Quaade, en se réservant de répondre à la déclaration faite par M. le second Plénipotentiaire de la Prusse, soutient que les clauses de la suspension d'armes ne lui semblent pas avoir été exécutées par les Puissances alliées dans le Jutland en des points essentiels. Il se réfère aux dispositions stipulant que ces Puissances n'entraveraient ni le commerce, ni les communications, ni la marche régulière de l'administration, et cite quelques exemples pour prouver qu'il n'a pas été donné suite à ces dispositions. En faisant observer qu'il a été défendu aux navires Danois d'entrer dans les ports de Slesvig sous pavillon Danois, il relève plus spécialement que des sujets Danois ont été arrêtés pour crime de lèse-majesté contre Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, et traduits devant les Conseils de Guerre Allemands, au lieu d'être amenés devant les tribunaux du pays.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait observer qu'il serait impossible pour une armée d'occupation de ne pas prendre connaissance des crimes qui se rapportent à leur position militaire.

Pour ce qui regarde le télégraphe, M. de Quaade soutient que le fil a été coupé, tant avant qu'après la suspension des hostilités, par les troupes Allemandes, lesquelles, si on peut ajouter foi à une information qui du reste ne repose pas sur des données authentiques, auraient même fait des fascines avec les fils télégraphiques. Il exprime son vif regret qu'il y ait tant de malentendus de part et d'autre sur la manière d'interpréter les clauses dont il s'agit, et rappelant que son Gouvernement n'a consenti à la prolongation de quinze jours qu'à condition qu'un accord s'établît sur ce point, il craint qu'il ne se trouve dans l'obligation de n'y plus consentir.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit que la déclaration que son collègue vient de lire a été provoquée par les accusations tout-à-fait sans fondement que le Gouvernement Danois a lancées contre les armées alliées; que cependant, s'il s'agit de malentendus, les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens seront toujours prêts à les éclaircir et à s'entendre à ce sujet avec MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois.

M. de Krieger ne saurait admettre comme fondés les principes établis dans la déclaration de M. de Balan, et d'après lesquels, par exemple, les autorités alliées dans le Jutland se croient en droit d'exercer une censure de la Presse, de ne pas respecter l'administration de la justice, et de se dispenser de payer les impôts sur les importations. Mais même abstraction faite des principes, il y a toujours la question des procédés. Quant à ce dernier point, un employé de la douane, dont le premier devoir était de veiller à l'exécution des lois, a pour cela même été emprisonné, et mis au pain et à l'eau. D'autres fonctionnaires ont été également emprisonnés. M. de Krieger regarde ces faits comme étant de la plus haute gravité.

M. le Baron de Brunnow invite MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes à ne pas soulever des récriminations de part et d'autre, mais à faire au contraire leur possible pour les aplanir. Il regarde la prolongation de la suspension d'armes comme un fait acquis sur lequel on ne saurait plus revenir.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne est d'avis que ni la déclaration de M. de Balan ni les observations de MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ne sont de nature à exclure une entente sur l'exécution de la suspension d'hostilités, et que ces Plénipotentiaires devraient en régler les détails entr'eux.

M. le Comte de Clarendon trouve cet avis parfaitement juste. Des difficultés du même genre existent toujours pendant l'occupation d'un pays étranger.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister croit que s'il faut discuter la question de juridiction, il serait mieux de tracer une ligne de séparation entre la justice militaire et l'administration de la justice ordinaire dans le pays.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne constate qu'en général tout ce qui touche à l'honneur et à la sûreté d'une armée d'occupation est considéré comme étant de la compétence des tribunaux militaires. Sans cela, la position d'une armée occupant un pays étranger ne serait pas tolérable.

M. de Quaade soutient qu'un habitant du Jutland ne devrait pas être traduit devant les tribunaux de guerre pour des crimes dont les lois Danoises pourraient prendre connaissance.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que l'armée alliée ne pourrait jamais confier sa sûreté à l'administration du pays qu'elle occupe.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne rappelle que quel que soit l'esprit de conciliation que l'on apporte dans le réglement de questions aussi complexes et aussi délicates, il est impossible de se mettre d'accord sur tous les points, et qu'il faut s'attendre à ce que dans la pratique il y ait souvent des conflits de juridiction. Cela tient à la nature même des choses et des situations.

M. le Baron de Beust fait observer que la déclaration de M. de Balan a eu pour objet de répondre à des accusations formulées antérieurement par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, et qu'elle ne change rien à la possibilité de vider la question entre les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes.

M. le Comte de Clarendon s'associe à l'avis émis par M. le Baron de Beust. Il est convaincu que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois ne désirent pas recommencer la guerre le 12 Juin, à cause des détails qui pourraient être mieux réglés entre eux et MM. les Plénipotentaires Prussiens. Il propose qu'une Sous-Commission de la Conférence soit nommée pour s'entendre à ce sujet. Il serait difficile pour la Conférence de s'en occuper.

M. de Balan répète que les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse continueront à prêter leurs bons offices pour l'aplanissement des difficultés de détail, mais que les vues sur les exigences et les conséquences de toute occupation militaire semblent être trop divergentes pour faire espérer une entente directe. Le concours d'un de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres lui paraît désirable.

M. l'Ambassadeur de France s'étant déclaré prêt, sur l'invitation de la Conférence, à prêter le sien, il est convenu que M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, M. de Quaade, et M. de Balan tâcheront de régler, autant que possible hors de la Conférence, les difficultés de détail sur l'exécution de la suspension d'armes.

Sur la question de préciser la date à laquelle la reprise des hostilités aura lieu, à moins d'une prolongation ultérieure de leur suspension, il est entendu que la suspension expire le 26 Juin au matin.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes se déclarent dans l'intention de se servir du télégraphe pour annoncer la prolongation, dont la Conférence vient de convenir, aux Commandants-en-chef respectifs des armées de terre et de mer.

Passant à la discussion générale, M. le Comte Russell cite les paroles prononcées par M. le Baron de Brunnow dans la séance du 12 Mai, et rapportées dans le Protocole No. 4, où il est dit: "qu'avant d'abandonner un Traité qui a été ratifié par les Puissances signataires dans l'intérêt général de l'Europe, il faudrait donner des raisons jugées satisfaisantes d'un commun accord. Ces raisons devraient être bien graves. Le Traité de 1852 a eu pour objet de consolider la paix du Nord et de sauvegarder l'équilibre Européen. Il a été conclu non-seulement entre les Puissances actuellement en guerre, mais entre toutes les Puissances qui y ont participé. Leurs Représentants réunis aujourd'hui en Conférence sont libres assurément d'échanger leurs idées sur de nouvelles combinaisons à adopter, pourvu qu'elles soient de nature à offrir à la paix de l'Europe des garanties équivalentes à celles sur lesquelles repose aujourd'hui le système de l'équilibre général."

M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat trouve que dans les séances précédentes des renseignements suffisants sur les combinaisons proposées n'ont pas été fournis à la Conférence, et qu'il faudrait des raisons plus solides que celles qu'ont fait valoir MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands pour s'écarter du Traité de Londres. Il s'agit de savoir comment le Danemark existerait comme Puissance indépendante dans les conditions proposées.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait observer qu'il faudrait recommencer une discussion qu'il a cru terminée, et il rappelle que dans une séance précédente M. le Comte Russell a parlé de la frontière comme étant la seule question importante à régler, et non pas du maintien du Traité de Londres.

M. le Comte de Clarendon explique que M. le Comte Russell a voulu dire que pour abandonner ce Traité, il faut des raisons claires et suffisantes, et qu'il faut aussi pourvoir aux moyens de le remplacer efficacement. Le premier but des délibérations de la Conférence est l'indépendance du Danemark, et c'était seulement dans le cas de l'abandon du Traité de Londres que Lord Russell a dit que la question capitale devenait celle de la frontière. En cédant une partie du Slesvig et le Lauenbourg, le Danemark devrait avoir au moins l'avantage d'une frontière qui tienne compte de ses intérêts militaires et commerciaux.

Il semble à M. le Comte de Clarendon qu'il serait important de savoir comment la ligne proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands réunirait les garanties suffisantes, et d'après quelle base elle a été proposée.

M. le Comte Apponyi déclare que les Gouvernements de l'Autriche et de la Prusse sont parfaitement d'accord sur la ligne de frontière à proposer; et M. le Comte de Bernstorff ajoute que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont consenti à restituer une partie du Schleswig comme compensation contre la cession du Lauenbourg par le Danemark. Quant à la ligne plus méridionale que celle d'Apenrade à Tondern, M. le Comte de Bernstorff rappelle que ce n'est pas celle de son Gouvernement, mais qu'il s'était seulement engagé à la recommander à Berlin.

M. le Comte Apponyi fait observer que les deux principes mis en avant par le Danemark et les Puissances neutres ont été l'indépendance, et la frontière militaire et commerciale du Danemark. Mais il y a un principe qui a une importance tout aussi grande

aux yeux de l'Allemagne, c'est celui de l'indépendance politique et administrative des Duchés. C'est là le motif pour lequel les Puissances Allemandes ont fait la guerre, et ce n'est que lorsque la combinaison proposée dans ce but par les Puissances alliées a été déclarée inadmissible par le Danemark qu'elles ont demandé la séparation des Duchés.

M. le Comte de Clarendon soutient que la guerre n'a pas eu, au commencement, pour objet la séparation des Duchés de la Monarchie Danoise.

M. le Comte Apponyi admet qu'en effet ce ne fut pas la séparation, mais l'indépendance des Duchés que les Puissances Allemandes ont eu pour but, et que leur intention première était de sauvegarder des droits qu'elles croyaient lesés, et de maintenir des engagements qui n'avaient pas été observés.

M. le Comte de Clarendon dit que ce fut donc pour émanciper une nationalité opprimée que la guerre a été faite par les deux Puissances Allemandes.

M. le Baron de Brunnow fait observer que si l'on remonte à l'origine de la guerre, il ne peut s'empêcher de rappeler que lorsque les armées alliées allaient entrer dans le Slesvig, les Puissances neutres ont été informées que l'intention des deux Puissances Allemandes n'était pas de détacher le Slesvig du Danemark, mais de posséder un gage matériel afin de contraindre le Gouvernement Danois à remplir les engagements qu'il avait contractés en 1851 et 1852, et qui n'avaient pas été mis à exécution. L'objet de la guerre n'a donc été ni d'enlever le Slesvig au Danemark, ni de séparer ce Duché en deux. Maintenant il s'agit de détacher les deux Duchés de la Monarchie Danoise. Il voudrait savoir pourquoi.

M. de Biegeleben répond que si les Puissances Allemandes demandent aujourd'hui que les deux Duchés soient détachés du Danemark, c'est parceque les seules conditions sous lesquelles elles auraient pu consentir au maintien du lien dynastique ont été trouvées inadmissibles. Ce qui aurait pu faire éviter la guerre ne suffit pas pour y mettre fin. Mais l'Autriche et la Prusse, après avoir eu recours au programme d'une séparation complète, ont prouvé de nouveau leur amour pour la paix, en proposant d'échanger une partie du Schleswig septentrional contre le Duché de Lauenbourg.

M. le Baron de Brunnow dit que pour sa part, loin de repousser la proposition de l'union personnelle, il aurait été prêt à l'appuyer. Les instructions de sa Cour l'y autorisaient. Mais cette union n'a pas été proposée d'une manière positive. Elle a été subordonnée au jugement que la Diète de Francfort porterait sur les titres que le Roi Chrétien IX aurait à faire valoir comme Duc de Holstein. Ce n'était pas là une combinaison certaine, mais purement conditionnelle. Elle dépendait de la décision future que rendrait la Diète. C'est là sans nul doute le motif qui n'a point permis aux Plénipotentiaires du Danemark d'accepter cette proposition. Le Baron de Brunnow termine par constater qu'elle n'a pas été repoussée par la Conférence.

M. le Comte de Clarendon soutient également que l'idée de l'union personnelle n'a pas été proposée directement à la Conférence, mais qu'elle se trouvait simplement impliquée dans le projet des deux grandes Puissances Allemandes. Il est vrai que le Danemark l'a trouvée inadmissible pour de bonnes et valides raisons, et il demande si MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse peuvent consciencieusement déclarer que l'union personnelle aurait établi un état de choses solide et durable. Il prend la liberté aussi de leur demander si, dans le cas où l'union personnelle eût été acceptée par le Danemark, ils n'avaient pas l'intention de proposer une marine, une armée, et un système de finances séparés pour les Duchés, ainsi qu'une indemnité pour les frais de la guerre; et il est convaincu que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands seront les premiers à reconnaître que l'autorité du Roi de Danemark ne serait alors qu'un simulacre dans les Duchés, et que l'état des choses auquel on veut porter remède ne serait que prolongé et empiré.

M. de Biegeleben répond que la proposition d'une union personnelle a été faite avec une parfaite bonne foi, qu'il ne s'agit plus maintenant de la motiver, mais que par aucun moyen on ne pouvait espérer de mettre fin aux discordes dans la Monarchie Danoise d'un jour à l'autre, et qu'en inspirant de la confiance dans la droiture de ses intentions, le Gouvernement Danois aurait pu s'assurer un avenir convenable. Quant à la réserve d'une décision future sur la Succession, elle était une conséquence inévitable du principe que les droits acquis doivent être respectés.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff croyait cette discussion épuisée. Il craint que si elle doit être prolongée, il ne devienne impossible de s'entendre dans les quinze jours qui restent à la Conférence.

M. le Comte de Clarendon répète qu'avant d'abandonner le Traité de Londres, il faut trouver par quoi le remplacer.

M. de Krieger dit que même si une union personnelle et purement dynastique entre le Danemark, proprement dit, d'un côté, et les Duchés réunis de Slesvig et de Holstein de l'autre, avait été proposée, ce qui n'est pas le cas, les Plénipotentiaires Danois auraient dû

la repousser comme pernicieuse et comme ne laissant au Danemark qu'une fausse apparence de l'intégrité voulue par le Traité de Londres. Mais il doit faire observer expressément, qu'il ne s'est agi que d'une union personnelle éventuelle entre le Royaume de Danemark proprement dit, et les deux Duchés de Slesvig et de Holstein. S'il avait été question de l'union personnelle combinée avec le partage du Slesvig dans les limites du Traité de Londres, la question se serait présentée d'une autre manière.

M. de Biegeleben fait observer que cette déclaration confirme ce qu'il a dit sur la nécessité pour les Puissances Allemandes de demander la séparation.

M. le Baron de Brunnow répète que l'intention de son Gouvernement avait été d'appuyer la proposition d'une union personnelle d'après laquelle le Roi Chrétien IX aurait été maintenu dynastiquement dans les Duchés, avec le Slesvig attaché au Danemark, et le Holstein soumis à la Confédération Germanique et aux lois Fédérales. Le Traité aurait été ainsi maintenu, puisque les droits de la Confédération y sont expressément réservés. Ses instructions toutefois faisaient dépendre son appui du consentement préalable de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

M. le Baron de Beust ne comptait pas rentrer dans une discussion qu'il avait cru terminée; mais il lui paraît impossible de garder le silence, surtout après la question posée par M. le Comte de Clarendon quant à la base de la frontière proposée. Il s'exprime alors dans les termes suivants :—

"Je me suis abstenu d'intervenir dans la discussion qui avait lieu dans l'avant-dernière séance sur la question des frontières, ne me trouvant pas autorisé à me prononcer pour telle ou telle ligne. Les instructions que j'ai reçues depuis de la Diète, après lui avoir rendu compte de la séance du 28 Mai, approuvent les déclarations faites alors par moi de concert avec MM. les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche et de Prusse, et conséquemment c'est sur elles que j'ai à me régler. Ces déclarations se trouvent consignées dans le Protocole. M. le Comte de Bernstorff, parlant au nom des Plénipotentiaires Allemands, a fait entrevoir qu'on serait disposé à céder une partie du territoire septentrional du Slesvig et de considérer l'abandon du Duché de Lauenbourg comme un équivalent ; il a dit en même temps que la ligne de démarcation proposée par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ne saurait remplir le but d'une paix solide et durable, puisque le principal sujet de plainte et d'agitation pour la plus grande partie des populations du Slesvig continuerait non seulement de subsister, mais serait même infiniment aggravé par leur séparation d'avec le reste des Duchés et leur incorporation dans le Royaume de Danemark.

"Dans ma pensée les termes de cette manifestation indiquent clairement qu'on n'entend pas consentir à l'abandon de telle partie du territoire Slesvicois dont la population dans sa majorité se refuserait à l'accepter.

"Je suis heureux de constater que la Confédération, en se plaçant à ce point de vue, est dans le cas de se prévaloir de la manière dont il a plu aux Puissances neutres d'envisager la question. MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne entendent que la destinée future du Duché de Holstein, du Duché de Lauenbourg, et de la partie méridionale du Slesvig, ne serait pas réglée sans leur consentement. M. le Plénipotentiaire de France a déclaré maintenir le point de vue de son Gouvernement, d'après lequel aucun état de choses nouveau ne saurait être établi dans les territoires détachés de la Monarchie Danoise sans le concours et le consentement des populations loyalement consultées. M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède enfin a déclaré que son Gouvernement entend que le sort futur des provinces qui seraient cédées par le Roi de Danemark ne soit point réglé sans leur consentement.

"Il me paraît impossible d'admettre que les Puissances neutres entendent établir un principe avec l'intention d'en exclure une application logique et impartiale. Il m'est impossible de leur supposer la pensée qu'il faut consulter des populations qui doivent appartenir à l'Allemagne pour savoir si cet avenir leur convient, mais que cette précaution est inutile avec celles qui doivent y rester étrangères. Il m'est impossible enfin de ne pas rappeler que je considère le Slesvig comme ayant cessé de faire partie de la Monarchie Danoise, et que dans cet ordre d'idées ce n'est pas d'elle mais à son profit qu'il s'agit de détacher une partie du Slesvig, du consentement de son Souverain, qui ne se refusera pas à tenir compte du vœu des populations."

M. le Baron de Brunnow tient à établir que quoique M. le Baron de Beust considère le Slesvig comme ayant cessé de faire partie de la Monarchie Danoise, les Puissances neutres regardent la question d'un point de vue diamétralement opposé. Quant à la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, énoncée dans la séance du 28 Mai, ils voulaient parler seulement de la partie méridionale du Slesvig, et non du Duché en entier.

M. le Baron de Beust réclame le droit d'émettre ses opinions, sans avoir la prétention de les imposer aux autres Plénipotentiaires. De son côté il n'a pas pu partager l'opinion de M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie, qui regarde le Slesvig comme partie intégrante de la

Monarchie Danoise. Quant au deuxième point, il veut seulement remarquer qu'il lui est impossible d'admettre une application inégale du principe établi ; et que si les populations dans la partie méridionale du Slesvig doivent être consultées au sujet de leur destinée future, il devrait en être de même avec les populations dans la partie septentrionale de ce Duché.

M. le Baron de Brunnow soutient qu'à aucune époque la Confédération Germanique n'a étendu son pouvoir au delà de ses frontières. Le Holstein seul, et non pas le Slesvig, est représenté dans la Diète. A l'appui de cette vérité il cite l'Acte Constitutif de la Confédération Germanique conclu à Vienne en 1815, et il rappelle que cet Acte a été signé pour le Roi de Danemark par deux Comtes de Bernstorff. Cet acte établit clairement que le Danemark est représenté à la Diète uniquement pour le Holstein, et nullement pour le Slesvig.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que jamais personne n'a prétendu que le Danemark fût représenté à la Diète pour le Schleswig.

M. le Comte de Clarendon demande à M. le Baron de Beust depuis quelle époque le Slesvig a cessé, selon lui, de faire partie de la Monarchie Danoise. Est-ce par suite de la mort du feu Roi, ou par le droit de conquête ?

M. le Baron de Beust ayant répondu que c'est par suite de la mort du feu Roi, M. le Comte de Clarendon fait observer que dans ce cas M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique se trouve en contradiction avec les Puissances alliées, puisque celles-ci ont envahi le Slesvig et l'ont occupé comme une garantie provisoire.

M. le Baron de Beust admet que l'observation de M. le Baron de Brunnow est exacte pour ce qui concerne l'Acte Fédéral, mais il soutient que le Schleswig intéresse également la Confédération. Quant au Traité de Londres il n'existe pas pour la Confedération, qui ne l'a jamais reconnu. La question de la Succession en Danemark se présente sous une autre face que celle dans les Duchés, c'est-à-dire, que l'ordre de Succession est agnatique dans ces derniers et cognatique dans le royaume. La question pour la Confédération était d'abord de savoir quel est le Souverain légitime du Holstein; mais le Duc de Holstein se trouvant appelé à succéder également dans le Schleswig par suite du même ordre agnatique, il est du devoir du Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération de veiller à la manière dont on disposera du Schleswig, et de faire connaître les opinions qui prévalent dans la Diète. Les deux grandes Puissances Allemandes peuvent avoir adopté une marche différente, mais on s'est de plus en plus rapproché, et aujourd'hui l'accord entre la Confédération et les Puissances Allemandes est des plus solides.

M. le Baron de Brunnow se référant à une observation faite par M. le Baron de Beust, demande comment la mort de feu le Roi de Danemark, Frédéric VII, a pu donner à l'Allemagne des droits qu'elle n'avait pas avant son decès ? La mort de ce Souverain ne pouvait devenir pour l'Allemagne ni un motif de conquête ni un droit de Succession.

M. le Baron de Beust explique que l'Allemagne ne veut pas étendre arbitrairement ses limites, mais seulement protéger les droits d'un Membre de la Confédération sur un autre pays. Il s'est agi de protéger les droits du Duc de Holstein.

M. le Baron de Brunnow s'oppose à cette théorie. La question des frontières de la Confédération est réglée par les Actes du Congrès de Vienne. Cette question n'appartient pas à l'Allemagne seule, elle appartient à l'Europe. La Confédération ne peut pas étendre son territoire sans l'adhésion des autres Puissances.

M. de Balan relève que cette question s'écarte de celle de la Succession, et rappelle que M. le Baron de Beust a dit que la question de l'entrée du Schleswig dans la Confédération était réservée.

M. le Comte de Clarendon rappelle que quoique M. le Baron de Beust ne reconnaisse pas l'existence du Traité de Londres, ce Traité a reçu l'adhésion des principaux Membres de la Confédération.

M. le Baron de Beust répète que pour la Confédération il lui est impossible d'admettre aucune obligation résultant du Traité. Il croit devoir rappeler qu'il a été invité à la Conférence pour en suivre les délibérations, et parceque, d'après ce qu'il suppose, l'on désire le concours de la Confédération, qui n'est pas une Puissance belligérante, et dont il ne dépend pas par conséquent de poser les conditions de la paix, mais dont le consentement n'en sera pas moins indispensable.

M. le Comte Russell croit devoir faire observer de nouveau que jusqu'au 31 Janvier dernier l'Autriche et la Prusse ont reconnu le principe de l'intégrité du Danemark.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait itérativement observer que c'est rentrer dans une discussion qui a été vidée dans les séances précédentes, et que, si cette discussion doit recommencer, il n'y a pas d'espoir d'arriver à une entente pendant les quinze jours qui restent.

M. de Biegeleben croit ne pas devoir s'expliquer sur les questions soulevées entre M. le Baron de Beust et MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne et de la

Russie. Il le juge d'autant moins nécessaire que le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération, dans la déclaration qu'il vient de lire, ne s'est énoncé qu'en son nom personnel. Il ne peut se dispenser de faire cette dernière observation aussi par rapport au mode de constater le consentement des Duchés aux conditions de la paix. Jusqu'à présent la Diète Germanique n'a pris aucune résolution ni émis aucun avis à ce sujet.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister dit que si, ainsi qu'il l'a compris, M. le Baron de Beust considère la mort du feu Roi comme donnant au Duc de Holstein les mêmes droits de Succession agnatique dans le Slesvig que dans le Holstein, il doit constater que selon son point de vue, le Slesvig doit au contraire suivre le même ordre de Succession que le Danemark proprement dit, auquel le Duché de Slesvig a été incorporé, pour tout ce qui concerne le droit de Succession, par les Actes de 1720.

M. de Krieger croit pouvoir s'abstenir d'une discussion sur la position politique du Duché de Slesvig, cette position étant décidée par le droit public Européen. Il tient toutefois à relever par rapport à une expression dont M. le Baron de Beust s'est servi à plusieurs reprises, "que le Slesvig intéressait l'Allemagne," qu'il faut nécessairement distinguer entre intérêt et droit. En ce qui concerne l'observation faite par M. le Baron de Beust, que le Traité de Londres n'existe pas pour la Confédération Germanique, il rappelle que cette Confédération est composée de Souverains indépendants. Ces Souverains devraient être liés à Francfort par ce qu'ils ont résolu ailleurs.

M. le Baron de Beust répond que l'intérêt que l'Allemagne porte au Slesvig est inspiré par un sentiment de droit très légitime. Quant à la question de la Succession, sur le point auquel M. le Comte Wachtmeister a fait allusion, il est prêt à la discuter, mais il craint d'occuper trop longtemps la Conférence.

M. de Quaade tient encore à faire une observation sur un point relatif au consentement des populations. En se référant à sa déclaration du 2 Juin, il rappelle que le Roi Chrétien IX n'a consenti à une cession territoriale éventuelle qu'à la condition expresse de rester Souverain indépendant des territoires qui ne seront pas cédés.

M. le Baron de Beust maintient son point de vue.

Revenant sur la question de la frontière, et se référant aux différentes lignes qui avaient été proposées, M. le Comte Russell dit qu'il doit y avoir possibilité de faire un arrangement, en sauvegardant les intérêts de l'Europe et l'indépendance politique du Danemark.

M. de Balan demande pourquoi la ligne d'Apenrade ne serait pas reconnue suffisante pour ce but.

M. le Comte de Clarendon tient à savoir quelles peuvent être les raisons qui ont décidé à mettre en avant cette ligne. La ligne proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Anglais a été choisie comme une bonne ligne commerciale et militaire. Il tient aussi à constater que cette ligne n'a été proposée que de concours avec MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, qui l'ont appuyée dans la Conférence.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff ne voit pas que la ligne Anglaise réunisse ces avantages. Cette ligne n'a, selon lui, aucune base, car elle n'est ni une bonne ligne militaire, puisque les évènements de la guerre ont suffisamment prouvé qu'elle ne peut être maintenue contre une grande armée, ni une ligne nationale, puisqu'elle ne sépare nullement les nationalités et laisserait même la plus grande partie des districts purement Allemands sous la domination Danoise.

Répondant à la question de M. le Comte de Clarendon, M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit que le premier objet de la ligne proposée par les Puissances Allemandes avait été d'échanger le Duché de Lauenbourg contre une portion du Schleswig Septentrional ; que plus tard lorsque de la part des Puissances neutres on avait fait valoir qu'il fallait une bonne ligne militaire au Danemark, et que celle d'Apenrade ne satisfaisait pas à ce besoin, les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens s'étaient déclarés prêts à recommander à leur Gouvernement une ligne plus méridionale, à savoir, celle qui laisserait au Danemark la position d'Alsen et de Düppel, et lui donnerait ainsi avec l'autre position de Fionie et de Friedéricia, une ligne de défense beaucoup plus forte, comme la dernière guerre l'avait prouvé, que celle de la Schley et du Dannewerke : qu'en outre cette ligne réunissait le grand avantage de partager les deux nationalités mieux que toute autre ligne, puisque c'était celle qui avait séparé depuis la réformation, et jusqu'en 1848, l'usage des langues Allemande et Danoise dans l'église et l'école. M. le Comte de Bernstorff croit que ces raisons pour suggérer la ligne en question sont de fort bonnes raisons. Il fait cependant itérativement remarquer qu'il n'a pu que promettre de la recommander à son Gouvernement, et qu'il n'est point encore autorisé à la proposer, puisque de l'autre côté on n'a rien fait jusqu'ici pour venir à la rencontre des propositions Allemandes.

M. le Comte Russell fait observer que cette ligne n'a pas été acceptée par l'Autriche.

M. le Comte Apponyi répond que d'après ses instructions il est autorisé à l'accepter.

Dans l'avis de M. de Biegeleben la ligne de Flensbourg à Tondern est aussi une bonne ligne commerciale.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark maintiennent que la nationalité de la partie mixte du Slesvig est essentiellement Danoise.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff insiste sur la nécessité de consulter les populations mêmes pour prouver le véritable état des choses.

Par suite d'une demande faite par M. le Comte Russell, M. de Quaade rappelle que son Gouvernement s'est déclaré prêt à faire de grands sacrifices pour arriver au rétablissement de la paix, mais qu'il y a des limites qu'il ne saurait dépasser. Afin d'aller aussi loin que possible dans la voie des concessions, le Gouvernement Danois pourrait adopter la proposition Anglaise du 28 Mai dans sa totalité; il pourrait donc plus spécialement adopter la frontière proposée par M. le Comte Russell, c'est-à-dire, une ligne de démarcation partant de l'embouchure de la Slei et allant le long du Dannewirke jusqu'à la ville de Friedrichstadt.

M. de Krieger présente des observations contre la ligne indiquée par MM. les Ambassadeurs de l'Autriche et de la Prusse, laquelle ligne ne laisserait au Danemark que la partie la plus septentrionale du Slesvig. Il relève que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark ne consentira pas à ce que le Lauenbourg soit regardé comme compensation de la partie purement Danoise du Slesvig.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit qu'il avait bien raison de dire dans la dernière séance qu'on était plus loin de s'entendre qu'on ne le supposait.

M. le Baron de Brunnow engage de nouveau MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes à tâcher de se rapprocher du but qu'ils ont à cœur d'atteindre et non pas de s'en éloigner.

M. le Comte Russell ayant déclaré que la ligne tracée de l'embouchure de la Slei, et suivant la ligne du Dannewirke jusqu'à Friedrichstadt, lui paraît remplir les conditions que la Conférence a en vue, M. le Comte de Bernstorff soutient que la ligne de Flensbourg à Tondern les remplit encore davantage.

La discussion est renvoyée au Samedi, 18 Juin, à 1 heure, afin qu'en attendant MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres puissent employer leurs efforts à amener un rapprochement entre les parties belligérantes.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 9.—Sitting of June 9, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiaries of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Baron de Brunnow, referring to the last observation made by Count de Bernstorff, and reported in Protocol No. 8, says that he differs from the interpretation which the Ambassador of Prussia gives to the terms in which the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark have

announced the intention of their Government to prolong for a fortnight the suspension of arms established until the 12th of June.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia thinks that it would not be rendering justice to the wisdom of the determinations of the Cabinet of Copenhagen to attribute to it the intention of *infallibly* recommencing the war after the expiration of that term.

In his opinion access should never be closed to pacific suggestions. It is not right to say that war is irrevocably decided, so long as the Representatives of the Great Powers of Europe are met in Conference with the object of devoting all their efforts to the restoration of peace.

For his part, the Plenipotentiary of Russia has full confidence in the sentiments of conciliation with which all the Cabinets have shown themselves to be animated. He hopes that this confidence will be justified by the pacific result of the labours of the Conference of London.

Count de Bernstorff replies that in consenting to bring the proposal of the Danish Government to the knowledge of his Government, he specified it in the same terms which are inserted in the Protocol, and that the first Plenipotentiary of Denmark admitted that that was the sense of his proposal.

M. de Quaade admits that he recognizes the general sense of the proposal of the Danish Government in the declaration made in the sitting of the 6th of June by the first Plenipotentiary of Prussia, but adds that he did not make use of the word "infallibly."

At Earl Russell's request, Count de Bernstorff reads the following declaration:—

"We are authorized to declare, in the name of Austria and Prussia, that we accept the Danish proposal for a prolongation of the suspension of arms for a fortnight, on condition, however, that it shall be thoroughly understood that the renewal of hostilities on the 26th of June is inevitable unless by that time an acceptable peace is assured to us, or unless an armistice of prolonged duration is concluded on conditions which do not admit of arbitrary interpretation."

M. de Quaade has no observation to make on the declaration which Count de Bernstorff has just read. He thinks he may assure the Conference that his Government desire the restoration of peace as earnestly as the German Cabinets, and that if that object seemed to be secured, the Cabinet of Copenhagen would be ready to consent either to a prolongation of the suspension of arms, or to an armistice on acceptable conditions, specified in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to their interpretation. The terms of the present suspension of hostilities seem to him to leave much to be desired with regard to this latter point.

Baron de Brunnow expresses the satisfaction which he feels at hearing that the suspension of arms is now prolonged to the 26th of June. It is to be hoped that in this interval the Conference will succeed in coming to an understanding as to a peaceful solution.

M. de Balan, referring to M. de Quaade's observation that the interpretation of the stipulations of the 9th of May has given rise to doubts, as well as to his own observation made at the conclusion of the last sitting, that the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia are instructed to make complaints on this subject in the Conference, reads the following declaration in conformity with the orders of his Government:—

"In pronouncing themselves in favour of a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities, the Government of Prussia have meant to give a proof of their conciliatory intentions and of their love of peace. The interests of commerce would have required that this prolongation should be as extended as possible, and should last at least two months.

"While consenting, nevertheless, in conformity with the urgent desire expressed by all the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, to the prolongation of a fortnight only, proposed by the Danish Plenipotentiaries, the Government of Prussia do not conceal from themselves the numerous inconveniences which the present state of things, based on the terms of the arrangement of the 9th of May, entail on the allied armies in occupation of Jutland—inconveniences which become still more serious in the case of so limited a prolongation. They do not think it right, however, to insist on any alteration in the stipulations in question; but the more they have, on their side, scrupulously fulfilled those stipulations to the full extent compatible with a military occupation, the more entitled are they to require that the difficulties inherent to the situation, and diminished as far as possible on their side by proceedings to which an impartial judgment will finally do justice, should not be augmented on the part of the Danish authorities by measures and interpretations contrary to the generally recognized principles of the state of war, interrupted for the moment by a suspension of hostilities, and to the special stipulations of the 9th of May.

"Neither the commerce, nor the communications, nor the regular course of the administration have been impeded in Jutland, and although the terms of the 9th of May

allow of the interpretation that it is only the liberty of interna communication which has thereby been secured, this liberty has been, in fact, extended to the communication between Jutland and the other parts of Denmark, as well as Schleswig, while the Danish Government forbid all communication with the Islands of Alsen and Aeroe and the Frisian Islands.

"No contribution has been levied since the 12th of May, and if immediately after that date, and when the stipulations of the 9th of May were not and could not be known to all the Commanders of the troops, in a country where the enemy on retreating had destroyed the telegraphs, contrary orders had been given, they have been immediately revoked.

"The seizures of property have also ceased from the 12th of May, and the authorities have scrupulously abstained from selling any part of the sequestrated property.

"The appointment of a Danish Civil Commissioner, to settle the details of the new *modus vivendi* to be established, was announced by the Commander-in-chief of the Danish troops to the head-quarters of the allied troops, then established at Horsens. He arrived shortly afterwards in the person of M. Dahlström, who lost no time in entering into personal relations, at first with Lieutenant-General Baron de Moltke, Chief of the General Staff, subsequently with Colonel de Podbielski. It is incomprehensible how it can have been said that the Danish Commissioner could find no one with whom to negotiate. When subsequently, in consequence of the change in the person of the Commander-in-chief of the allied armies, the head-quarters were transferred from Horsens to Louisenlund, in Schleswig, it was proposed to M. Dahlström to follow them thither. On his refusal to go there, and as he has also declined to enter into direct relations with the General commanding the troops which occupy Jutland, the communications between head-quarters and M. Dahlström take place, in conformity with the desire of the latter, daily in writing. An arrangement has been quickly come to on several essential points. It has particularly been agreed that everything that may be directly furnished, either in horses and carriages, or for the hospitals and magazines, according to a tariff which prevents any arbitrary valuation, shall be paid for in receipts which are realized every week in ready money by liquidating offices established *ad hoc* at Horsens. M. Dahlström has lost no time in publishing this arrangement in the Danish language. As to provisions the troops generally receive them from the military administration, which obtains them by means of contractors. The warehouses rendered necessary by this plan are hired and paid for, although they might by right be demanded gratis, as well as the lodging of the troops and the fires necessary for cooking. On this subject there is not the slightest doubt, and any other interpretation would be entirely incompatible with the requirements of a military occupation. It is only in some very distant places that the provisions for the troops are furnished directly by the inhabitants. But they receive higher prices for them than the legal tariff, according to which the German Federal troops are maintained in the territory of the Confederation.

"A line of demarcation has been decided on in concert with the Commander-in-chief of the Danish troops. The sea and the Lymfjord serve in general to form this line. But some exceptions demanded by the Danish General have been voluntarily granted by the Commissioners of the allied armies, without their having thought it necessary to verify the pretended *statu quo* of the 12th, on which they are based.

"If in this manner the German military authorities have done all in their power to fulfil the stipulations of the 9th of May, they have been compelled categorically to forbid and repress any infraction of these same stipulations on the part of the Danish authorities. They could not, and they will not suffer an inflammatory Press to recommence its attacks directed against the German Governments. They could not, and they never can allow that the provisions intended for the allied armies should be subjected to duties for the profit of the Danish Treasury. They have been unable to grant to the public and to the Danish authorities the use of the telegraph which the enemy before retreating had destroyed, and which they have had to restore at their own expense, and with fresh wires. They have, however, as a proof of their good will, allowed the Danish authorities to put up fresh wires for their own use on the common telegraphs. They have not, and they certainly will not tolerate recruits being levied under their eyes and sent out of the country. Such a state of things would be in the highest degree contrary to the dignity of an army of occupation, and to the guarantees which it claims. Any attempt to attack it has therefore been and will be repressed; and it is in the nature of a state of war that the measures taken for this purpose, in order to be promptly efficacious, cannot be confined to the procedure of civil legislature.

"But it is not only in attempting to raise recruits in Jutland that the Danish Government have acted in opposition to the spirit of the stipulation according to which the belligerent Powers engage not to reinforce their military positions. Whilst neither at

Duppel nor at Fredericia has the state of the fortifications, such as it was on the 12th of May, been altered since; on the Island of Alsen and in Funen the military positions have been strengthened by fresh fortifications, and by the enlargement of those which already existed there. It has been possible to observe this infraction of the stipulations of the 9th of May from the positions of the allied troops by means of telescopes, although, in order to conceal them, all communication with the above-mentioned islands has been forbidden.

"An English steamer took on board at Nantes a large cargo of cannon, bullets, and other projectiles which were said to be destined for Sweden, but were disembarked at Copenhagen for the account of the Danish Government, who have profited by the inaction imposed on the Austro-Prussian squadron by the suspension of hostilities to increase their military strength.

"But on their side the Danish Government do not seem to have ordered their vessels to abstain from all proceedings contrary to the stipulations of the 9th of May, for a Danish revenue cruizer stopped on the 20th of May a Schleswig boat, laden with coals and coming from Newcastle, steering for Husum, at a small distance from that town, which, when hostilities were suspended, was indisputably in the possession of the allied armies. They placed seals on the boat and its cargo, but the Customs authorities at Husum naturally refused to respect them.

"The above-mentioned examples are sufficient to show that the Prussian Government have a right to complain of the violation of the stipulations of the 9th of May by the Danish authorities. While consenting, therefore, to the prolongation of the suspension of hostilities, they expect that those stipulations shall be executed on the part of the Danish authorities and subjects, in conformity with the views indicated in the present declaration."

M. de Quaade, while reserving the right of replying to the declaration made by the second Plenipotentiary of Prussia, maintains that the terms of the suspension of arms do not appear to him to have been executed by the allied Powers in Jutland in several essential points. He refers to the provisions which stipulate that those Powers should not obstruct the commerce, or the communications, or the regular course of the administration, and cites several examples to prove that these provisions have not been carried out. While observing that Danish ships have been forbidden to enter the ports of Sleswig under the Danish flag, he calls attention more especially to the fact that Danish subjects have been arrested for the crime of treason against His Majesty the King of Prussia, and have been arraigned before German courts-martial, instead of being brought before the tribunals of the country.

Count de Bernstorff observes that it would be impossible for an army of occupation not to take cognizance of the crimes which relate to their military position.

As regards the telegraph, M. de Quaade maintains that the wire was cut before as well as after the suspension of hostilities by the German troops, who, if credit is to be attached to information which, however, is not founded on authenticated reports, have even made fascines with the telegraphic wires. He expresses his deep regret that there should be so much misunderstanding on either side as to the manner of interpreting the terms in question; and alluding to the fact that his Government only consented to the prolongation of a fortnight on condition that an agreement should be come to on this point, he fears that he may find himself compelled no longer to consent to it.

Count de Bernstorff says that the declaration which his colleague has just read has been called forth by the entirely unfounded charges which the Danish Government have made against the allied armies; that notwithstanding, as regards misunderstandings, the Prussian Plenipotentiaries will always be ready to explain them, and to come to an understanding on this subject with the Danish Plenipotentiaries.

M. de Krieger cannot admit as well-founded the principles laid down in M. de Balan's declaration, and according to which, for example, the allied authorities in Jutland claim the right of exercising a censure of the Press, of not respecting the administration of justice, and of dispensing with the payment of import duties. But even leaving principles out of the question, the question of acts remains. As to this latter point, a Customs officer, whose first duty was to see that the laws were executed, has for that very cause been imprisoned and put upon bread and water. Other functionaries have also been imprisoned. M. de Krieger regards these facts as being of the most serious nature.

Baron de Brunnow begs the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers not to make recriminations on either side, but, on the contrary, to do their best to mitigate them. He regards the prolongation of the suspension of arms as a completed act which cannot be undone.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne is of opinion that neither the declaration of

M. de Balan nor the observations of the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark are of a nature to exclude an understanding as to the execution of the suspension of hostilities, and that those Plenipotentiaries should settle the details between themselves.

The Earl of Clarendon considers this idea as perfectly correct. Difficulties of the same kind always exist during the occupation of a foreign country.

Count Wachtmeister thinks that if the question of jurisdiction is to be discussed, it would be better to trace a line of separation between military justice and the administration of ordinary justice in the country.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne states that in general all that relates to the honour and security of an army of occupation is considered as being within the competence of the military tribunals. Unless this was the case, the position of an army occupying a foreign country would be intolerable.

M. de Quaade maintains that an inhabitant of Jutland ought not to be brought before the military tribunals for crimes of which the Danish laws can take cognizance.

Count de Bernstorff replies that the allied army could never entrust its security to the administration of the country which it occupies.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne remarks that whatever may be the spirit of conciliation in which such complicated and delicate questions may be discussed, it is impossible to come to an agreement on every point, and that it must be expected that in practice there should frequently be disputes of jurisdiction. This is the result of the very nature of things and situations.

Baron de Beust observes that M. de Balan's declaration was made with the object of replying to the accusations previously brought forward by the Danish Plenipotentiaries, and that it in no way alters the possibility of settling the question between the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers.

The Earl of Clarendon agrees in the opinion expressed by Baron de Beust. He is convinced that the Danish Plenipotentiaries do not desire to recommence the war on the 12th of June on account of details which can be better arranged between them and the Prussian Plenipotentiaries. He proposes that a sub-Commission of the Conference should be appointed to discuss this subject. It would be difficult for the Conference to take it into consideration.

M. de Balan repeats that the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia will continue to afford their good offices for the arrangement of difficulties of detail, but that there seems to be too much divergence between the views as to the requirements and consequences of any military occupation to admit of any expectation of a direct understanding. The assistance of one of the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers seems to him to be desirable.

The Ambassador of France, having, at the request of the Conference, declared himself ready to afford his assistance, it is agreed that the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, M. de Quaade and M. de Balan shall attempt to settle, as far as possible out of the Conference, the difficulties of detail with regard to the execution of the suspension of arms.

With reference to the question of specifying the date at which the resumption of hostilities shall take place, unless a further prolongation of the suspension is agreed on, it is settled that the suspension expires on the morning of the 26th of June.

The Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers declare their intention of making use of the telegraph to announce the prolongation on which the Conference has just agreed, to the respective Commanders-in-chief of the forces by land and sea.

Passing to the general discussion, Earl Russell quotes the words pronounced by Baron de Brunnow in the sitting of the 12th of May, and reported in Protocol No. 4, where it is said, "that before abandoning a Treaty which has been ratified by the Powers who signed it in the general interests of Europe, it would be necessary to bring forward reasons which should be generally agreed upon as satisfactory. These reasons must be very grave ones. The Treaty of 1852 was concluded with the object of consolidating the peace of the North and preserving the balance of power in Europe. It was concluded not only between the Powers actually at war, but also between all the Powers who were parties to it. Their Representatives, now met in Conference, are assuredly at liberty to exchange their ideas as to new combinations to be adopted, provided that they are of a nature to offer guarantees for the peace of Europe equivalent to those on which the system of the balance of power now rests."

The Principal Secretary of State is of opinion that in the preceding sittings sufficient information has not been furnished to the Conference as to the combinations proposed, and that more solid reasons than those put forward by the German Plenipotentiaries are required to justify a departure from the Treaty of London. It is necessary to know how Denmark could exist as an independent Power under the conditions proposed.

Count de Bernstorff observes that it would be necessary to recommence a discussion

which he thought was finished; and he remarks that in a previous sitting Earl Russell spoke of the frontier as the only important question to be settled, and not of the maintenance of the Treaty of London.

The Earl of Clarendon explains that Earl Russell means that to justify the abandonment of that Treaty clear and sufficient reasons are necessary, and that it is also necessary to provide means for replacing it efficaciously. The first object of the deliberations of the Conference is the independence of Denmark, and it was only in case of the abandonment of the Treaty of London that Earl Russell said that the principal question was that of the frontier. In ceding a part of Sleswig and the whole of Lauenburg, Denmark ought at least to have the advantage of a frontier which should provide for her military and commercial interests.

It appears to the Earl of Clarendon that it would be important to know how the line proposed by the German Plenipotentiaries would afford the necessary guarantees, and on what basis it has been proposed.

Count Apponyi declares that the Governments of Austria and Prussia are perfectly agreed on the line of frontier to be proposed; and Count de Bernstorff adds that the German Plenipotentiaries have consented to restore a part of Schleswig as compensation for the cession of Lauenburg by Denmark. As to the line more to the south than that of Apenrade and Tondern, Count de Bernstorff remarks, that it is not that of his Government, but that he only engaged to recommend it at Berlin.

Count Apponyi observes that the two principles put forward by Denmark and the neutral Powers are the independence and the military and commercial frontier of Denmark. But there is a principle which is of quite as great importance in the eyes of Germany, which is that of the political and administrative independence of the Duchies. This is the motive for which the German Powers made war, and it was only when the combination proposed for this purpose by the allied Powers was declared inadmissible by Denmark that they demanded the separation of the Duchies.

The Earl of Clarendon maintains that the object of the war at its commencement was not the separation of the Duchies from the Danish Monarchy.

Count Apponyi admits that in fact it was not the separation, but the independence, of the Duchies which the German Powers had in view, and that their first intention was to preserve rights which they thought were attacked, and to maintain engagements which had not been observed.

The Earl of Clarendon says that it was then to emancipate an oppressed nationality that war was made by the two German Powers.

Baron de Brunnow observes that if reference is made to the origin of the war, he cannot help recalling the fact that when the allied armies were about to enter Sleswig, the neutral Powers were informed that the intention of the two German Powers was not to detach Sleswig from Denmark, but to take possession of a material guarantee in order to compel the Danish Government to perform the engagements which they had contracted in 1851 and 1852, and which had not been executed. The object of the war was, therefore, neither to separate Sleswig from Denmark, nor to divide that Duchy in two. It is now proposed to detach the two Duchies from the Danish Monarchy. He would wish to know why.

M. de Biegeleben replies that if the German Powers now demand that the two Duchies should be detached from Denmark, it is because the only conditions on which they could have consented to the maintenance of the dynastic union have been considered inadmissible. What might have prevented the war is not sufficient to put an end to it. But Austria and Prussia, after having had recourse to the programme of a complete separation, have given a fresh proof of their love of peace, by proposing to exchange part of Northern Schleswig for the Duchy of Lauenburg.

Baron de Brunnow says that, for his part, far from rejecting the proposal of the personal union, he would have been ready to support it. The instructions of his Court authorized him to do so. But that union was not proposed in a positive manner. It was made subordinate to the judgment which the Diet of Frankfort might pass on the claims which King Christian IX would have to assert as Duke of Holstein. That was not a certain, but a purely conditional combination. It depended on the future decision which the Diet might take. This was no doubt the reason which prevented the Danish Plenipotentiaries from accepting that proposal. Baron de Brunnow concludes by stating that it has not been rejected by the Conference.

The Earl of Clarendon also maintains that the idea of the personal union was not proposed directly to the Conference, but that it was only implied in the plan of the two great German Powers. It is true that Denmark considered it inadmissible for good and valid reasons, and he inquires if the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia can conscientiously

declare that the personal union would have established a solid and durable state of things. He takes the liberty also of asking them whether, in case the personal union had been accepted by Denmark, they did not intend to propose a separate navy, army, and system of finances for the Duchies, as well as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and he is convinced that the German Plenipotentiaries will be the first to recognize that the authority of the King of Denmark would then be only a shadow in the Duchies, and that the state of things which it is desired to remedy would only be prolonged and rendered worse.

M. de Biegeleben replies that the proposal of a personal union was made with perfect good faith; that there is no longer any reason to give motives for it, but that no one could hope by any means to put an end in a day to the discords in the Danish Monarchy, and that by inspiring confidence in the rectitude of their intentions the Danish Government might have secured to themselves a favourable prospect for the future. As to the reservation of a future decision respecting the Succession, it was an inevitable consequence of the principle that acquired rights were to be respected.

Count de Bernstorff thought that this discussion was exhausted. He fears that if it is to be prolonged, it will become impossible to come to an understanding in the fortnight which remains for the Conference.

The Earl of Clarendon repeats that before abandoning the Treaty of London, it is necessary to discover what is to take its place.

M. de Krieger says that, even if a personal and purely dynastic union between Denmark, properly so called, on the one hand, and the united Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein, on the other, had been proposed, which was not the case, the Danish Plenipotentiaries must have rejected it as pernicious, and as leaving to Denmark only a false appearance of the integrity intended by the Treaty of London. But he must expressly observe that the proposal was only that of an eventual personal union between the Kingdom of Denmark, properly so called, and the two Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein. If the personal union combined with the division of Sleswig within the limits of the Tr ey of London had been proposed, the question would have presented itself in a different manner.

M. de Biegeleben observes that this declaration confirms what he said as to the necessity for the German Powers of demanding the separation.

Baron de Brunnow repeats that it was the intention of his Government to support the proposal of a personal union, by which King Christian IX would have been maintained dynastically in the Duchies, with Sleswig attached to Denmark, and Holstein subjected to the Germanic Confederation and to the Federal laws. The Treaty would thus have been maintained, since the rights of the Confederation are therein expressly reserved. His instructions, however, made his support dependent on the previous consent of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

Baron de Beust did not expect to return to a discussion which he had supposed to be concluded; but it appears to him to be impossible to remain silent, especially after the question proposed by the Earl of Clarendon as to the basis of the proposed frontier. He then expresses himself in the following terms:—

"I abstained from taking part in the discussion which took place in the last sitting but one on the question of the frontiers, as I was not authorized to pronounce in favour of any particular line. The instructions which I have since received from the Diet, after having reported on the sitting of the 28th of May, approve the declarations made on that occasion by me, in concert with the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, and consequently it is by them that I have to be guided. Those declarations are recorded in the Protocol. Count de Bernstorff, speaking in the name of the German Plenipotentiaries, gave it to be understood that they would be disposed to cede part of the northern territory of Sleswig, and to consider the surrender of the Duchy of Lauenburg as an equivalent; he said at the same time that the line of demarcation proposed by Her Britannic Majesty's Government would not fulfil the object of a solid and durable peace, since the principal subject of complaint and discontent on the part of the greater portion of the population of Sleswig would not only continue to exist, but would even be infinitely aggravated by their separation from the rest of the Duchies, and their incorporation in the Kingdom of Denmark.

"In my opinion the terms of this declaration clearly show that there was no intention of surrendering any such part of the territory of Sleswig, the population of which should refuse by a majority to accept of such surrender.

"I am happy to be able to state that the Confederation, in taking this view, is able to take advantage of the manner in which the neutral Powers have been pleased to regard the question. The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain understand that the future destiny of the Duchy of Holstein, of the Duchy of Lauenburg, and of the southern part of Sleswig,

shall not be settled without their consent. The Plenipotentiary of France has declared that he maintains the views of his Government, according to which no new state of things can be established in the territories detached from the Danish Monarchy without the concurrence and consent of the population, loyally consulted. Finally, the Plenipotentiary of Sweden has declared that his Government expect that the future fate of the provinces which shall be ceded by the King of Denmark shall not be settled without their consent.

"It seems to me to be impossible to admit that the neutral Powers mean to establish a principle, with the intention of excluding its logical and impartial application. It is impossible for me to suppose that they consider it necessary to consult the populations which are to belong to Germany, in order to ascertain if this prospect is agreeable to them, but that this precaution is useless as regards those which are to remain foreign to it. Finally, it is impossible for me not to remark that I consider Sleswig as having ceased to form part of the Danish Monarchy, and that in conformity with this view it is not from that Monarchy, but to its advantage, that it is proposed to detach part of Sleswig, with the consent of its Sovereign, who will not refuse to give due consideration to the wishes of the population."

Baron de Brunnow is desirous of affirming that although Baron de Beust considers Sleswig as having ceased to form part of the Danish Monarchy, the neutral Powers take a diametrically opposite view of the question. As to the proposal of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, put forward in the sitting of the 28th of May, they merely meant to speak of the southern part of Sleswig, and not of the whole Duchy.

Baron de Beust claims the right of expressing his opinions, without having the pretension of imposing them on the other Plenipotentiaries. On his part he has been unable to agree in the opinion of the Plenipotentiary of Russia, who regards Sleswig as an integral part of the Danish Monarchy. As to the second point, he will only remark that it is impossible for him to admit an unequal application of the principle established, and that if the population in the southern part of Sleswig are to be consulted on the subject of their future destiny, the same should be the case with the population in the northern part of that Duchy.

Baron de Brunnow maintains that at no period has the Germanic Confederation extended its power beyond its frontiers. Holstein only, and not Sleswig, is represented in the Diet. In support of this fact he cites the Constitutive Act of the Germanic Confederation concluded at Vienna in 1815, and he recalls the fact that that Act was signed for the King of Denmark by two Counts de Bernstorff. That Act clearly establishes that Denmark is represented at the Diet solely for Holstein, and not for Sleswig.

Count de Bernstorff replies that no one has ever pretended that Denmark was represented at the Diet for Sleswig.

The Earl of Clarendon inquires of Baron de Beust when Sleswig ceased, in his opinion, to form part of the Danish Monarchy. Was it in consequence of the death of the late King, or by the right of conquest?

Baron de Beust having replied that it was in consequence of the death of the late King, the Earl of Clarendon observes that in that case the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation is in contradiction with the allied Powers, since the latter have invaded Sleswig and occupied it as a provisional guarantee.

Baron de Beust admits that Baron de Brunnow's observation is correct as far as concerns the Federal Act, but he maintains that the Confederation is also interested in Sleswig. As to the Treaty of London, it does not exist for the Confederation, which has never recognized it. The question of Succession in Denmark presents itself in a different manner from that in the Duchies, that is to say, that the order of Succession is agnatic in the latter, and cognate in the Kingdom. The question for the Confederation at first, was, to ascertain who was the legitimate Sovereign of Holstein; but as the Duke of Holstein is also called upon to succeed in Sleswig in consequence of the same agnatic Succession, it is the duty of the Plenipotentiary of the Confederation to watch over the manner in which Sleswig shall be disposed of, and to make known the opinions which prevail in the Diet. The two Great German Powers may have adopted a different course, but their views have assimilated more and more, and the understanding between the Confederation and the German Powers is now perfectly solid.

Baron de Brunnow referring to an observation made by Baron de Beust, asks how the death of the late King of Denmark, Frederick VII, can have given to Germany rights which she did not possess before his decease? The death of that Sovereign could become neither a motive of conquest nor a right of Succession for Germany.

Baron de Beust explains that Germany does not wish arbitrarily to extend her limits, but only to protect the rights of a Member of the Confederation over another country. It has been a case of protecting the rights of the Duke of Holstein.

Baron de Brunnow opposes this theory. The question of the frontiers of the Confe-

deration is settled by the Acts of the Congress of Vienna. This question does not concern Germany alone, it concerns Europe. The Confederation cannot extend its territory without the adhesion of the other Powers.

M. de Balan observes that this question digresses from that of the Succession, and remarks that Baron de Beust has said that the question of the admission of Schleswig into the Confederation was reserved.

The Earl of Clarendon remarks, that although Baron de Beust does not recognize the existence of the Treaty of London, that Treaty has been adhered to by the principal Members of the Confederation.

Baron de Beust repeats that it is impossible for him to admit any obligation for the Confederation resulting from the Treaty. He thinks it right to recall the fact that he has been invited to the Conference to follow its deliberations, and because, as he supposes, it is desired to have the concurrence of the Confederation, which is not a belligerent Power, and on whom consequently it does not depend to propose conditions of peace, but whose consent will not be the less indispensable.

Earl Russell thinks it right again to observe that up to the 31st of January last, Austria and Prussia recognized the principle of the integrity of Denmark.

Count de Bernstorff reiterates his observation that they are returning to a discussion which has been exhausted in the preceding sittings, and that if this discussion is to recommence there is no longer any hope of coming to an understanding in the fortnight which remains.

M. de Biegeleben does not think it necessary to enter into explanations on the questions which have arisen between Baron de Beust and the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Russia. He considers it the less necessary as the Plenipotentiary of the Confederation, in the declaration which he has just read, has only expressed himself in his personal character. He cannot help making this latter observation also with regard to the manner of ascertaining the assent of the Duchies to the conditions of peace. Up to the present time, the Germanic Diet has taken no resolution and expressed no opinion on this subject.

Count Wachtmeister says, that if, as he understands him, Baron de Beust considers that the death of the late King gives to the Duke of Holstein the same rights of agnatic Succession in Sleswig as in Holstein, he must state that, in his opinion, Sleswig ought on the contrary to follow the same order of Succession as Denmark Proper, with which the Duchy of Sleswig has been incorporated, as far as concerns the law of Succession, by the Acts of 1720.

M. de Krieger thinks he may abstain from a discussion on the political position of the Duchy of Sleswig, that position being determined by the public law of Europe. He desires however to remark with regard to an expression which Baron de Beust has used several times "that Germany was interested in Sleswig," that it is necessary to distinguish between interest and right. As concerns the observation made by Baron de Beust, that the Treaty of London does not exist for the Germanic Confederation, he observes that that Confederation is composed of independent Sovereigns. Those Sovereigns ought to be bound at Frankfort by what they have resolved elsewhere.

Baron de Beust replies, that the interest which Germany takes in Sleswig is inspired by a perfect legitimate feeling of right. As to the question of Succession, on the point to which Count Wachtmeister has alluded, he is ready to discuss it; but he is afraid of occupying the Conference for too long a time.

M. de Quaade is desirous of making a further observation on a point relative to the consent of the populations. Referring to his declaration of the 2nd of June, he remarks that King Christian IX has only consented to an eventual territorial cession on the express condition that he should remain the independent Sovereign of the territories which should not be ceded.

Baron de Beust maintains his view.

Returning to the question of the frontier and referring to the different lines which had been proposed, Earl Russell says, that it ought to be possible to come to an arrangement, while protecting the interests of Europe and the political independence of Denmark.

M. de Balan inquires why the line of Apenrade should not be recognized as sufficient for that purpose.

The Earl of Clarendon is desirous of knowing what can be the reasons which have induced the proposal of this line. The line proposed by the English Plenipotentiaries was chosen as a good commercial and military line. He begs also to state that that line was not proposed without the concurrence of the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, who have supported it in the Conference.

Count de Bernstorff does not see that the English line unites these advantages. That line has, in his opinion, no basis: for it is neither a good military line, since the events of the war have sufficiently proved that it cannot be held against a large army; nor a national line, since it does not divide the nationalities, and would even leave the greater part of the purely German districts under the Danish rule.

Replying to the Earl of Clarendon's question, Count de Bernstorff says that the first object of the line proposed by the German Powers was to exchange the Duchy of Lauenburg for a portion of Northern Schleswig; that subsequently, when it was represented on the part of the neutral Powers that a good military line was requisite for Denmark, and that that of Apenrade did not satisfy this requirement, the Prussian Plenipotentiaries declared themselves ready to recommend to their Government a line more to the south, namely, that which would leave to Denmark the position of Alsen and Duppel, and would thus give her, with the other position of Funen and Fredericia, a line of defence much stronger, as the late war had proved it to be, than that of the Schley and of the Dannewirke; that, moreover, this line possessed the great advantage of dividing the two nationalities better than any other line, since it was that which had since the Reformation and till 1848, separated the use of the German and Danish languages in church and school. Count de Bernstorff considers these reasons for suggesting the line in question as very good reasons. He, however, reiterates his remark that he could only promise to recommend it to his Government, and that he is not yet authorized to propose it, since nothing has as yet been done on the opposite side to respond to the German proposals.

Earl Russell observes that this line has not been accepted by Austria.

Count Apponyi replies that according to his instructions he is authorized to accept it.

In M. de Biegeleben's opinion the line from Flensburg to Tondern is also a good commercial line.

The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark maintain that the nationality of the mixed districts of Sleswig is essentially Danish.

Count de Bernstorff insists on the necessity of consulting the population themselves to ascertain the true state of things.

In consequence of an inquiry made by Earl Russell, M. de Quaade remarks that his Government have declared themselves ready to make great sacrifices to attain the restoration of peace, but that there are limits beyond which they cannot go. In order to go as far as possible in the path of concession the Danish Government might adopt the English proposal of the 28th of May in its totality; they might therefore more especially adopt the frontier proposed by Earl Russell, that is to say, a line of demarcation starting from the mouth of the Slei and following the Dannewirke to the town of Friedrichstadt.

M. de Krieger offers some observations against the line proposed by the Ambassadors of Austria and Prussia, which line would only leave to Denmark the most northern part of Sleswig. He observes that His Majesty the King of Denmark would not consent to Lauenburg being regarded as a compensation for the purely Danish part of Sleswig.

Count de Bernstorff says that he had good reason to say in the last sitting that they were farther from an understanding than was supposed.

Baron de Brunnow again begs the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers to endeavour to draw nearer to the object which they have in view, instead of going further from it.

Earl Russell having declared that the line traced from the mouth of the Slei and following the line of the Dannewirke to Friedrichstadt seems to him to satisfy the conditions which the Conference has in view, Count de Bernstorff maintains that the line from Flensburg to Tondern satisfies them still better.

The discussion is adjourned to Saturday, the 18th of June, at 1 o'clock, in order that in the meantime the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers may use their efforts to bring about an understanding between the belligerent parties.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 10.—*Séance du* 18 *Juin*, 1864.

Présents:

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff prend la parole et dit:—

"J'ai à faire la déclaration suivante au nom des Plénipotentiaires Prussiens:

"'Nous avons déjà itérativement fait remarquer que la Conférence, pour avoir les informations dont elle a besoin, devait être éclairée sur les vœux des populations du pays dont l'avenir fait l'objet de ses délibérations. Guidés par cette conviction, et d'ordre de notre Gouvernement, nous demandons que les habitants du Schleswig soient consultés au sujet des dispositions à adopter à leur égard, et qu'il ne soit pas décidé du sort d'une partie ou de la totalité de ces populations, sans que préalablement leurs vœux aient été loyalement constatés. Nous sommes autorisés à discuter le mode de l'exécution et l'étendue de l'application à donner au principe dont nous proposons l'adoption.' "

Sur la demande de M. le Comte Russell si les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche adhèrent à cette déclaration, M. le Comte Apponyi s'est exprimé en ces termes:—

"Les Plénipotentiaires Autrichiens se joignent à la déclaration qui vient d'être lue par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens, en tant que selon l'opinion du Gouvernement Impérial le but de l'œuvre de la paix ne pourra être complètement atteint que moyennant le consentement des Duchés, exprimé par l'organe de leur Souverain et de leurs Représentants légalement constitués.

"Ils doivent cependant faire observer qu'à leur avis la question de la cession d'une partie du Schleswig intéresse presqu'autant le Holstein que le Schleswig, et qu'elle n'est pas de nature à être décidée par le vœu des populations consultées par districts ou par paroisses. Sous ce rapport ils ne peuvent que se référer aux réserves qu'ils ont faites précédemment à ce sujet."

M. de Quaade se réfère à la déclaration qu'il a faite dans la séance du 2 Juin au nom du Gouvernement Danois. Il rappelle que le Roi de Danemark n'a consenti à une cession territoriale éventuelle qu'à condition d'obtenir par là une existence indépendante et parfaitement autonome pour ce qui lui resterait de ses Etats, et qu'il n'a été nullement question de consulter les populations des territoires qui doivent rester attachés au Danemark. Ce n'est que dans la partie qui serait cédée que l'on devrait tenir compte des vœux des populations.

M. de Krieger trouve également cette proposition inacceptable. Il comprend que dans des circonstances tout-à-fait extraordinaires on ait recours aux procédés exceptionnels de la consultation d'une nation; mais ces circonstances extraordinaires ne se présentent pas, et il n'existe pas proprement une nationalité Slesvicoise. Une proposition comme celle qui vient d'être faite, renferme une *petitio principii;* il faudrait d'abord qu'il eût été prouvé qu'une partie des populations soumises au Roi de Danemark devait être détachée des autres populations. Pourquoi ne consulter que les sujets Slesvicois du Roi de Danemark? Pourquoi ne pas aussi consulter tous les autres sujets de Sa Majesté? Cette proposition ne pose donc pas le principe des nationalités, mais plutôt le principe d'une autonomie provinciale toute extraordinaire: elle applique singulièrement aux exigences qu'on veut fonder sur une guerre un procédé auquel en général on n'a recours que dans les révolutions.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit que le but de la Conférence doit être de tomber d'accord sur une ligne de frontière, et que pour cela il serait nécessaire de connaître les vœux des populations intéressées dans la question.

M. le Baron de Brunnow s'exprime ainsi:—

"Je regrette de me trouver dans l'obligation de déclarer que je diffère entièrement de l'opinion énoncée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse. Le sentiment de regret que j'éprouve est d'autant plus vif qu'il m'est pénible d'être en désaccord avec les Représentants d'une Puissance unie à la Russie par les liens d'une amitié intime. Mais si je dois de justes égards aux propositions d'une Puissance amie, j'ai des devoirs à remplir envers la Cour que j'ai l'honneur de représenter. Je dois, avant tout, maintenir les

principes qui servent de règle à la politique de l'Empereur. Je m'éloignerais de ces principes si j'admettais l'appel que MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse proposent de faire aux populations du Slesvig. Dans quel but veut-on les consulter? Il s'agit de les interroger pour savoir s'ils veulent rester fidèles à leur Souverain? Et sous quelles circonstances cette consultation aura-t-elle lieu? Elle se fera tandis que le pays est placé sous le régime d'une occupation militaire?"

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie a rappelé ici les évènements qui ont amené cette occupation. Les Cours d'Autriche et de Prusse ont déclaré qu'en prenant possession du Duché de Slesvig, elles considéraient ce pays comme un gage matériel, entre leurs mains, afin d'obliger le Danemark à remplir ses engagements envers l'Allemagne. Aujourd'hui, après avoir militairement occupé ce Duché, la Prusse, loin de restituer ce gage à son Souverain, propose d'en appeler aux habitants afin qu'ils décident à qui ils veulent appartenir. C'est aux paysans de Slesvig qu'on s'adresse pour qu'ils tracent la frontière d'une contrée qui forme en ce moment l'objet des délibérations de la Conférence de Londres? Est-ce là le but dans lequel les Représentants des grandes Puissances ont été appelés à se réunir à Londres? Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie est loin de l'admettre. Dans son opinion, les Puissances alliées ont reconnu la nécessité de se concerter avec les autres Puissances signataires du Traité de 1852 sur les arrangements qu'il conviendrait de substituer à cette transaction, après une entente établie d'un commun accord. Aujourd'hui, au lieu d'arriver à cette entente par les efforts, par les conseils réunis, des Représentants des Grandes Puissances de l'Europe, voudrait-on consulter les populations du Slesvig, pour subordonner à leur avis les actes de la Conférence! Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie, pour sa part, ne saurait donner son assentiment à cette proposition.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff ne voit pas pourquoi M. le Baron de Brunnow a parlé exclusivement des paysans; il y a d'autres habitants dans le Duché de Schleswig: et il n'est pas même dit que les habitants doivent décider, mais que la Conférence devrait être éclairée sur les vœux des populations du pays dont l'avenir fait l'objet de ses délibérations. Quant à la question de l'occupation militaire pendant la consultation, elle n'a pas encore été discutée.

M. le Baron de Brunnow dit que la proposition de consulter les sujets du Roi de Danemark en vue de le déposséder serait une combinaison nouvelle de fait et un principe inadmissible en droit. Il regrette de l'entendre émettre par M. le Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond qu'il n'est pas question dans la proposition de déposséder le Roi de Danemark, mais seulement d'éclairer la Conférence sur la meilleure ligne de démarcation à tracer.

M. de Quaade rappelle de nouveau qu'une cession territoriale n'a été admise que conditionnellement par son Gouvernement, qui s'est réservé le droit de revenir au Traité de Londres.

Sur cette observation, M. le Comte de Bernstorff donne lecture de la déclaration qui suit:—

"Comme dans la dernière séance de la Conférence, la question de la position des deux Puissances Allemandes à l'égard du Traité de Londres de 1852, que nous avions cru vidée par les longues discussions réitérées qui ont rempli les premières séances, nommément celle du 12 Mai, a de nouveau été discutée, nous nous voyons obligés, pour dissiper tous les doutes qui semblent encore subsister à cet égard, de faire la déclaration suivante, qui est exactement conforme aux instructions précises que nous avons reçues de la part de notre Gouvernement à ce sujet.

"Jusqu'à la mort du Roi Frédéric VII les Puissances Allemandes pouvaient espérer que la Couronne de Danemark remplirait les obligations contractées envers elles, et que par-là, et par la présentation, omise jusque-là, d'un projet de loi sur la Succession au Trône aux Etats des Duchés, l'ordre de Succession prévu par le Traité de Londres acquerrait complètement force de loi, avant que le cas prévu de la vacance du Trône arrivât.

"La mort du Roi non-seulement fit évanouir ces espérances, mais son successeur au Trône Danois manifesta immédiatement, par l'Acte du 18 Novembre, son intention de ne pas remplir ces obligations.

"Immédiatement après, le Gouvernement Prussien a insisté sur la connexité de ces obligations avec l'ordre de Succession projeté, entre autres dans sa dépêche à l'Ambassadeur du Roi à Londres en date du 23 Novembre, et a déclaré à plusieurs reprises que, d'après cela, il devait se croire en droit de ne plus considérer le Traité de 1852 comme obligatoire.

"Il ajoutait que s'il ne proclamait pas immédiatement sa renonciation au Traité, il ne le faisait que par égard pour les autres Puissances, et dans l'espoir que le Danemark, en

revenant sur la rupture ouverte de ses obligations, pourrait rétablir les conditions préliminaires de cet arrangement, et offrir la possibilité du maintien de la paix.

"Même lorsque cet espoir fut déçu, lorsqu'au 1er Janvier la Constitution contraire aux stipulations internationales non seulement n'eut pas été retirée pour le Schleswig, mais eut été mise en vigueur, les deux Puissances Allemandes n'ont pas encore voulu faire un usage immédiat de leur droit. Au moment encore où le Danemark les avait obligées à prendre des mesures guerrières, elles ont déclaré, par la dépêche du 31 Janvier, qu'elles n'avaient pas l'intention de mettre en question le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise. Mais en même temps elles ont déclaré expressément qu'une persistance ultérieure du Danemark dans la voie où il était entré, les obligerait à faire des sacrifices qui pourraient leur imposer le devoir de renoncer aux combinaisons de 1852 et de chercher à s'entendre avec les Puissances signataires du Traité de Londres sur un ordre de choses différent. Le cas est complètement arrivé.'

"Le Gouvernement Danois a poussé jusqu'à la dernière extrémité la persistance dans son refus, et a continué la résistance armée jusqu'au dernier moment.

"Après tous ces événements, le Gouvernement du Roi ne peut plus d'aucune façon se croire lié par les obligations qu'il avait contractées le 8 Mai, 1852, sous d'autres pré-suppositions. Le Traité a été conclu par lui avec le Danemark et non avec d'autres Puissances, et ce n'est qu'entre Copenhague et Berlin que les ratifications ont été échangées, et non entre Berlin et Londres ou St. Pétersbourg, &c. Si même, ce que notre Gouvernement n'accorde pas, le Traité de Londres eût été destiné à créer des obligations entre la Prusse et les Puissances neutres, ces obligations seraient caduques avec le Traité même, du moment que celui-ci le deviendrait par le non-accomplissement de ses conditions préliminaries.

"En conséquence, et conformément à sa déclaration du 31 Janvier, le Gouvernement du Roi se considère comme entièrement libre de toutes obligations qui pourraient être déduites du Traité de Londres de 1852, et en droit de discuter toute autre combinaison d'une façon complètement indépendante de ce Traité.

"Il est dans la nature des rapports politiques que le Gouvernement du Roi essaie de trouver, en commun avec les autres Grandes Puissances, la solution d'une question dont il n'a jamais méconnu la portée Européenne, et il n'a fait que reconnaître ces rapports naturels par le dernier passage de la déclaration du 31 Janvier. En acceptant l'invitation du Gouvernement Anglais à la Conférence, il a en outre prouvé par le fait qu'il est prêt à rechercher et à discuter en commun les moyens d'y parvenir."

M. le Comte de Clarendon fait observer que le Gouvernement Prussien cherche à introduire dans le droit des gens des changements très importants et très graves, en voulant établir comme principe que parceque les ratifications d'un Traité n'ont été échangées qu'avec une seule Puissance par chacune des autres Puissances signataires, celles-ci seraient déliées à leur gré de leurs obligations réciproques. Ce serait une doctrine également nouvelle et dangereuse, contre laquelle il est de son devoir de protester.

Il rappelle le Traité réglant la fermeture du Bosphore aux bâtiments de guerre étrangers, dont les ratifications n'ont été échangées qu'avec la Porte, mais qui a toujours été regardé comme obligatoire sur toutes les Puissances co-signataires. "Admettez une fois," dit-il, "qu'il est de la compétence de chaque Puissance, sous un prétexte quelconque et à sa convenance, de rompre les engagements solennels d'un Traité, le droit international de l'Europe serait bouleversé : il n'aurait ni force ni autorité." Il s'associe aux observations de M. le Baron de Brunnow en ce qui concerne la premiere déclaration de M. le Comte de Bernstorff, dont le but est de faire détrôner le Roi de Danemark. C'est là le véritable résultat qu'on veut obtenir en demandant aux sujets du Roi s'ils veulent rester, ou non, sous son autorité. C'est encore là un principe nouveau et dangereux, qu'il a entendu avec une pénible surprise.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit qu'il n'a parlé spécialement ni de bourgeois ni de paysans. Il désire surtout que ce soient les Etats du pays qui aient à se prononcer, et il ne comprend pas la surprise de Lord Clarendon. Il cite la cession des Iles Ioniennes, et la consultation des vœux de leurs habitants à cet égard, comme l'exemple le plus récent, donné par l'Angleterre elle-même, de l'application de ce principe, qui n'est nullement aussi dangereux que le principe proclamé dans des pièces officielles émanées du Cabinet Britannique, d'après lequel chaque peuple qui ne serait pas content de son Gouvernement aurait le droit de le renvoyer et de s'en donner un autre. Le principe qu'il propose n'est pas non plus nouveau, puisqu'il a été appliqué dans les derniers temps presque à tous les pays qui ont changé de Maître. Il cite entre autres Naples, la Toscane, la Savoie et Nice.

M. le Comte de Clarendon répond que l'Angleterre n'était pas Souveraine des Iles

Ioniennes, mais qu'elle en avait accepté le Protectorat dans un interêt Européen. Elle s'était déclarée prête à abandonner ce Protectorat avec l'assentiment des autres Puissances, si c'était le vœu général des populations.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond à une observation de M. le Comte de Clarendon, que le Traité de Londres n'est point un Traité garantissant la Monarchie Danoise, qu'au contraire il a été expressément constaté lors de sa conclusion qu'il ne donnait aucune garantie, ce qui est admis par Lord Clarendon.

M. le Baron de Brunnow rappelle que les Iles Ioniennes formaient un Etat indépendant, et qu'il ne s'agissait nullement de les détacher de leur Souverain. La question qu'il fallait résoudre se réduisait à savoir si le Gouvernement des Iles Ioniennes désirait rester sous le Protectorat Anglais en conservant son indépendance, ou bien s'il préférait y renoncer pour se réunir au Royaume Hellénique. C'est dans ce but que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique a consulté les vœux du Parlement Ionien. Cette détermination a été prise de concert avec les Représentants réunis en Conférence à Londres. M. l'Ambassadeur de Prusse ne saurait l'avoir oublié, parcequ'il a pris part lui-même aux délibérations de cette Conférence. Il devrait se persuader ainsi que l'exemple des Iles Ioniennes, auquel il se réfère, ne s'applique en rien à sa proposition actuelle de consulter les habitants du Slesvig, qu'ils soient paysans ou bourgeois.

Quant au Traité de Londres, M. le Baron de Brunnow s'associe en entier aux observations faites par M. le Comte de Clarendon.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff demande à citer un autre exemple que M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie admettra peut-être, puisque le Gouvernement de Russie y a lui-même concouru, c'est celui de la Grèce, où une révolution a eu lieu, et où un nouveau Souverain a été établi en vertu d'un plébiscite. Il ne comprend pas l'application d'un principe dans un cas, et sa répudiation dans l'autre.

M. le Baron de Brunnow répond que la Grèce n'a pas été occupée par la Russie comme le Slesvig est occupé par les troupes Prussiennes; que la Grèce n'a pas été considérée non plus comme un gage matériel; enfin que le Gouvernement Impérial a concouru à reconnaître un Souverain élevé au Trône par l'Assemblée Nationale de la Grèce, mais qu'il n'a pas consulté les habitants de la Grèce pour le déposséder.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répète qu'il n'est pas question de déposséder un Souverain, mais d'éclairer la Conférence sur des faits. Il est aussi prématuré de parler de la consultation des habitants du Schleswig pendant qu'il est occupé par les troupes Prussiennes, puisque les modalités de la proposition n'ont pas encore été discutées.

M. le Comte Russell tient à rappeler qu'il s'agissait en Grèce d'une révolution populaire, et que les Grecs avaient déjà constitué eux-mêmes un Gouvernement Provisoire. Revenant à la question du Danemark, M. le Comte Russell ajoute que le Traité de 1852 a eu pour objet de reconnaître le Roi comme Duc dans les Duchés. Quand Sa Majesté le Roi actuel a succédé après la mort du feu Roi, il a été reconnu dans tous ses Etats, et sans l'intervention de l'Allemagne il n'y aurait eu nulle part une succession plus paisible, ni plus régulière. C'est la Proclamation du Duc d'Augustenbourg dans le Holstein et l'invasion du Slesvig qui ont provoqué le mouvement insurrectionnel. La Révolution n'a pas été faite par les habitants, mais par les armées alliées.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens doivent protester contre cette manière de représenter les faits, et M. le Comte de Bernstorff soutient que ce sont au contraire les armées alliées qui ont empêché la révolution qui aurait éclaté tôt ou tard.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne fait observer qu'une analogie complète ne parait pas exister entre les situations auxquelles il a été fait allusion. Dans tous les cas, le principe du partage du Slesvig ayant été admis de part et d'autre, il ne s'agit plus que de trouver le tracé de la nouvelle frontière. Il y a là un but déterminé. La consultation pourrait s'appliquer aux districts mixtes, sans s'appliquer à tout le Duché de Slesvig.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff rappelle qu'il a fini sa déclaration en disant que le mode de l'exécution, ainsi que l'étendue de l'exécution à y donner, étaient à discuter.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne avait cru comprendre qu'il s'agissait, dans la proposition émise par M. le Comte de Bernstorff, d'une consultation générale du Slesvig, et non pas d'une consultation limitée aux populations qui en seraient détachées et aux districts mixtes.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister a cru jusqu'ici que les seules populations à consulter étaient celles habitant dans les districts qui seraient volontairement cédés par le Danemark. Il considère comme impraticable de fixer le tracé d'une frontière d'après le vote des populations.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff ne trouve pas que les différents points de vue soient complètement divergents. La question est ouverte, selon lui, pour la discussion relative-

ment à l'étendue de la consultation, pour décider si elle doit être appliquée à une partie ou à la totalité du Duché.

M. de Krieger, se référant à la déclaration de M. le Comte de Bernstorff sur la consultation des Slesvicois, ainsi qu'à l'assertion que les populations se seraient soulevées, si l'armée alliée n'était pas entrée dans le pays, déclare devoir formellement protester contre cette assertion. On ne saurait parler maintenant comme si une révolution dans le pays avait été prochaine. Il y a eu guerre, mais non pas une révolution. Il tient à constater que les Slesvicois étaient sujets fidèles du Roi, et qu'ils n'auraient pas eux-mêmes pris les armes. Le Danemark n'a pas accepté d'une manière générale le principe du partage, mais il a adhéré à une certaine ligne de démarcation, en exigeant en retour certaines garanties politiques, commerciales, et stratégiques. La question du Slesvig ne peut pas être réduite à une question de nationalité.

M. le Baron de Beust fait observer que les Slesvicois étant Danois selon M. de Krieger, il serait facile de le prouver par une consultation dont le résultat devrait être satisfaisant pour le Danemark. En le proposant on repousse le reproche si souvent entendu d'avoir envahi le Schleswig par esprit de conquête. Il serait juste d'accepter cet ordre de procéder. M. le Comte de Bernstorff a dit que le but de la proposition est d'aplanir les difficultés qui s'opposent au réglement de la question. Des points de vue très opposés se trouvent en présence. MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark et des Puissances neutres ont dit que le Schleswig fait toujours partie de la Monarchie Danoise, et qu'il ne s'agit que d'en détacher une partie. De son côté, il a soutenu à différentes reprises, que le Schleswig a cessé de faire partie de la Monarchie Danoise. Si, dans cette circonstance, il a pris sur lui d'exprimer une opinion qui n'avait pas encore été émise par la Diète, il peut dire maintenant que cette opinion a été confirmée et approuvée depuis par la Diète, qui ne saurait adopter la manière de voir de ces Plénipotentiaires au sujet de la disposition à faire de la partie septentrionale du Schleswig. La proposition de M. le Comte de Bernstorff n'aurait pas pour résultat inévitable que le Roi de Danemark fût dépossédé : elle est faite dans un esprit de paix et de conciliation, et nullement pour faire voter contre le Danemark. Libre aux populations de se prononcer, ce moyen d'arriver à une solution n'est pas aussi impraticable qu'on semble le croire. Une fois qu'on adopte le principe que c'est la population qui doit décider elle-même de son sort, les Puissances se trouveraient sur un terrain neutre. M. le Plénipotentiaire de France a rappelé que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont accepté le partage du Schleswig en principe. Mais pourquoi? Ils l'ont accepté, sachant qu'au Nord du Schleswig il existe une population qu'on prétend être Danoise et vouloir être Danoise. Eh bien, qu'on le constate. MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois ont soutenu que les Schlesvicois sont très Danois dans leurs sentiments. Il est cependant notoire qu'il y a eu beaucoup de manifestations dans ce Duché en faveur de l'Allemagne, et il serait impossible pour la Confédération d'abandonner des populations placées aujourd'hui sous la protection des armes Allemandes. Il s'agit plutôt de trouver une issue pratique que d'introduire un nouveau principe, et il faut employer des moyens qui donneraient à chaque Partie la possibilité de se prononcer. Il ne peut pas nier que la nationalité ne soit en cause. La ligne de démarcation devrait se régler principalement d'après les éléments qui se trouvent de l'un ou de l'autre côté. On a parlé de regrets. Il y a plus d'une Cour Allemande qui a regretté de voir reconnu par des Gouvernements professant des principes conservateurs un état de choses détrônant des Princes légitimes au moyen d'une invasion et du suffrage universel. Ici il ne s'agit pas même de rien d'analogue.

M. le Baron de Brunnow a résumé la discussion en ces termes : " Dans cette réunion, nous choisissons des voies quelquefois divergentes pour arriver à un but qui nous est commun : je veux dire, le rétablissement de la paix. La proposition que MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse viennent d'émettre dans ce but n'a pas rencontré, au sein de la Conférence, un assentiment unanime. MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Cour d'Autriche ont constaté en combien leurs vues diffèrent de celle de la Prusse. MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont prononcé leur dissentiment d'une manière encore plus formelle. J'ai été dans l'obligation de m'exprimer dans le même esprit. M. l'Ambassadeur de France a restreint la question aux districts mixtes, sans l'étendre au delà. M. le Ministre de Suède et Norvège n'a point voulu préjuger à cet égard les intentions des Plénipotentiaires du Danemark. Leur réponse est décisive. Elle décline la proposition Prussienne appuyée par M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique seul. Le résultat de cette délibération atteste que le mode de la solution indiquée par la Cour de Prusse n'a pas réuni les suffrages de la Conférence."

Après avoir constaté ce résultat, M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie a cru devoir inviter M. le Président à vouloir bien prendre en considération la nécessité d'aviser à une autre combinaison de nature à faciliter une transaction désirable.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff demande à répondre d'abord à une observation de Lord Clarendon sur le principe qui avait été posé dans la déclaration Prussienne ayant rapport au Traité de Londres, et fait remarquer qu'il n'y a, autant qu'il sait, que deux Traités dont les ratifications n'ont été échangées qu'avec une seule Puissance par les Puissances co-signataires, c'est-à-dire, le Traité de Londres de 1852, et celui avec la Porte sur le Détroit des Dardanelles, et que l'on ne peut rien en déduire pour les autres Traités, puisque ces deux Traités ont spécialement été conclus en faveur des deux Puissances avec lesquelles les ratifications ont été exclusivement échangées par les autres Puissances co-signataires.

M. le Baron de Brunnow soutient que c'est plutôt une question à décider entre Cabinets qu'à examiner en Conférence. Il s'associe d'ailleurs à l'avis de M. le Comte de Clarendon à ce sujet. Il a lui-même signé le Traité relatif à la Grèce, dont les ratifications n'ont été échangées qu'avec la Cour d'Athènes. Si l'une des Puissances co-signataires venait à manquer à ses engagements, elle donnerait par là lieu de plainte aux deux autres.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff rappelle que le Traité avec la Grèce est un Traité qui contient la garantie de ce Royaume par les trois Puissances.

M. le Comte de Clarendon ne peut pas admettre que des obligations réciproques n'ont pas été contractées par le Traité de Londres.

M. le Comte Russell répondant alors à l'invitation de M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie, donne lecture d'une proposition ainsi conçue :—

" Plusieurs semaines se sont passées depuis que nous nous sommes réunis en Conférence. La dernière suspension d'armes n'a été conclue que pour l'espace de quinze jours, et elle doit expirer le 26 de ce mois.

" Mais tout imminent que paraisse le renouvellement de la guerre, on ne saurait dire que nous n'avons fait aucun progrès vers le rétablissement de la paix. Les propositions que j'ai faites dans la séance du 28 Mai, et qui avaient obtenu l'assentiment préalable des Puissances neutres, ont été acceptées par le Danemark dans des termes presque identiques avec ceux dont je me suis servi en les proposant à la Conférence, ainsi que dans leur principe par les Puissances Allemandes belligérantes. MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, en donnant leur consentement à la cession des Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg et au partage de Slesvig, ont demandé que la ligne de démarcation soit tracée au sud d'Eckernforde, et au sud de la ville de Slesvig, suivant la ligne du Dannewirke jusqu'à Friederickstadt. MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands belligérants ont proposé l'adoption d'une ligne de démarcation qui partirait d'Apenrade et finirait à Tondern et Hoyer. Le point principal du désaccord se trouve donc réduit à des limites qui n'excluent pas l'espoir d'un rapprochement.

" Aussi longtemps que de graves intérêts, ainsi que l'honneur de l'Allemagne et du Danemark, paraissaient dépendre de la lutte, la proposition qui a été faite par Lord Clarendon au Congrès de Paris en 1856, qui y a obtenu l'adhésion de l'Autriche, de la France, de la Prusse, de la Russie, et de la Turquie, et qui plus tard a été adoptée par toutes les Puissances principales du monde, exprimant le vœu que les Etats entre lesquels s'éleverait un dissentiment sérieux eussent recours aux bons offices d'une Puissance amie avant d'en appeler aux armes, eût été inapplicable.

" Mais maintenant que la principale question en dispute s'est réduite à celle de tracer une frontière à quelques lieues plus ou moins au nord, quand les deux parties belligérantes ont soutenu avec éclat l'honneur de leurs armes, et quand la reprise des hostilités produirait une phase nouvelle de calamités douloureuses pour l'humanité et peu dignes de la civilisation de notre siècle, les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne croient remplir un devoir sacré en proposant aux Puissances belligérantes, c'est-à-dire, à l'Autriche, à la Prusse, et au Danemark, de faire appel à une Puissance amie, afin qu'une ligne de frontière soit tracée, qui ne passerait ni au sud de la ligne indiquée par le Danemark, ni au nord de celle désignée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands."

M. le Baron de Brunnow ayant eu l'honneur de représenter Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie au Congrès de Paris en qualité de second Plénipotentiaire, constate l'assentiment que Sa Majesté Impériale a accordé à la déclaration proposée alors par Lord Clarendon. Il croit par conséquent se conformer aux intentions de Sa Majesté en s'associant entièrement à la proposition émise dans la même pensée par M. le Comte Russell. Il se fera un devoir de solliciter à cet effet l'approbation de sa Cour.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne dit qu'il se trouve, comme M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie, sans instructions spéciales par rapport à la proposition qui est soumise à la Conférence ; mais cette proposition s'accorde entièrement avec un principe d'humanité proclamé dans le Congrès de Paris, et admis depuis par la plupart des Puissances de l'Europe ; elle est d'ailleurs tellement conforme à l'esprit de conciliation et de paix qui a dicté toutes les démarches de son Gouvernement qu'il n'hésite pas à y donner une entière adhésion.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister dit qu'il se trouve aussi sans instructions sur ce point,

mais qu'il pense que son Gouvernement subordonnera son adhésion à l'acceptation de la proposition par le Gouvernement Danois.

M. le Comte Apponyi dit que les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes ont encore plus besoin d'instructions à ce sujet que les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres. Il espère qu'il recevra ces instructions avant la séance prochaine. Jusqu'ici les Cabinets de Vienne et de Berlin n'ont pas eu le temps de s'entendre sur cette nouvelle proposition.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff demande à savoir quelles sont les instructions de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois à cet égard, puisqu'il croit avoir compris qu'ils ont connu la proposition Anglaise plusieurs jours avant lui, et en ont référé à Copenhague.

M. de Quaade se dit également sans instructions spéciales, mais il ne manquera pas de porter la proposition à la connaissance de son Gouvernement.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff prend la proposition *ad referendum*. Il demande par qui la Puissance médiatrice serait désignée.

M. le Comte Russell répond que si le principe est admis, il y aurait lieu de proposer un Souverain qui réunirait l'assentiment des parties belligérantes.

M. le Comte Apponyi voudrait savoir si dans la pensée de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Anglais le champ est libre pour le choix de ce Souverain. Il fait observer que parmi les Puissances neutres représentées à la Conférence, il n'y en a pas une seule qui ne se soit déjà prononcée en faveur d'un certain tracé de la frontière.

M. le Comte de Clarendon répond que la proposition est d'en appeler à une Puissance amie avant de recommencer les hostilités ; et malgré les idées que tels ou tels Plénipotentiaires ont pu émettre dans la Conférence, on devrait toujours compter sur l'impartialité du Souverain qui accepterait le rôle de juge.

La discussion s'étant engagée sur le sens exact à donner à la Déclaration de Paris, M. le Comte de Clarendon cite le texte même du Protocole de Paris, où il est dit :—

" M. le Comte de Clarendon, ayant demandé la permission de présenter au Congrès une proposition qui lui semble devoir être favorablement accueillie, dit que les calamités de la guerre sont encore trop présentes à tous les esprits pour qu'il n'y ait pas lieu de rechercher tous les moyens qui seraient de nature à en prévenir le retour ; qu'il a été inséré à l'Article VII du Traité de Paix une stipulation qui recommande de recourir à l'action médiatrice d'un Etat ami avant d'en appeler à la force, en cas de dissentiment entre la Porte et l'une ou plusieurs des autres Puissances signataires.

" M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne pense que cette heureuse innovation pourrait recevoir une application plus générale et devenir ainsi une barrière opposée à des conflits qui, souvent, n'éclatent que parcequ'il n'est pas toujours possible de s'expliquer et de s'entendre.

" Il propose donc de se concerter sur une résolution propre à assurer, dans l'avenir, au maintien de la paix cette chance de durée, sans, toutefois, porter atteinte à l'indépendance des Gouvernements.

" M. le Comte Walewski se déclare autorisé à appuyer l'idée émise par M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne ; il assure que les Plénipotentiaires de la France sont tout disposés à s'associer à l'insertion au Protocole d'un vœu qui, en répondant pleinement aux tendances de notre époque, n'entraverait, d'aucune façon, la liberté d'action des Gouvernements.

" M. le Comte de Buol n'hésiterait pas à se joindre à l'avis des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne et de la France, si la résolution du Congrès doit avoir la forme indiquée par M. le Comte Walewski ; mais il ne saurait prendre, au nom de sa Cour, un engagement absolu et de nature à limiter l'indépendance du Cabinet Autrichien.

" M. le Comte de Clarendon répond que chaque Puissance est et sera seule juge des exigences de son honneur et de ses intérêts ; qu'il n'entend nullement circonscrire l'autorité des Gouvernements, mais seulement leur fournir l'occasion de ne pas recourir aux armes, toutes les fois que les dissentiments pourront être aplanis par d'autres voies.

" M. le Baron de Manteuffel assure que le Roi, son auguste Maître, partage complètement les idées exposées par M. le Comte de Clarendon ; qu'il se croit donc autorisé à y adhérer et à leur donner tout le développement qu'elles comportent.

" M. le Comte Orloff, tout en reconnaissant la sagesse de la proposition faite au Congrès, croit devoir en référer à sa Cour avant d'exprimer l'opinion des Plenipotentiaires de la Russie."

M. le Comte de Clarendon trouve que la cessation des hostilités a établi un état de choses analogue à celui que le Congrès de Paris avait en vue, et que par conséquent les circonstances actuelles sont favorables à l'application du principe alors établi.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff exprime l'opinion que l'analogie n'est pas complète. Il s'agit dans la Déclaration d'une nouvelle guerre et non pas de la continuation d'une guerre suspendue.

M. le Comte Russell explique que la seule tâche que la Puissance médiatrice devrait s'imposer serait celle de tracer la ligne de frontière, et que la décision de cette Puissance à cet égard devrait être acceptée par les Puissances belligérantes comme finale.

M. le Comte de Clarendon ajoute que les Puissances devraient s'en remettre entièrement sur ce point au Souverain auquel elles accorderaient leur confiance.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit que ce serait un arbitrage, et non pas la médiation qu'on a eue en vue dans la Déclaration de Paris, et il exprime l'avis qu'un arbitre aurait encore plus besoin que la Conférence d'être éclairé sur les vœux des populations et sur les autres détails se rattachant à la question.

M. le Baron de Beust, se bornant à émettre son opinion personnelle, exprime son regret de ce que la proposition de M. le Comte de Bernstorff n'a pas été mieux accueillie par la Conférence. Son acceptation eût facilité l'adoption de la proposition de Lord Russell. Il croit devoir prévenir la Conférence que si l'on propose de confier la décision à un jugement arbitral, il y aura opposition de la part de la Confédération. Il maintient ce qu'il a dit dans la séance précédente au sujet du consentement de la Confédération à un arrangement définitif, et particulièrement par rapport au vœu des populations.

M. de Krieger fait observer que son Gouvernement a déjà au mois de Janvier dernier réclamé l'application du principe de la Déclaration de Paris, à un moment où l'analogie des circonstances était complète. La question de frontière n'étant pas le seul point important qui reste à régler, il serait difficile de la détacher des autres questions. Il ne suffirait pas de traiter un seul point en laissant les autres de côté.

M. le Baron de Brunnow fait observer que l'intention du Congrès de Paris a été de mettre un intervalle entre la guerre et la paix. Il ne reste que huit jours d'ici à la reprise des hostilités. Ce temps suffit à peine pour en référer aux Gouvernements.

En réponse à une observation de M. de Krieger, M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne rappelle que le Danemark a fait dépendre son consentement à une suspension d'armes plus prolongée du réglement de la question de la frontière.

M. le Comte Apponyi fait observer que la conséquence de l'acceptation de la proposition de Lord Russell serait la possibilité de faire un long armistice.

M. le Comte de Clarendon rappelle de son côté que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois ont fait dépendre la reprise des hostilités uniquement du réglement de la ligne de frontière.

M. de Krieger conteste que les Plénipotentiaires Danois aient jamais admis que la frontière fût le seul point important. Aussitôt qu'on serait entré en discussion, il y aurait eu plusieurs autres questions à traiter.

M. de Biegeleben exprime l'avis que l'acceptation de la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Anglais impliquerait la prolongation de l'armistice.

M. de Krieger fait observer que dans ce cas son Gouvernement aurait des conditions à faire, nommément par rapport à l'occupation militaire.

M. de Balan donne lecture alors de la déclaration suivante :—

" Les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse ont déjà relevé dans une déclaration antérieure que leur Gouvernement, en consentant à une prolongation de la suspension d'armes pour une quinzaine de jours seulement, s'est imposé, dans son désir de se montrer conciliant jusqu'à la dernière limite, des sacrifices difficilement compatibles avec ses intérêts militaires et commerciaux. Ils ont en conséquence déclaré que le renouvellement des hostilités au 26 Juin ne pourra être évité que si jusque-là une paix acceptable est assurée, ou bien si un armistice d'une durée étendue est conclu sous des modalités qui n'admettent point d'interprétation arbitraire. Ils avaient espéré que l'espace de quinze jours, qu'ils n'ont cessé de qualifier de trop court dans la discussion de la séance du 6 Juin, serait du moins employé d'emblée à un échange d'idées plus suivi dans la Conférence, pour rapprocher autant que possible les vues divergentes et éclaircir en tout cas la situation. A leur regret, après un intervalle de dix jours, la moitié du terme assigné à la durée ultérieure de la suspension d'armes est passée, sans que les délibérations de la Conférence aient été reprises. L'éventualité d'une paix acceptable ne paraît, malgré les nouvelles propositions Anglaises que nous venons d'entendre, pas beaucoup moins éloignée qu'il y a quinze jours. Dans cette situation nous avons reçu l'ordre exprès de préciser dès aujourd'hui les modalités sous lesquelles notre Gouvernement consentira à un armistice. Il demande que cet armistice dure six mois, avec un terme de dénonciation d'un mois. Il est encore prêt à l'admettre sur la base proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Anglais dans la séance du 4 Mai, appuyée alors par tous les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, acceptée plus tard par les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse et d'Autriche, mais rejetée par ceux du Danemark, qui sont revenus sur une simple suspension d'armes qu'ils avaient rejetée dans la séance précédente, et que les Gouvernements Allemands ont, malgré cela, admise par un excès de conciliation. Il va sans dire que les Parties

belligérantes s'engageraient à ne point augmenter pendant la durée de l'armistice leurs forces, et à ne point renforcer leurs positions militaires dans les pays qu'elles occupent."

M. de Krieger croit pouvoir se borner à faire observer qu'il ne faut pas oublier la différence entre les conditions d'une suspension d'armes et celles d'un armistice.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit que les conditions en question sont uniquement formulées en vue d'un armistice, que MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse sont prêts à accepter comme auparavant.

M. de Biegeleben répète que si les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes prennent la proposition *ad referendum*, la prolongation de la suspension d'armes, ou un armistice, pour la durée d'au moins deux mois, ou avec dénonciation préalable de quatre semaines, devrait s'en suivre.

M. de Krieger exprime l'opinion personnelle que s'il y a moyen de tomber d'accord sur les autres conditions, la durée de l'armistice devrait au moins être de neuf mois.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse se disent prêts, dans le cas où ce terme serait proposé, à prendre la proposition *ad referendum*.

Il est entendu que MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes demanderont des instructions à leurs Cours respectives par le moyen du télégraphe sur la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Anglais, et que la séance prochaine de la Conférence aura lieu le Mercredi 22 Juin, à 3 heures.

M. de Quaade demande à donner lecture de la déclaration qui suit:—

"Bien que le Gouvernement Danois ait eu de nombreux motifs pour se plaindre de l'état de choses existant dans le Jutland depuis la suspension d'armes, les Plénipotentiaires Danois se sont pourtant abstenus, autant que possible, de porter les différents objets de plainte devant la Conférence. Ils se sont bornés à faire observer en général que les troupes alliées ne donnaient pas suite aux dispositions convenues d'une manière conforme à l'esprit qui devait le plus naturellement être prêté à la teneur de ces dispositions, teneur proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Autrichiens et Prussiens mêmes. Un seul point a dû être relevé plus spécialement, celui du paiement en argent comptant, MM. les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens ayant assuré que tout avait été payé en argent tous les Samedis depuis le commencement, tandis que les renseignements parvenus aux Plénipotentiaires Danois portent que pendant toute la durée du mois de Mai il ne s'est pas fait un seul paiement en argent comptant pour les réquisitions faites en Jutland à la suite de la suspension d'armes.

"Le Mémoire présenté par M. le second Plénipotentiaire de Prusse à la séance précédente oblige les Plénipotentiaires Danois à se prononcer d'une manière plus explicite, pour autant qu'ils n'ont pas déjà dit ce qui était nécessaire, et pour autant que les données qui sont à leur disposition le leur permettent. A cet effet, qu'il leur soit permis de poser comme point de départ le principe général d'après lequel les questions spéciales doivent nécessairement être jugées.

"La teneur expresse des dispositions de la suspension d'armes du 9 Mai dernier n'admet pas, au point de vue de droit, que l'état de choses dans les parties occupées du Jutland soit envisagé comme s'il n'était qu'une simple interruption momentanée de l'état de guerre. Il a été stipulé d'une manière formelle et en des termes choisis par MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes eux-mêmes, que, comme équivalent de la levée simultanée du blocus devant les ports Prussiens, on n'entraverait dans le Jutland ni le commerce, ni les communications, ni la marche régulière de l'administration; or cette disposition exclut de la manière la plus positive l'état exceptionnel d'une subordonnation au pouvoir militaire des autorités régulières du pays, et des raisons militaires seules ne suffisent donc pas pour justifier des exigences non conformes au principe général établi par la suspension d'armes. La Conférence voudra bien se rappeler que ce principe a eu une certaine influence sur la décision du Gouvernement Danois de lever le blocus.

"En présence de ce même principe les Plénipotentiaires Danois ont de la difficulté à comprendre que ce ne soit que la communication intérieure dans les districts occupés qui ne devra pas être entravée, et ils n'ont pas moins de peine à comprendre comment on voudra justifier les obstacles mis à la libre navigation des ports Jutlandais, la défense de quitter ces ports pendant la nuit, l'ordre donné aux navires de s'arrêter pour être visités par des postes militaires *ad hoc*, &c.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Danois doivent considérer comme une infraction manifeste à l'engagement de ne pas entraver la marche regulière de l'administration, que, contrairement aux lois du pays, une censure des journaux publics a été introduite, et qu'on soumet arbitrairement les habitants et les employés publics du pays aux lois et à la justice militaires. Il n'est, à leur avis, non moins incompatible avec les principes de l'arrangement convenu qu'on défende aux conscrits Jutlandais de se rendre sous les drapeaux.

Pour empêcher un de ces conscrits de quitter le pays volontairement et comme simple voyageur, on a menacé son père d'emprisonnement ; on a fait des recherches domiciliaires chez un employé public afin de s'assurer par ses papiers si par hasard quelqu'un voudrait s'éloigner dans le même but.

"Pour éviter autant que possible des conflits, le Gouvernement Danois s'est abstenu de faire des levées dans le Jutland ; mais malgré cela quiconque veut volontairement quitter le pays a le droit de le faire, quel que soit du reste le but de son voyage.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Danois doivent également considérer comme contraire à l'engagement pris, que les autorités Prussiennes défendent l'usage du Danebrog et même font baisser de force le pavillon d'un édifice public où il sert de pavillon de douane pour indiquer, conformément aux règles administratives du pays, s'il y a des empêchements à la navigation.

"Il était, sans doute, très-difficile d'éviter que l'état créé par la suspension d'armes ne donnât lieu à des collisions. De la part du Gouvernement Danois rien n'a été négligé pour écarter ces collisions doublement pénibles pour lui ; mais la ligne de conduite observée par les troupes alliées en des cas de divergence de vue ne lui semble point conforme aux procédés auxquels il croyait à juste titre pouvoir s'attendre de la part du plus fort. Selon lui la voie naturelle à suivre par les autorités militaires quand elles croyaient avoir lieu de se plaindre des sujets du Roi, eût été de s'adresser aux autorités supérieures du pays, et notamment au Commissaire Royal, qui était prêt à mettre immédiatement ordre à de véritables contraventions, et, dans les cas douteux, à amener un arrangement à l'amiable. Au lieu de prendre cette voie on s'est fait justice à soi-même de la manière la plus arbitraire. Un employé public après l'autre a été emprisonné sous les prétextes les plus futiles, et des menaces de tout genre sont proférées. Ainsi on menace de poursuivre devant la justice militaire les employés dans les districts où les fils télégraphiques auraient été endommagés, que ces employés aient pu ou non empêcher ce désordre, et malgré que le fil télégraphique ait tout aussi bien pu être coupé par des soldats appartenant à l'armée d'occupation.

"On ne saurait dire que ceci se réduise à une simple menace. Personne n'est sûr de ce qui peut arriver quand un employé de douane, âgé de près de soixante-dix ans, a pu être mis au pain et à l'eau pour n'avoir pas voulu rendre une garantie, déposée en sûreté de droits dont les lois du pays lui imposaient le devoir de surveiller la perception régulière."

M. de Balan dit qu'il portera naturellement la déclaration dont M. de Quaade vient de donner lecture, à la connaissance de son Gouvernement. Mais il ajoute que, quand même on réussira à éclaircir quelques assertions contradictoires et à écarter quelques malentendus, l'expérience a pourtant démontré que la co-ordination des autorités militaires Allemandes et des autorités civiles Danoises dans les pays qui restent militairement occupés, ne peut se prolonger, et que, par conséquent, son Gouvernement n'y consentira pas.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff s'étonne que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois n'aient pas reçu d'autres renseignements constatant que des paiements ont été faits en argent, puisqu'il sait positivement que les paiements ont eu lieu. Les réquisitions dont parle la déclaration Danoise ne peuvent, du reste, se rapporter qu'à des voitures, puisque tous les approvisionnements des troupes sont fournis par l'Intendance Militaire, qui les reçoit de Hambourg.

M. le Comte de Clarendon, se référant à la proposition de M. le Comte Russell, croit qu'il devient utile, puisqu'elle a été prise *ad referendum*, d'en préciser le sens afin d'empêcher tout malentendu ultérieur. Il n'admet pas l'interprétation de M. de Krieger que l'on ne saurait pas appliquer la Déclaration du Congrès de Paris, sans faire également appel à la Puissance Médiatrice pour toutes les questions en litige. Il s'agit uniquement du territoire en dispute et de la frontière. L'intention des Plénipotentiaires Anglais est de proposer que cette question du territoire entre les deux lignes indiquées soit soumise à l'arbitrage d'une Puissance amie, les Puissances belligérantes s'engageant à accepter sa décision comme finale. C'est là la proposition, et les moments sont devenus précieux en vue de la reprise prochaine des hostilités, dans le cas où elle ne serait pas acceptée.

M. de Balan donne lecture de la déclaration suivante :—

"D'après des nouvelles authentiques, le capitaine de navire Danois Hammer s'est emparé de la personne de sept notables de l'Ile de Sylt, et les a conduits à Copenhague. Le bourg de Keitum, sur l'Ile de Sylt, est déclaré en état de siège.

"Les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse sont chargés de porter cet acte de violence à la connaissance de la Conférence, et de déclarer que, tandis que d'un côté il prouve à quelles mesures le Danemark doit recourir pour maintenir sa domination sur les Iles Frisonnes, de l'autre il doit inévitablement provoquer des représailles."

M. de Quaade se borne à faire observer que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark a les mêmes droits dans les Iles Frisonnes que par exemple dans l'Ile de Sélande; et M. de Krieger ajoute que d'ailleurs les faits dont il s'agit, ne sont pas encore connus.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait alors une représentation à la Conférence, sur les blocus établis ou à établir par le Danemark, dans les termes suivants:—

"Conformément aux communications que le Gouvernement Prussien a adressées à différentes reprises aux Cabinets des Puissances neutres sur l'illégalité des blocus Danois, nous sommes chargés de faire observer que si le Gouvernement Danois, en renouvelant le blocus des ports de la Poméranie, n'observe pas strictement la disposition de la Déclaration de Paris du 16 Avril, 1856, concernant l'efficacité des blocus, et qu'ainsi une des dispositions de ce grand Acte international soit de nouveau méconnue impunément, ou même avec l'assentiment tacite des autres Puissances signataires, par une Puissance belligérante, les autres Articles de la dite Déclaration perdent, comme de raison, également leur valeur, et le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse ne saurait se regarder encore comme tenu de les respecter à l'égard de Danemark."

M. de Bille ne saurait admettre qu'il y ait eu violation par le Danemark des dispositions de la Déclaration du Congrès de Paris sur le droit maritime.

M. le Baron de Brunnow regarde la déclaration de M. le Comte de Bernstorff comme de nature à mériter une considération très sérieuse. Ce serait une chose grave s'il entrait vraiment dans les intentions de la Prusse de rétablir la course. La sécurité de la navigation dans le Nord en serait troublée. Les autres Puissances se verraient dès lors dans l'obligation d'aviser à la protection de leur commerce.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait observer que dans sa déclaration la course n'est pas nommée, et qu'en général il y est seulement dit que, si le Danemark n'observait pas l'un des Articles d'un Acte international à l'égard de la Prusse, celle-ci ne se regarderait pas non plus comme liée par les autres Articles du même Acte vis-à-vis du Danemark. Il demande du reste si les blocus ne dérangent pas la navigation.

M. le Baron de Beust tient à placer un mot. Les stipulations du Congrès de Paris ont eu pour objet d'amoindrir les rigueurs et les calamités résultant d'une guerre maritime pour le commerce et la navigation. C'est pour cela qu'on a stipulé que les blocus pour être obligatoires doivent être effectifs. Si un blocus s'établit en dehors de cette condition, le Gouvernement Prussien serait dans son droit en ayant recours aux représailles.

M. le Baron de Brunnow demande si la Prusse peut se constituer juge et partie dans sa propre cause?

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne dit qu'il est extrêmement difficile de constater la non-efficacité d'un blocus. La Prusse est fondée à fournir à cet égard des preuves, mais c'est là une question qui ne semble pas du ressort de la Conférence, et au sujet de laquelle le Gouvernement Prussien a sans doute déjà fait parvenir des communications aux Puissances représentées dans la Conférence.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond qu'effectivement des communications ont été adressées sur ce sujet aux Cours d'Angleterre, de France, et de Russie, mais qu'autant qu'il sait, la Russie seule y a répondu jusqu'ici.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister reconnaît la difficulté de vérifier si un blocus est effectif. Le meilleur moyen, selon lui, serait d'envoyer des bâtiments de guerre sur les lieux et de se fier aux rapports des commandants.

M. le Comte de Clarendon fait observer qu'il n'appartient pas au pays bloqué de décider sur l'efficacité du blocus. C'est là une question pour les autres pays. Et même en supposant que cette stipulation n'ait pas été exécutée, est-ce que les autres stipulations sur la loi maritime adoptées par le Congrès de Paris peuvent être regardées par ce fait comme annulées?

M. le Comte de Bernstorff soutient que le Danemark a déclaré un blocus illégal, et que ce fait a été prouvé.

M. de Krieger affirme qu'au contraire le blocus a été effectif, et qu'en tout cas ce n'est pas dans la Conférence que la discussion doit s'engager sur ce point.

M. le Comte de Clarendon croit que les contributions levées dans le Jutland prouvent que le blocus n'a pas été inefficace. Il regarde la déclaration de M. le Comte de Bernstorff comme montrant une indifférence complète au droit international. Un pays ne peut guères se plaindre qu'il n'est pas assez bloqué, et avoir pour cela recours aux représailles.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff trouve au contraire dans la déclaration de son Gouvernement une preuve qu'il veut que le droit international soit respecté par tout le monde.

M. le Baron de Brunnow, après avoir donné lecture du Protocole de Paris du 16 Avril, 1856, signale à la Conférence les termes positifs dans lesquels les Cabinets ont statué—1. Que "la course est et demeure abolie." Il soutient, de concert avec M. le Comte de Clarendon, que la course ne saurait être rétablie sans le consentement des

autres Puissances. Une seule d'entre elles ne peut pas se croire déliée de ses engagements par le fait qu'elle ne trouve pas effectif un blocus établi à son préjudice. Ces questions maritimes sont basées sur certains principes qu'il serait très grave de remettre en doute.

M. de Balan soutient que si les réclamations adressées aux autres Puissances sur l'inefficacité du blocus restent sans réponse, la Prusse a le droit de se croire déliée des autres stipulations de la Déclaration de Paris, vis-à-vis du Danemark.

M. le Baron de Brunnow annonce qu'il se trouvera dans l'obligation d'appeler sur cet incident l'attention sérieuse de son Gouvernement. A son avis chaque lettre de marque multiplierait les risques auxquels la navigation marchande pourrait se trouver exposée dans la Baltique, et les Puissances riveraines seraient appelées à aviser dans l'intérêt de leur commerce.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister parle dans le même sens, et ajoute que dans son opinion les Puissances neutres sont les meilleurs juges et de l'efficacité d'un blocus et des mesures qu'il leur conviendra de prendre en conséquence.

M. le Comte de Clarendon regarde également la déclaration comme très sérieuse. Il ne comprend pas qu'une Puissance, sans autre autorité que sa propre volonté, puisse dire, "Le blocus n'est pas effectif, je donne des lettres de marque."

M. de Balan fait observer que cela n'est pas contenu dans la déclaration de son Gouvernement.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 10.—*Sitting of June* 18, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Count de Bernstorff speaks as follows:—

"I have to make the following declaration in the name of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries:

"'We have already remarked more than once that the Conference, in order to possess the information which it requires, ought to be acquainted with the wishes of the population of the country whose future forms the object of its deliberations. Guided by this conviction, and by order of our Government, we demand that the inhabitants of Schleswig shall be consulted on the subject of the arrangements to be adopted with regard to them, and that the fate of a part or the whole of that population shall not be decided without their wishes having previously been loyally consulted. We are authorized to discuss the manner in which the principle of which we propose the adoption shall be executed, and the extent to which it shall be applied.'"

Upon Earl Russell's inquiry whether the Austrian Plenipotentiaries adhere to this declaration, Count Apponyi expresses himself in these terms:—

"The Austrian Plenipotentiaries join in the declaration which has just been read by

the Prussian Plenipotentiaries, in so far as, according to the opinion of the Imperial Government, the object of the work of peace can only be completely attained by means of the consent of the Duchies, expressed by the organ of their Sovereign and of their Representatives legally constituted.

"They must, however, remark that, in their opinion, the question of the cession of a part of Schleswig interests Holstein almost as much as Schleswig, and that it is not of a nature to be decided by the wish of the populations consulted by districts or by parishes. With respect to this point, they can only refer to the reservations which they previously made upon this subject."

M. de Quaade refers to the declaration which he had made in the sitting of the 2nd of June in the name of the Danish Government. He reminds the Conference that the King of Denmark only consented to an eventual cession of territory on condition of obtaining thereby an independent and perfectly autonomous existence for such of his States as should remain to him, and that there has been no question whatever of consulting the populations of the territories which are to continue attached to Denmark. It is only in the part to be ceded that account ought to be taken of the wishes of the population.

M. de Krieger likewise finds this proposal unacceptable. He understands that in very extraordinary circumstances recourse may be had to the exceptional expedients of consulting a nation; but these extraordinary circumstances have not occurred, and there does not properly exist a Sleswig nationality. A proposal like that which has just been made comprises a *petitio principii;* it would first of all be necessary to have proved that a part of the populations subjected to the King of Denmark ought to be detached from the other populations. Why consult the Sleswig subjects of the King of Denmark only? Why not also consult all His Majesty's other subjects? This proposal does not, then, lay down the principle of nationalities, but rather the principle of a provincial autonomy of quite an extraordinary kind; it applies in a singular manner to the demands which it is desired to found upon war, a proceeding to which in general recourse is only had in revolutions.

Count de Bernstorff says that the object of the Conference ought to be to come to an agreement with regard to a line of frontier, and that for that purpose it would be necessary to know the wishes of the population interested in the question.

Baron de Brunnow expresses himself thus:—

"I regret to find myself obliged to declare that I entirely differ from the opinion expressed by the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia. The feeling of regret which I experience is so much the stronger as it is painful to me to disagree with the Representatives of a Power united to Russia by the ties of an intimate friendship. But if I owe just consideration to the proposals of a friendly Power, I have duties to perform towards the Court which I have the honour to represent. I must, before all things, maintain the principles which guide the policy of the Emperor. I should be departing from those principles were I to admit the appeal which the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia propose to make to the population of Sleswig. With what object is it desired to consult them? Is it proposed to interrogate them in order to know whether they wish to remain faithful to their Sovereign? And under what circumstances will this consultation take place? Will it be made whilst the country is placed under the rule of a military occupation?"

The Plenipotentiary of Russia hereupon recapitulated the events which have brought about that occupation. The Courts of Austria and of Prussia have declared that, in taking possession of the Duchy of Sleswig, they considered that country as a material pledge in their hands, in order to oblige Denmark to fulfil her engagements towards Germany. Now, after having effected the military occupation of that Duchy, Prussia, so far from restoring that pledge to its Sovereign, proposes to appeal to the inhabitants in order that they may decide to whom they wish to belong. It is to the peasants of Sleswig that she addresses herself in order that they may trace the frontier of a country which forms at this moment the subject of the deliberations of the Conference of London? Is that the object for which the Representatives of the Great Powers have been invited to meet in London? The Plenipotentiary of Russia is far from admitting it. In his opinion, the allied Powers have acknowledged the necessity of concerting with the other Powers parties to the Treaty of 1852, with respect to the arrangements which it may be desirable to substitute for that act, after an understanding established by general consent. To-day, instead of coming to that understanding by the efforts, by the united advice of the Representatives of the Great Powers of Europe, is it desired to consult the population of Sleswig in order to make the acts of the Conference subordinate to their opinion? The Plenipotentiary of Russia, for his part, could not give his consent to such a proposal.

Count de Bernstorff does not see why Baron de Brunnow has spoken exclusively of the peasants: there are other inhabitants in the Duchy of Schleswig; and it is not even said

that the inhabitants are to decide, but that the Conference ought to be enlightened as to the views of the population of the country whose future forms the subject of its deliberations. As to the question of the military occupation during the consultation, it has not yet been discussed.

Baron de Brunnow says that the proposal of consulting the subjects of the King of Denmark with a view to dispossess him would be a new combination in fact, and an inadmissible principle in law. He regrets to hear it made by the Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Prussia.

Count de Bernstorff replies that there is no question in the proposal of dispossessing the King of Denmark, but only of enlightening the Conference as to the best line of boundary to trace.

M. de Quaade again mentions that a cession of territory has only been agreed to conditionally by his Government, who have reserved to themselves the right to revert to the Treaty of London.

Upon this remark, Count de Bernstorff reads the following declaration:—

"As in the last sitting of the Conference, the question of the position of the two German Powers with regard to the Treaty of London of 1852, which we had thought exhausted by the long and repeated discussions which occupied the first sittings, especially that of the 12th of May, has been again discussed, we find ourselves obliged, in order to dissipate all the doubts which appear still to subsist upon that point, to make the following declaration, which is in exact conformity with the precise instructions which we have received from our Government on the subject.

"Up to the time of the death of King Frederick VII, the German Powers might hope that the Crown of Denmark would fulfil the obligations contracted with them, and that by that means, and by the presentation, till then omitted, to the States of the Duchies, of a Bill with regard to the Succession to the Throne, the order of Succession provided for by the Treaty of London would completely acquire the force of law, before the case which had been foreseen of the Throne becoming vacant occurred.

"The King's death not only dissipated these hopes, but his successor to the Danish Throne immediately manifested, by the Act of the 18th of November, his intention not to fulfil those obligations.

"Immediately afterwards, the Prussian Government insisted upon the connection of those obligations with the projected order of Succession, in a despatch, amongst others, to the King's Ambassador in London dated the 23rd of November, and more than once declared that, in consequence, they considered themselves authorized by right to consider the Treaty of 1852 as no longer obligatory.

"They added that if they did not immediately proclaim their renunciation of the Treaty, they only refrained from regard to the other Powers, and in the hope that Denmark, ceasing from the open infraction of her obligations, would restore the preliminary conditions of that arrangement, and render it possible to maintain peace.

"Even when this hope was deceived, when on the 31st of January the Constitution which was contrary to the international stipulations had not only not been repealed as regarded Sleswig, but had been put in force, the two German Powers were unwilling as yet to make an immediate use of their rights. Even at the moment when Denmark had obliged them to take measures of war, they declared, in the despatch of January 31, that they did not intend to put in question the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy. But at the same time they expressly declared that a further persistence of Denmark in the path on which she had entered would oblige them to make sacrifices which might impose on them the duty of abandoning the arrangements of 1852, and of endeavouring to come to an understanding with the Powers who signed the Treaty of London as to a different order of things. The case has completely arrived.

"The Danish Government have persisted in their refusal to the last extremity, and have continued their armed resistance up to the last moment.

"After all these events, the Government of the King can no longer consider themselves in any way bound by the obligations which they had contracted on the 8th of May, 1852, under other pre-suppositions. The Treaty was concluded by them with Denmark, and not with any other Powers, and it was only between Copenhagen and Berlin that ratifications were exchanged, and not between Berlin and London, or St. Petersburgh, &c. Even if the Treaty of London had been intended to create obligations between Prussia and the neutral Powers, which our Government does not admit, these obligations would have been void, together with the Treaty itself, as soon as the latter became so in consequence of the non-accomplishment of its preliminary conditions.

"In consequence, and in conformity with their declaration of the 31st of January, the Government of the King consider themselves entirely free from any obligations which

might be deduced from the Treaty of London of 1852, and entitled to discuss any other arrangement in a manner entirely independent of that Treaty.

"It results naturally from their political relations that the Government of the King should endeavour to discover, in common with the other Great Powers, the solution of a question the European bearing of which they have never ignored, and they have done no more than recognize those natural relations in the last passage of the declaration of the 21st of January. By accepting the invitation of the English Government to the Conference they have moreover proved by acts that they are ready to search for and to discuss in common the means of attaining it."

The Earl of Clarendon observes, that the Prussian Government endeavour to introduce very important and serious changes in the law of nations, in attempting to establish the principle that because the ratifications of a Treaty have only been exchanged with a single Power by each of the other signatary Powers, the latter shall be released at pleasure from their reciprocal obligations. This would be a doctrine as new as it is dangerous, against which it is his duty to protest.

He refers to the Treaty which settles the closing of the Bosphorus to foreign ships of war, the ratifications of which were only exchanged with the Porte, but which has always been regarded as binding by all the Powers who joined in its signature. "Once admit," he says, "that it is competent for each Power, under any pretext and at its own convenience, to break through the solemn engagements of a Treaty, and the international law of Europe would be overthrown; it would have neither force nor authority. He agrees in the observations of Baron de Brunnow as regards the first declaration of Count de Bernstorff, the object of which is to dethrone the King of Denmark. This is the real result which it is desired to attain by asking the subjects of the King whether they wish to remain under his authority or not. This is also a new and dangerous principle which he has heard with painful surprise.

Count de Bernstorff says that he did not speak especially either of townspeople or peasants. He desires above all that it should be the States of the country who should pronounce their opinion, and he does not understand Lord Clarendon's surprise. He cites the cession of the Ionian Islands, and the consultation of the wishes of their inhabitants on that subject, as the most recent example, given by England herself, of the application of that principle, which is by no means so dangerous as the principle proclaimed in official documents which have emanated from the British Cabinet, according to which every nation which may not be pleased with its Government would have the right to dismiss it and to take another. Neither is the principle which he proposes a new one, since it has been applied in recent times to almost all the countries which have changed masters. He mentions among others Naples, Tuscany, Savoy and Nice.

The Earl of Clarendon replies that England was not Sovereign of the Ionian Islands, but that she had accepted the Protectorate of them in the interests of Europe. She declared herself ready to surrender this Protectorate with the assent of the other Powers, if it was the general wish of the population.

Count de Bernstorff replies to an observation of the Earl of Clarendon that the Treaty of London is not a Treaty guaranteeing the Danish Monarchy, that, on the contrary, it was expressly stated at the time of its conclusion that it gave no guarantee, and this is admitted by Lord Clarendon.

Baron de Brunnow remarks that the Ionian Islands formed an independent State, and that there was no question of detaching them from their Sovereign. The question which was to be resolved consisted in whether the Government of the Ionian Islands wished to remain under the English Protectorate, and to preserve their independence, or whether they preferred to give it up in order to be united to the Hellenic Kingdom. It was with this object that Her Britannic Majesty's Government consulted the wishes of the Ionian Parliament. This determination was taken in concert with the Representatives met in Conference in London. The Ambassador of Prussia cannot have forgotten this, since he himself took part in the deliberations of that Conference. He must, therefore, be convinced that the example of the Ionian Islands, to which he refers, is in no way applicable to the actual proposal of consulting the inhabitants of Sleswig, be they peasants or townspeople.

As to the Treaty of London, Baron de Brunnow entirely agrees in the observations made by the Earl of Clarendon.

Count de Bernstorff begs to cite another example which the Ambassador of Russia will perhaps admit, since the Government of Russia itself concurred in it: it is that of Greece, where a revolution took place, and where a new Sovereign has been established in virtue of a plebiscite. He does not understand the application of a principle in one case, and its repudiation in another.

Baron de Brunnow replies that Greece was not occupied by Russia as Sleswig is

occupied by the Prussian troops; that neither was Greece considered as a material guarantee; finally, that the Imperial Government concurred in recognizing a Sovereign raised to the Throne by the National Assembly of Greece, but that they did not consult the inhabitants of Greece in order to depose him.

Count de Bernstorff repeats that it is not a question of deposing a Sovereign, but of informing the Conference as to facts. It is also premature to speak of consulting the inhabitants of Schleswig whilst it is occupied by Prussian troops, since the manner of carrying out the proposal has not yet been discussed.

Earl Russell wishes to observe that in Greece it was a case of popular revolution, and that the Greeks had already themselves constituted a Provisional Government. Returning to the question of Denmark, Earl Russell adds that the Treaty of 1852 had for object the recognition of the King as Duke in the Duchies. When His Majesty the present King succeeded after the death of the late King, he was recognized in all his States, and without the intervention of Germany there would nowhere have been a more peaceful or more regular Succession. It was the Proclamation of the Duke of Augustenburg in Holstein and the invasion of Sleswig which gave rise to the insurrectionary movement. The revolution was not made by the inhabitants, but by the allied armies.

The Prussian Plenipotentiaries must protest against this manner of representing facts, and Count de Bernstorff maintains that, on the contrary, it was the allied armies who prevented the revolution, which would have broken out sooner or later.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne observes that a complete analogy does not appear to exist between the situations to which allusion has been made. In any case, the principle of the division of Sleswig having been admitted on either side, it is now only necessary to to settle the tracing of the new frontier. This is a definitive object. The consultation might take place in the mixed districts without being applied to the whole Duchy of Sleswig.

Count de Bernstorff remarks that he concluded his declaration by saying that the manner of the execution, as well as the extent of the execution to be given to it, were subjects for discussion.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne thought the proposal made by Count Bernstorff related to a general appeal to Slesvig, and not to an appeal limited to the populations which might be detached therefrom, and to the mixed districts.

Count Wachtmeister had imagined hitherto that the only populations to be consulted were those who inhabited the districts which should be voluntarily ceded by Denmark. He considers it impracticable to fix the tracing of a frontier according to the vote of the population.

Count de Bernstorff does not consider that the different points of view are completely divergent. The question is, in his opinion, open to discussion with regard to the extent of the consultation, to decide if it should be applied to a part or to the whole of the Duchy.

M. de Krieger, referring to Count de Bernstorff's declaration as to consulting the people of Sleswig, as also to the assertion that the population would have risen if the allied army had not entered the country, declares that he must formally protest against this assertion. One cannot speak now as if a revolution in the country had been imminent. There has been war, but not a revolution. He begs to state that the Sleswig people were faithful subjects of the King, and that they would not of themselves have taken up arms. Denmark has not accepted the principle of division in a general manner, but she has adhered to a certain line of boundary, requiring in return certain political, commercial, and strategic guarantees. The question of Sleswig cannot be reduced to a question of nationality.

Baron de Beust observes that the people of Schleswig being Danish according to M. de Krieger's statement, it would be easy to prove it by an appeal to them, the result of which would be satisfactory for Denmark. In proposing it the reproach so frequently uttered that Schleswig has been invaded in a spirit of conquest is refuted. It would be right to accept this manner of proceeding. Count de Bernstorff has said that the object of his proposal is to remove the difficulties which oppose the settlement of the question. Very opposite views have been expressed. The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark and of the neutral Powers have said that Schleswig still forms part of the Danish Monarchy, and that it is merely proposed to separate part of it. On his side he has more than once maintained that Schleswig has ceased to form part of the Danish Monarchy. If under these circumstances he has taken upon himself to express an opinion which had not yet been given by the Diet, he can now say that that opinion has since been confirmed and approved by the Diet, which cannot adopt the views of those Plenipotentiaries with regard to the manner in which the southern part of Schleswig is to be disposed of. The proposal of Count de Bernstorff would not inevitably result in the King of Denmark's being dispossessed; it is

made in a spirit of peace and of conciliation, and in no way to obtain votes against Denmark. Leaving the population free to pronounce their opinion, this means of arriving at a solution is not so impracticable as it seems to be considered. If the principle is once adopted that the population ought themselves to decide on their own fate, the Powers would find themselves on neutral ground. The Plenipotentiary of France has remarked that the German Plenipotentiaries have accepted the division of Schleswig in principle. But why? They have accepted it, knowing that in the north of Schleswig there exists a population which it is asserted is Danish, and wishes to be Danish. Well, let it be proved. The Danish Plenipotentiaries have maintained that the Schleswig people are very Danish in their feelings. It is, however, notorious that there have been many manifestations in that Duchy in favour of Germany; and it would be impossible for the Confederation to abandon the population now placed under the protection of the German arms. It is a case of discovering a practical solution rather than of introducing a new principle, and it is necessary to employ means which shall afford to each party the possibility of giving its decision. He cannot deny that the cause is one of nationality. The line of demarcation ought principally to be guided by the elements which exist on either side. Mention has been made of regrets. More than one German Court has regretted to see a state of things which has resulted in the deposition of legitimate Princes by means of an invasion and of universal suffrage, recognized by Governments professing conservative principles. In this case there is no question even of anything analogous.

Baron de Brunnow summed up the discussion in these terms: "In this meeting we sometimes choose divergent paths in order to arrive at an object which is common to us all; I mean the restoration of peace. The proposal which the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia have just made with this object has not met with an unanimous assent in the Conference. The Plenipotentiaries of the Court of Austria have stated how far their views differ from those of Prussia. The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain have pronounced their dissent in a manner still more formal. I have been compelled to express myself in the same spirit. The Ambassador of France has limited the question to the mixed districts without extending it beyond them. The Minister of Sweden and Norway has been unwilling to prejudge in this respect the intentions of the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark. Their reply is decisive. It declines the Prussian proposal, which is supported by the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation alone. The result of this deliberation proves that the manner of solution indicated by the Court of Prussia has not secured the united suffrages of the Conference."

After having stated this result, the Ambassador of Russia thought it right to beg the President to be so good as to take into consideration the necessity of consulting as to some other combination of a nature to facilitate a desirable arrangement.

Count de Bernstorff begs to be allowed first to reply to the observation of Lord Clarendon as to the principle which had been asserted in the Prussian declaration with regard to the Treaty of London, and remarks that, as far as he knows, there are only two Treaties, the ratifications of which have only been exchanged with a single Power by the other Powers who signed it, namely, the Treaty of London of 1852, and that with the Porte respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles, and that nothing can be deduced therefrom with regard to other Treaties, since these two Treaties have been specially concluded in favour of the two Powers with which the ratifications have been exclusively exchanged by the other Powers who signed them.

Baron de Brunnow maintains that this is rather a question to be decided between Governments than one to be examined in Conference. He agrees, however, in the Earl of Clarendon's opinion on this subject. He has himself signed the Treaty relative to Greece, the ratifications of which have only been exchanged with the Court of Athens. If one of the other Powers who signed it were to fail in performing its engagements, it would thereby give ground of complaint to the two others.

Count de Bernstorff remarks that the Treaty with Greece is a Treaty which contains a guarantee of that Kingdom by the three Powers.

The Earl of Clarendon cannot admit that reciprocal obligations have not been contracted by the Treaty of London.

Earl Russell then, in reply to the request of the Plenipotentiary of Russia, reads a proposal in these words:—

"We have now been assembled in Conference for some weeks. The last suspension of arms has only been concluded for the space of a fortnight, and it expires on the 26th of this month.

"But although the renewal of the war appears thus imminent, it cannot be said that we have made no approach to a restoration of peace. The proposals which I made

in the sitting of the 28th of May, and which had been previously assented to by the neutral Powers, have been accepted by Denmark in nearly the same terms in which I proposed them to the Conference, and by the German belligerent Powers in principle. The Danish Plenipotentiaries in consenting to the cession of the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, and to the division of Sleswig, ask that the line of demarcation should be traced to the south of Eckernforde, and to the south of the town of Sleswig, following the line of the Dannewirke to Friederickstadt. The Plenipotentiaries of the German belligerent Powers have proposed the adoption of a line of demarcation starting from Apenrade, and ending at Tondern and Hoyer. Thus the principal question in dispute has been reduced within limits which do not exclude the hope of an understanding.

"So long as important interests, and the honour of Germany and Denmark, appeared to be involved in the contest, the proposal which was made by Lord Clarendon to the Congress of Paris in 1856, which was adhered to by Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, and which was subsequently adopted by all the principal Powers of the world, expressing the wish that States between which any serious misunderstanding should arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse to the good offices of a friendly Power, did not seem inapplicable.

"But now that the principal question in dispute has been reduced to the tracing a frontier some miles more or less to the north, when the two belligerent parties have brilliantly sustained the honour of their arms, and when the renewal of hostilities would produce a new series of calamities, disastrous to humanity, and unworthy of the civilization of our age, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain think it their bounden duty to propose to the belligerent Powers, namely, to Austria, to Prussia, and to Denmark, that a friendly Power should be appealed to, in order that a line of frontier may be traced, which should neither pass to the south of the line indicated by Denmark, nor to the north of that designated by the German Plenipotentiaries."

Baron de Brunnow having had the honour to represent His Majesty the Emperor of Russia at the Congress of Paris in the quality of second Plenipotentiary, confirms the assent which His Imperial Majesty gave to the declaration proposed at that time by Lord Clarendon. He considers in consequence that he is acting in conformity with His Majesty's intentions in entirely agreeing with the proposal made in the same sense by Earl Russell. He will make it his duty to request the approval of his Court on the subject.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne says that, like the Ambassador of Russia, he has no special instructions with regard to the proposal which is submitted to the Conference; but that proposal is entirely in accordance with a principle of humanity proclaimed in the Congress of Paris, and subsequently admitted by most of the Powers of Europe; it is, moreover, so much in conformity with the spirit of conciliation and peace which has dictated all the proceedings of his Government that he does not hesitate to give it his entire adhesion.

Count Wachtmeister says that he also has no instructions on this point, but that he thinks that his Government will make their adhesion dependent on the acceptance of the proposal by the Danish Government.

Count Apponyi says that the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers are still more in want of instructions on this subject than the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers. He hopes to receive these instructions before the next sitting. Until now the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin have not had time to come to an agreement as to this new proposal.

Count de Bernstorff wishes to know what are the instructions of the Danish Plenipotentiaries on this subject, since he imagines that they were aware of the English proposal several days before him, and have referred it to Copenhagen.

M. de Quaade says that he is also without special instructions, but that he will not fail to bring the proposal to the knowledge of his Government.

Count de Bernstorff takes the proposal *ad referendum*. He asks by whom the mediating Power is t obe selected.

Earl Russell replies that if the principle is admitted, it would be necessary to propose a Sovereign whose selection should be assented to by the belligerent parties.

Count Apponyi wishes to know whether, in the opinion of the English Plenipotentiaries, the field is open for the choice of that Sovereign. He observes that among the neutral Powers represented at the Conference, there is not a single one which has not already pronounced in favour of some particular line of frontier.

The Earl of Clarendon replies that the proposal is to appeal to a friendly Power before recommencing hostilities; and notwithstanding the ideas which such and such Plenipotentiaries may have expressed in the Conference, they must still count on the impartiality of the Sovereign who should accept the office of judge.

A discussion having arisen as to the exact sense to be given to the Declaration of Paris, the Earl of Clarendon quotes the text itself of the Protocol of Paris, in which it is said :—

"The Earl of Clarendon having demanded permission to lay before the Congress a proposition which it appears to him ought to be favourably received, states that the calamities of war are still too present to every mind not to make it desirable to seek out every expedient calculated to prevent their return ; that a stipulation had been inserted in Article VII of the Treaty of Peace, recommending that in case of difference between the Porte and one or more of the other signing Powers, recourse should be had to the mediation of a friendly State before resorting to force.

"The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain conceives that this happy innovation might receive a more general applieation, and thus become a barrier against conflicts which frequently only break forth because it is not always possible to enter into explanation and to come to an understanding.

"He proposes, therefore, to agree upon a resolution calculated to afford to the maintenance of peace that chance of duration hereafter, without prejudice, however, to the independence of Governments.

"Count Walewski declares himself authorized to support the idea expressed by the first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain ; he gives the assurance that the Plenipotentiaries of France are wholly disposed to concur in the insertion in the Protocol of a wish which, being fully in accordance with the tendencies of our epoch, would not in any way fetter the free action of Governments,

"Count Buol would not hesitate to concur in the opinion of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and of France, if the resolution of the Congress is to have the form indicated by Count Walewski, but he could not take, in the name of his Court, an absolute engagement calculated to limit the independence of the Austrian Cabinet.

"The Earl of Clarendon replies that each Power is and will be the sole judge of the requirements of its honour and of its interests ; that it is by no means his intention to restrict the authority of the Governments, but only to afford them the opportunity of not having recourse to arms whenever differences may be adjusted by other means.

"Baron de Manteuffel gives the assurance that the King, his august Master, completely shares the ideas set forth by the Earl of Clarendon; that he therefore considers himself authorized to adhere to them, and to give them the utmost development which they admit of.

"Count Orloff, while admitting the wisdom of the proposal made to the Congress, considers that he must refer to his Court respecting it, before he expresses the opinion of the Plenipotentiaries of Russia."

The Earl of Clarendon considers that the cessation of hostilities has established a state of things similar to that which the Congress of Paris had in view, and that consequently the present circumstances are favourable to the application of the principle then established.

Count de Bernstorff expresses the opinion that the analogy is not complete. The declaration contemplates the breaking out of a new war, and not the continuation of a suspended one.

Earl Russell explains that the only task which the mediating Power would have to undertake would be that of tracing the frontier, and that the decision of that Power on that subject must be accepted by the belligerent Powers as final.

The Earl of Clarendon adds that the Powers would have to submit entirely on this point to the Sovereign to whom they might grant their confidence.

Count de Bernstorff says that it would be an arbitration, and not the mediation which was contemplated in the Declaration of Paris ; and he expresses the opinion that an arbiter would require to be acquainted with the wishes of the population, and with the other details relating to the question, even more than the Conference.

Baron de Beust, confining himself to giving his personal opinion, expresses his regret that the proposal of Count de Bernstorff has not been more favourably received by the Conference. Its acceptance would have facilitated the adoption of Lord Russell's proposal. He thinks it right to warn the Conference that, if it is proposed to entrust the decision to an arbitrative judgment, this will be opposed on the part of the Confederation. He maintains what he said in the preceding sitting on the subject of the consent of the Confederation to a definitive arrangement, and particularly with regard to the wishes of the population.

M. de Krieger observes that his Government have already claimed, in the month of January last, the application of the principle of the Declaration of Paris, at a moment when the analogy of the circumstances was complete. The question of frontier not being

the only important point which remains to be settled, it would be difficult to separate it from the other questions. It would not be sufficient to arrange a single point while leaving the others on one side.

Baron de Brunnow observes that the intention of the Congress of Paris was to place an interval between war and peace. There now remain only eight days from the present time to the resumption of hostilities. This time is hardly sufficient for a reference to their Governments.

In reply to an observation of M. de Krieger, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne remarks that Denmark made her consent to a more prolonged suspension of arms dependent on the settlement of the question of the frontier.

Count Apponyi observes that the consequence of the acceptance of Lord Russell's proposal would be the possibility of concluding a long armistice.

The Earl of Clarendon remarks, on his part, that the Danish Plenipotentiaries made the resumption of hostilities solely dependent on the settlement of the line of frontier.

M. de Krieger denies that the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark ever admitted that the frontier was the only important point. As soon as the discussion is entered into, there would be several other questions to be considered.

M. de Biegeleben expresses the opinion that the acceptance of the proposal of the English Plenipotentiaries would imply the prolongation of the armistice.

M. de Krieger observes that in that case his Government would have conditions to make, especially with regard to the military occupation.

M. de Balan then reads the following declaration :—

"The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia have already noticed in a previous declaration that their Government, in consenting to a prolongation of the suspension of arms for a fortnight only, have imposed on themselves, in their desire to show themselves conciliatory to the last degree, sacrifices hardly compatible with their military and commercial interests. They have consequently declared that the renewal of hostilities on the 26th of June is inevitable unless by that time an acceptable peace is assured to them, or unless an armistice of prolonged duration is concluded on conditions which do not admit of arbitrary interpretation. They had hoped that the space of a fortnight, which they have not ceased to describe as too brief in the discussion of the sitting of the 6th of June, would at least be employed for the purpose of a more connected exchange of ideas in the Conference, in order, as far as possible, to reconcile divergent views, and in any case to throw more light on the situation. To their regret, after an interval of ten days, half the term assigned for the further duration of the suspension of arms has passed without the deliberations of the Conference having been resumed. The eventuality of an acceptable peace does not appear, notwithstanding the new English proposals which we have just heard, to be much less distant than a fortnight ago. In this situation we have received express orders at once to specify the conditions on which our Government will consent to an armistice. They demand that this armistice shall last six months, with a term of denunciation of one month. They are still ready to accept it on the basis proposed by the English Plenipotentiaries in the sitting of the 4th of May, supported at that time by all the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, accepted subsequently by the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia and Austria, but rejected by those of Denmark, who reverted to a simple suspension of arms which they had rejected in the preceding sitting, and which the German Governments have notwithstanding acceded to from an excess of conciliation. It need not be said that the belligerent Parties would engage not to increase their forces, and not to strengthen their military positions in the countries which they occupy, during the armistice."

M. de Krieger thinks he may confine himself to observing that the difference between the conditions of a suspension of arms and those of an armistice must not be forgotten.

Count de Bernstorff says that the conditions in question are drawn up solely with a view to an armistice, which the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia are ready to accept as before.

M. de Biegeleben repeats that if the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers take the proposal *ad referendum*, the prolongation of the suspension of arms or an armistice for the space of at least two months, or with a previous denunciation of four weeks, ought to result from it.

M. de Krieger expresses his personal opinion that if it is possible to come to an agreement on the other conditions, the duration of the armistice should be at least nine months.

The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia profess themselves ready, in case this term is proposed, to take the proposal *ad referendum*.

It is understood that the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers shall ask for instructions from their respective Courts, by means of the telegraph, with regard to the proposal of the English Plenipotentiaries, and that the next sitting of the Conference shall take place on Wednesday, the 22nd of June, at 3 o'clock.

M. de Quaade requests permission to read the following declaration:—

"Although the Danish Government have had numerous reasons to complain of the state of things existing in Jutland since the suspension of arms, the Danish Plenipotentiaries have nevertheless abstained, as far as possible, from bringing the different subjects of complaint before the Conference. They have confined themselves to observing in general that the allied troops did not execute the arrangements agreed upon in a manner conformable to the interpretation which would most naturally be given to the tenour of those arrangements—a tenour proposed by the Austrian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries themselves. One single point has been more specially noticed, that of the payments in ready money, the Prussian Plenipotentiaries having asserted that everything had been paid for in money every Saturday from the beginning, whilst the information received by the Danish Plenipotentiaries is to the effect that during the whole of the month of May not a single payment in ready money has been made for the requisitions made in Jutland subsequent to the suspension of arms.

"The Memorial presented by the second Plenipotentiary of Prussia, in the preceding sitting, compels the Danish Plenipotentiaries to pronounce themselves in a more explicit manner, in so far as they have not already said what was necessary, and in so far as the information which is at their disposal allows them to do so. For this purpose, let them be allowed to lay down as a starting point the general principle according to which special questions should necessarily be judged.

"The express tenour of the provisions of the suspension of arms of the 9th of May last, does not admit in a legal point of view, that the state of things in the portions of Jutland which are occupied should be regarded as if there was simply a momentary interruption of the state of war. It is stipulated in a formal manner and in terms chosen by the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers themselves, that, as an equivalent for the simultaneous raising of the blockade of the Prussian ports, neither the commerce, nor the communications, nor the regular course of the administration shall be impeded in Jutland. Now this provision excludes in the most positive manner the exceptional state of a subordination of the regular authorities of the country to the military power, and military reasons alone are not sufficient therefore to justify demands not in conformity with the general principle established by the suspension of arms. The Conference will remember that this principle had a certain influence on the decision of the Danish Government to raise the blockade.

"In presence of this same principle it has been difficult for the Danish Plenipotentiaries to understand that it was only the internal communication in the districts occupied which was not to be impeded, and they have no less difficulty in understanding how it is possible to justify the obstacles placed in the way of free navigation in the ports of Jutland, the order not to leave these ports during the night, the order given to ships to stop in order to be visited by military posts *ad hoc*, &c.

"The Danish Plenipotentiaries must consider it a manifest infraction of the engagement not to interfere with the regular course of the administration, that, contrary to the laws of the country, a censure of the public newspapers has been introduced, and that the inhabitants and public officials of the country are arbitrarily subjected to military law and justice. It is, in their opinion, no less incompatible with the principles of the arrangement agreed on, that Jutland conscripts should be forbidden to join their regiments. To prevent one of these conscripts from leaving the country voluntarily and as a simple traveller, his father has been threatened with imprisonment, and domiciliary investigations have been made in the house of a public official in order to ascertain from his papers if by chance any one else wished to leave with the same object.

"In order to avoid conflicts as far as possible, the Danish Government have abstained from levying recruits in Jutland; but notwithstanding that, whoever wishes of his own accord to leave the country has the right to do so, whatever may be the object of his journey.

"The Danish Plenipotentiaries must also consider it as contrary to the engagements taken, that the Prussian authorities should have forbidden the use of the Dannebrog, and have even lowered by force the flag of a public edifice, where it serves as a Customs flag to show, in conformity with the administrative regulations of the country, whether there are any obstacles to the navigation.

"It was, doubtless, very difficult to prevent the state of affairs created by the suspension of arms giving rise to collisions. On the part of the Danish Government nothing has been neglected to prevent these collisions, which are doubly disagreeable to them; but the line of conduct observed by the allied troops in cases of divergence of opinion does not seem to them to be in conformity with the proceedings which they thought themselves justly entitled to expect on the part of the stronger party. In their opinion the most

natural course for the military authorities to follow when they thought they had reason to complain of the subjects of the King, would have been to address themselves to the higher authorities of the country, and particularly to the Royal Commissioner, who was ready at once to repress any real contraventions, and in doubtful cases to bring about an amicable settlement. Instead of taking this course they have taken the law into their own hands in the most arbitrary manner. One public official after another has been imprisoned on the most futile pretexts, and threats of every kind have been made use of. Thus the officials in the districts where the telegraphic wires have been damaged are threatened with a prosecution according to military law, whether these officials could or could not prevent this misdemeanour, and notwithstanding that the telegraphic wire is just as likely to have been cut by soldiers belonging to the army of occupation.

"It cannot be said that this is a simple menace. No one is sure of what may happen when an officer of the Excise, nearly seventy years of age, has been put on bread and water for not having given up a guarantee deposited as security for duties, the regular levy of which the laws of the country made it his duty to look after."

M. de Balan says that naturally he will bring to the knowledge of his Government the declaration which M. de Quaade has just read. But he adds that even if they succeeded in explaining some contradictory assertions, and in preventing some misunderstandings, experience has nevertheless shown that the co-existence of German military authorities and of Danish civil authorities in the countries which remain in a state of military occupation cannot be prolonged, and that consequently his Government will not consent to it.

Count de Bernstorff is surprised that the Danish Plenipotentiaries have not received different information showing that payments have been made in money, since he is positively certain that such payments have taken place. The requisitions of which the Danish declaration speaks cannot, moreover, relate to anything but conveyances, since all the provisions of the troops are furnished by the Military Intendance, which receives them from Hamburgh.

The Earl of Clarendon, referring to Earl Russell's proposal, thinks it would be useful, since it has been taken *ad referendum*, to particularize its sense in order to prevent any subsequent misunderstanding. He does not admit M. de Krieger's interpretation that the Declaration of the Congress of Paris is not applicable, unless an appeal is also to be made to the mediating Power with regard to all the questions in dispute. It is merely the disputed territory and the frontier which are in question. The intention of the English Plenipotentiaries is to propose that this question of the territory between the two lines indicated should be submitted to the arbitration of a friendly Power, the belligerent Powers engaging to accept its decision as final. This is the proposal, and time has become precious in view of the approaching resumption of hostilities in case it is not accepted.

M. de Balan read the following declaration:—

"According to authentic information, the captain of a Danish ship, named Hammer, has seized the persons of six notables of the Island of Sylt, and has taken them to Copenhagen. The town of Keitum, on the Island of Sylt, is declared to be in a state of siege.

"The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia are charged to bring this act of violence to the knowledge of the Conference, and to declare that whilst on the one hand it proves to what measures Denmark is obliged to have recourse to maintain her rule in the Frisian Islands, on the other hand it must inevitably give rise to reprisals."

M. de Quaade confines himself to observing that His Majesty the King of Denmark has the same rights in the Frisian Islands as for example in the Island of Sealand; and M. de Krieger adds that moreover the facts in question are not yet confirmed.

Count de Bernstorff then makes a declaration to the Conference respecting the blockades established or to be established by Denmark, in the following terms:—

"In conformity with the communications which the Prussian Government have on several occasions addressed to the Cabinets of the neutral Powers on the subject of the illegality of the Danish blockades, we are instructed to observe that if the Danish Government, in renewing the blockade of the ports of Pomerania, do not strictly observe the provision of the Declaration of Paris of April 16, 1856, concerning the effectiveness of blockades, and if consequently one of the provisions of this great international Act is again ignored with impunity, or even with the tacit assent of the other signatary Powers, by a belligerent Power, the other Articles of the said Declaration naturally lose their validity also, and the Government of His Majesty the King of Prussia can no longer regard themselves as bound to respect them with regard to Denmark."

M. de Bille cannot admit that any violation by Denmark of the provisions of the Declaration of the Congress of Paris respecting maritime law has taken place.

Baron de Brunnow regards the declaration of Count de Bernstorff as being of a nature

to merit the most serious consideration. It would be a grave matter if it really entered into the intentions of Prussia to re-establish privateering. The security of navigation in the North would be thereby disturbed. The other Powers would find themselves at once compelled to provide for the protection of their commerce.

Count de Bernstorff observes that privateering is not named in his declaration, and that, in general, it is merely said that if Denmark did not observe one of the Articles of an international Act with regard to Prussia, the latter would not consider herself as bound by the other Articles of the same Act with regard to Denmark. He inquires, moreover, if the blockades do not injure navigation.

Baron de Beust begs to make an observation. The stipulations of the Congress of Paris were made with the object of mitigating the hardships and the calamities resulting from a maritime war for commerce and navigation. It is for this reason that it was stipulated that blockades to be binding must be effective. If a blockade is established in contravention of this condition, the Prussian Government would be in its right in having recourse to reprisals.

Baron de Brunnow asks if Prussia can constitute herself judge and party in her own cause.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne says that is extremely difficult to ascertain the non-effectiveness of a blockade. Prussia has a right to furnish proofs on this subject, but this is a question which does not seem to be within the province of the Conference, and on the subject of which the Prussian Government have, no doubt, already made communications to the Powers represented in the Conference.

Count de Bernstorff replies that communications have, in fact, been addressed on this subject to the Courts of England, France, and Russia; but that, as far as he knows, Russia alone has hitherto replied.

Count Wachtmeister recognizes the difficulty of ascertaining if a blockade is effective. The best means, in his opinion, would be to send vessels of war to the spot, and to trust to the reports of their commanders.

The Earl of Clarendon observes that it does not belong to the blockaded country to decide on the effectiveness of the blockade. That is a question for the other countries. And even supposing that this stipulation had not been executed, can the other stipulations respecting maritime law adopted by the Congress of Paris be regarded as annulled by that fact?

Count de Bernstorff maintains that Denmark has declared an illegal blockade, and that this fact has been proved.

M. de Krieger affirms that, on the contrary, the blockade has been effective, and that in any case it is not in the Conference that the discussion on this point should take place.

The Earl of Clarendon thinks that the contributions levied in Jutland prove that the blockade has not been ineffective. He regards the declaration of Count de Bernstorff as showing a complete indifference for international law. A country can hardly complain that is not sufficiently blockaded, and have recourse to reprisals on that account.

Count de Bernstorff sees, on the contrary, in the declaration of his Government a proof that they expect that international law shall be respected by all the world.

Baron de Brunnow, after having read the Protocol of Paris of the 16th April, 1856, points out to the Conference the positive terms in which the Cabinets have laid down: 1. That "privateering is and remains abolished." He maintains, in concert with the Earl of Clarendon, that privateering cannot be re-established without the consent of the other Powers. A single one of them cannot consider itself released from its engagements by the fact that it does not consider a blockade established to its prejudice as effective. These maritime questions are based on certain principles which it would be very serious to call in question.

M. de Balan maintains that if the protests addressed to the other Powers with regard to the ineffectiveness of the blockade remain unanswered, Prussia has the right to consider herself released from the other stipulations of the Declaration of Paris as regards Denmark.

Baron de Brunnow announces that he will be obliged to call the serious attention of his Government to this incident. In his opinion every letter of marque would multiply the risks to which merchant navigation might be exposed in the Baltic, and the riverain Powers would be called upon to consult as to the interests of their commerce.

Count Wachtmeister speaks in the same sense, and adds that in his opinion the neutral Powers are the best judges both of the effectiveness of a blockade and of the measures which they may think it expedient to take in consequence.

The Earl of Clarendon also regards the declaration as very serious. He does not

understand how a Power, with no other authority than its own pleasure, can say, "The blockade is not effective, I shall issue letters of marque."

M. de Balan observes that this is not contained in the declaration of his Government.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

Protocole No. 11.—*Séance du* 22 *Juin,* 1864.

Présents:

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte de Clarendon, se référant à une observation par laquelle M. le Comte de Bernstorff avait dit dans la dernière séance qu'il ne connaissait que deux Traités dont les ratifications n'ont été échangées qu'avec une seule Puissance par les Puissances co-signataires, présente à la Conférence une liste de vingt-et-un Traités qui ont été tous conclus par la Grande Bretagne depuis 1837, et dont les ratifications n'ont été échangées par elle qu'avec une seule des autres Parties Contractantes. Sur sa demande, cette liste se trouve annexée au présent Protocole.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff rappelle qu'il s'était borné à dire, dans l'observation dont il est question, qu'il n'y avait que deux Traités analogues, "autant qu'il le savait," et qu'il n'a eu nullement l'intention d'affirmer qu'il n'existait pas d'autres.

M. le Comte Russell ayant demandé à M. le Comte Apponyi s'il avait reçu la réponse qu'il attendait de son Gouvernement au sujet de la proposition faite aux Puissances belligérantes de s'en référer à une Puissance amie pour le tracé d'une ligne de frontière, M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de l'Autriche cède la parole à M. le Comte de Bernstorff, qui après avoir exprimé le désir qu'avant d'entamer la discussion, sa réponse fût suivie par celle de MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark, fait la déclaration suivante au nom des deux Cours alliées:—

"Les Plénipotentiaires des deux Puissances Allemandes ont rendu compte à leurs Gouvernements de la proposition que MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont faite dans la dernière séance aux Puissances belligérantes, à savoir, de faire, conformément au vœu exprimé par les Puissances représentées au Congrès de Paris, dans la séance du 14 Avril, 1856, appel à une Puissance amie, afin qu'une ligne de frontière soit tracée qui ne passerait ni au sud de la ligne indiquée par le Danemark, ni au nord de celle désignée par les Plénipotentiaires Allemands.

"Nous sommes maintenant autorisés à déclarer, au nom de l'Autriche et de la Prusse, qu'elles sont prêtes à accepter la médiation d'une Puissance neutre, qui n'est pas représentée dans la Conférence, et ne s'est, en conséquence, pas encore prononcée dans la question, à la condition toutefois que leurs propositions pour l'armistice seront acceptées. Elles ne pourront cependant s'engager d'avance à se regarder comme définitivement liées par l'opinion à émettre par la Puissance Médiatrice, puisque les circonstances ne leur permettent pas d'accepter une décision arbitrale. Un arbitrage ne serait, du reste, ni conforme à la Déclaration de Paris, qui n'a en vue qu'un recours aux bons offices d'une Puissance amie, ni ne répondrait aux termes mêmes de la proposition Anglaise."

M. de Quaade donne lecture alors de la déclaration suivante:—

"A la séance du 18 Juin, M. le Comte Russell, en se référant plus spécialement au Protocole signé le 14 Avril, 1856, au Congrès de Paris, a proposé aux Puissances belligérantes représentées ici de faire appel à une Puissance amie, afin qu'une ligne de frontière soit tracée dans le Duché de Slesvig, laquelle ligne ne passerait pas au sud de celle placée par le Danemark au sud des villes d'Eckernforde et de Slesvig, et suivant la ligne du Dannevirke jusqu'à Friederichstadt, ni au nord de celle placée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Autrichiens et Prussiens au sud de la ville d'Apenrade et finissant à Tonder et Hoyer.

"Cette proposition est basée sur la pensée que le Danemark aurait consenti au principe général d'un partage du Slesvig, de manière qu'il ne s'agirait que de la ligne de démarcation à tracer, auquel cas il importerait peu que cette ligne fût placée quelques lieues plus au nord ou plus au midi.

"Le Gouvernement Danois regrette sincèrement que, bien contre son attente, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique ait voulu à ce point abandonner sa propre proposition du 28 Mai dernier, qui demandait déjà de si grands sacrifices au Danemark, et dont nous avions lieu de croire que le Gouvernement Anglais ne s'écarterait pas pour nous proposer des sacrifices encore plus considérables.

"Le Gouvernement Danois comprend la proposition du 28 Mai comme consistant dans une série de dispositions intimement liées les unes aux autres et chacune d'une importance essentielle; et c'est précisément en considération de la connexité entre ces dispositions que le Danemark a pu adhérer à la proposition même.

"Le Gouvernement Danois ne saurait donc admettre que la question de la frontière se prête particulièrement à être traitée d'une autre manière que les autres points indispensables pour une solution définitive; et il lui est également impossible de reconnaître qu'il n'y ait pas une différence réelle et principielle, mais seulement la différence d'un peu plus ou d'un peu moins de territoire entre la ligne voulue par la proposition du 28 Mai, et celle qui résulterait éventuellement de la proposition faite le 18 Juin. Il y a évidemment une différence de principe très essentielle entre les deux propositions.

"La première, tout en abandonnant l'ancienne frontière entre le Danemark et l'Allemagne, tient pourtant compte des considérations stratégiques et commerciales qui ne semblent pas devoir être perdues de vue lorsqu'il s'agit de fixer la frontière d'un Etat: elle fait droit notamment aux conditions morales essentiellement nécessaires pour l'administration des territoires dont la cession n'est pas demandée au Roi de Danemark.

"Mais quant à la proposition du 18 Juin, le Gouvernement Danois y a en vain cherché un véritable principe. La partie la plus méridionale et la partie la plus septentrionale du Duché de Slesvig sont d'abord détachées de ce pays par deux lignes de démarcation, et ces lignes, où sont-elles placées?

"Le fait que les Plénipotentiaires Danois ont adhéré à la proposition du 28 Mai en des termes presque identiques avec ceux de cette proposition, tandis que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont proposé une ligne de démarcation qui s'écarte autant que possible de la ligne Anglaise, ce fait est maintenant tourné contre le Danemark. La proposition du 18 Juin prend les deux lignes Danoise et Austro-Prussienne, en laissant à un arbitrage de disposer de tout le territoire situé entre les deux lignes choisies, c'est-à-dire, de la partie la plus considérable du Duché de Slesvig, cette dépendance séculaire de la Couronne Danoise, sans qu'aucun principe n'ait été indiqué par lequel l'arbitre se laisserait guider.

"A une époque où l'objet en litige était encore intact, lorsque les Puissances Allemandes soutenaient que le Roi de Danemark avait lésé des engagements pris: à cette époque le Gouvernement Danois, convaincu de n'avoir jamais voulu que ce qui était juste, et se rappelant son adhésion au principe établi par la Déclaration de Paris de l'année 1856, exprima le désir d'un examen et d'une solution de la question en litige d'une manière conforme à l'esprit de ce principe; mais d'après tout ce qui s'est passé dans la suite, il ne voit pas que le principe du Protocole de Paris puisse être allégué en faveur de la proposition faite en dernier lieu par le Gouvernement Anglais; et dans ces circonstances il se trouve à son vif regret dans l'impossibilité de donner son assentiment à cette proposition."

M. le Comte Russell exprime le vif regret qu'il éprouve en entendant les réponses de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff n'admet pas que les Puissances Allemandes aient rejeté la proposition Anglaise, mais tient à constater qu'elles l'ont acceptée dans le sens de la Déclaration de Paris.

M. le Comte de Clarendon, comme auteur de la Déclaration du Congrès de Paris dont il a été question, tient à établir que l'expression "bons offices" qu'il a employée

est une expression générale qui n'exclut ni la médiation ni l'arbitrage, et que par conséquent la proposition de M. le Comte Russell ne pose aucun principe contraire à cette Déclaration.

M. de Balan ne regarde pas la Déclaration de Paris comme ayant une portée aussi étendue. Ayant eu l'honneur de prendre les ordres de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse à ce sujet dans le temps, il croit se rappeler que l'on s'est servi des expressions "vœu" et "bons offices," parcequ'il n'y avait pas moyen de convenir de termes plus précis.

M. le Comte de Clarendon soutient que le terme "bons offices" a été employé dans le but de comprendre toute espèce de médiation, et de n'en exclure aucune.

M. le Baron de Beust s'exprime ainsi qu'il suit :—

"Les restrictions que MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse ont apportées dans leur acceptation de la proposition Anglaise tiennent essentiellement à la nature de la question qui est discutée. Elles me dispensent de faire la réserve qu'autrement j'aurais été obligé de faire. Mais je crois de mon devoir de dire quelques mots pour justifier ces mêmes restrictions.

"Pour ma part, je regrette sincèrement de ne pas me trouver à même d'appuyer sans réserve une proposition que je reconnais parfaitement avoir le but salutaire de faire aboutir les travaux de la Conférence et d'empêcher la reprise des hostilités. La Confédération en réclamant le Slesvig pour le Duc de Holstein n'obéit point, comme on semblerait le croire, à un sentiment de convoitise. Les Gouvernements Allemands réunis à la Diète se mettraient en opposition avec leurs principes et leurs antécédents, s'ils avaient la conscience de dépouiller un Souverain étranger d'un territoire qui lui appartient. Telle n'est pas leur pensée, et tel n'est pas le véritable état de la question. Il s'agit d'une question de droit ; il s'agit de faire valoir des titres que la Confédération est appelée à protéger. J'ai pu m'abstenir de chercher, dès le début de la Conférence, à lui imposer ce point de vue, pensant que ce ne serait pas le moyen de faciliter une entente avec des Puissances qui se trouvent placées dans des conditions différentes ; mais je crois n'avoir jamais laissé subsister à ce sujet le moindre doute. La seule transaction qui me semble possible, je l'ai indiquée. Si elle était franchement acceptée, l'intervention appelée de commun accord d'une Puissance amie pourrait certainement contribuer à en faciliter l'exécution et à en consolider le résultat. C'est aussi dans ces limites qu'une application du Traité de Paris serait mieux indiquée qu'elle ne saurait l'être à titre de jugement arbitral sans appel. Mais que dans une question de droit nullement douteuse pour elle, la Confédération puisse se soumettre à la décision d'un tiers dont l'impartialité la plus parfaite ne saurait constituer un titre suffisant pour la résoudre, que l'Allemagne consente à faire dépendre de cette même décision le sort des populations placées aujourd'hui sous la protection de ses armes, c'est ce qu'on ne se refusera pas à reconnaître impossible."

M. le Comte de Bernstorff soutient que l'Autriche et la Prusse ont accepté la proposition Anglaise dans les termes mêmes dans lesquels elle a été faite.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne contestent cette assertion, et citent leurs paroles rapportées dans le Protocole précédent pour prouver qu'afin d'éviter tout malentendu ils ont bien expliqué qu'il s'agissait d'un arbitrage qui devait être final sur la question de la frontière.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse disent qu'ils n'ont parlé que de la proposition même, et non pas des explications dont elle a été accompagnée. Ils maintiennent que MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ont rejeté positivement la proposition, tandis que l'Autriche et la Prusse l'ont acceptée dans le sens d'une médiation.

M. de Krieger ne saurait reconnaître l'acceptation, ainsi modifiée, comme répondant à la proposition Anglaise. Il fait observer que la médiation existe déjà dans la Conférence.

M. le Comte Russell constate, et il le fait avec regret, que sa proposition a été rejetée par le Danemark, et qu'elle n'a pas été acceptée par les Puissances alliées. Quant à la réponse des Puissances Allemandes belligérantes, il lui paraît évident qu'après deux ou trois mois de travaux inutiles, la décision du Souverain Médiateur serait mise de côté dans le cas où une proportion tant soit petite des habitants d'un district en fût mécontente.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne annonce que toutes les combinaisons qui ont été mises en avant pour arriver à un accord sur le tracé de la frontière ayant été malheureusement écartées, il croit devoir soumettre à la Conférence une nouvelle suggestion. Il s'exprime ainsi :—

"Lorsque le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a donné son adhésion au projet de transaction mis en avant par le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique, dans la séance du 28 Mai, il espérait que les efforts réunis des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances

neutres, secondés par les dispositions conciliantes des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes, parviendraient à amener, entre les parties intéressées, une entente sur le tracé de la ligne de frontière.

" Ces espérances ne se sont malheureusement pas réalisées. Toutes les combinaisons proposées ont été repoussées, et aucun compromis ne semble jusqu'ici avoir chance d'être accepté. Dans cette situation, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur considère comme de son devoir de faire, dans l'intérêt de la paix, une dernière suggestion. C'est en vertu de leur nationalité que les districts septentrionaux du Slesvig doivent être attribués au Danemark et ceux du sud à l'Allemagne. On n'a pas jugé utile de faire un appel au vœu des populations là où ce vœu semblait manifeste; mais on pourrait le consulter là où il est douteux et où aucun autre moyen n'existerait plus pour établir un accord. Tout en admettant l'impossibilité de prendre la nationalité pour règle absolue, dans le partage des districts mixtes du Slesvig, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur est d'avis, cependant, que l'on devrait demander à un vote des communes les éléments d'appréciation auxquels on conviendrait de s'en rapporter. Ce vote par communes permettrait de tenir, dans le tracé définitif de la frontière, le compte le plus exact possible de chaque nationalité.

" Pour qu'il présentât d'ailleurs les garanties désirables, il serait utile d'établir que toute force militaire serait préalablement éloignée, et que les suffrages seraient exprimés en dehors de toute pression. Chaque Puissance pourrait, en outre, envoyer des délégués sur les lieux afin de constater la parfaite sincérité du scrutin."

M. le Comte de Bernstorff dit qu'il ne voit pas d'objection à prendre *ad referendum* la proposition que M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne vient de soumettre à la Conférence, puisqu'elle part à-peu-près du même point de vue que la dernière proposition de son Gouvernement. Il rappelle cependant qu'il y aurait toujours la question de l'armistice à régler.

En réponse à une observation de M. le Comte de Bernstorff, M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne dit que les districts à consulter devraient être, suivant lui, ceux qui se trouvent situés entre la ligne de frontière proposée au nord par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse, et la ligne indiquée au sud par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois.

M. le Comte Apponyi, en se référant aux réserves qu'il a faites dans les séances précédentes, dit que d'après ses instructions il ne se croit pas autorisé à adhérer à la proposition qui vient d'être faite.

M. le Baron de Beust serait prêt à reconnaître dans la proposition de M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne un moyen de rapprochement. Il croit que l'occupation militaire n'y serait pas un obstacle, et qu'il serait facile de donner aux populations toute liberté de se prononcer, sans aucune contrainte. Répondant à M. le Plénipotentiaire de France, qui lui demande s'il entend par là la retraite des troupes Allemandes pendant la consultation, il dit que dans sa pensée personnelle il la juge possible, aussi bien que des mesures qui, sans entraver la marche de l'administration, garantiraient l'exercice parfaitement indépendant du vote.

M. le Comte Russell, en demandant l'opinion de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois sur la proposition, dit que quant aux Plénipotentiaires Anglais, ils seraient tout disposés à s'y rallier, si le Gouvernement Danois croyait pouvoir y donner son adhésion.

M. de Quaade répond qu'il se trouve naturellement sans instructions spéciales à ce sujet, et qu'il ne saurait consentir à la prendre même *ad referendum*. Il rappelle sa déclaration du 2 Juin, dans laquelle il a dit que son Gouvernement ferait de grands sacrifices pour arriver au rétablissement de la paix, mais qu'il y avait des limites qu'il ne pouvait dépasser; et les instructions dont il est muni lui défendent de consentir à aucune autre ligne qu'à celle proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Anglais dans la séance du 28 Mai, et acceptée par le Danemark.

M. de Krieger, tout en s'associant à la réponse de M. de Quaade, se réfère à la discussion qui a eu lieu à la dernière séance au sujet de la proposition de M. le Comte de Bernstorff de consulter les populations du Slesvig, et surtout à ce qui a été dit à cet égard par M. le Baron de Brunnow.

M. le Comte de Clarendon croit qu'il sera utile de résumer ce qui s'est passé au sujet de la ligne de frontière dite Anglaise, puisque M. de Quaade a parlé des grands sacrifices que faisait le Danemark en l'adoptant, et a même reproché au Gouvernement Anglais de s'en être maintenant écarté. Il devient donc nécessaire de constater formellement comment et pourquoi cette ligne a été proposée. Lors de la réunion de la Conférence, il paraissait être dans l'intérêt général de s'en tenir au Traité de Londres qui avait été signé par les Grandes Puissances ayant chacune des Représentants dans la Conférence, et dont la rupture pouvait amener des conséquences très sérieuses. Quand on a trouvé plus tard qu'il n'y avait pas moyen de s'entendre sur le Traité, on est

convenu sur la nécessité de ne pas l'abandonner sans avoir préalablement trouvé les moyens de le remplacer par les bases d'une paix solide et durable, et conforme aux sentiments des populations intéressées. C'est alors que M. le Comte Russell a dû se concerter avec MM. les Plénipotentiaires des autres Puissances neutres sur la question de tracer une ligne de frontière. Ces Plénipotentiaires sont tous tombés d'accord sur une ligne qui leur a semblé réunir mieux que toute autre les avantages désirés pour le Danemark. Elle a été proposée par Lord Russell en sa qualité de Président de la Conférence, comme le résultat de l'entente préalable qui s'était établie entre les Représentants des Puissances neutres. Ce n'est donc pas une proposition exclusivement Anglaise, mais celle que MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres ont choisie comme leur paraissant la plus apte à remplacer le Traité. Ce serait inutile, continue Lord Clarendon, de récapituler tous les obstacles que la proposition a recontrés de la part des Puissances belligérantes. Il suffit de dire que dans l'intérêt de la paix aussi bien que dans celui du Danemark, il a fallu chercher un autre moyen de concilier les intérêts, en ne perdant pas de vue le principe de nationalité. La ligne dont il est question avait été proposée dans un but commun, dans un intérêt Européen, et non pas dans l'intention de poser un principe dont on ne pourrait se départir. Il s'étonne donc du reproche qui vient d'être adressé au Gouvernement Anglais par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, de ne pas s'être tenu à cette ligne.

C'est dans l'intérêt de toutes les Puissances neutres représentées dans la Conférence que Lord Clarendon tient à constater comment les faits se sont passés.

M. le Baron de Brunnow s'est exprimé alors en ces termes :—

"Dans la séance précedente, MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ont proposé de consulter les vœux des habitants du Slesvig sur les dispositions à adopter à leur égard.

"Conformément aux instructions de ma Cour, j'ai eu l'honneur d'exposer à la Conférence les raisons qui ne me permettaient point de m'associer à ce plan.

"Les mêmes considérations s'appliquent aussi au réglement du sort des districts mixtes. A mon avis, la possession de ces districts doit demeurer acquise à Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, comme un équivalent de l'abandon que ce Souverain serait prêt à faire du Lauenbourg.

"A l'appui de cette vérité, je me permettrai de rappeler à la Conférence les paroles que M. le Plénipotentiaire de France a prononcées dans la séance du 28 Mai.

"M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne a dit :—'Quant aux districts mixtes du centre, de quelque manière que l'on décide de leur sort, il y aura toujours là des Danois soumis à un pays Allemand, ou des Allemands soumis au Danemark. Devant l'impossibilité absolue de prendre, sur ce point, la nationalité pour règle, nous pensons qu'il serait juste de trancher le différend en faveur de la plus faible des Parties, surtout quand elle subit déjà les sacrifices que cette règle lui impose sur tous les points où elle est manifestement contre elle. Mon Gouvernement considère également comme essentiel que la frontière soit tracée conformément aux nécessités de la défense du Danemark, car ces nécessités doivent être prises en considération par la Conférence, dont la mission est, en donnant satisfaction aux légitimes réclamations de l'Allemagne, de veiller à ce que les arrangements nouveaux garantissent suffisamment l'indépendance du Danemark et les intérêts de l'équilibre Européen dans le Nord.' "

Après avoir donné lecture de ce passage du Protocole No. 6 du 28 Mai, M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie a repris :—

"Je me suis fait un devoir de rappeler ces paroles à la Conférence, parcequ'elles servent à préciser avec une parfaite vérité le caractère de la mission de haute équité, de conciliation et de paix, que nous avons été appelés à remplir.

"Il me reste une dernière observation à faire. Elle se rapporte à une déclaration que MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ont été chargés d'émettre dans la séance du 2 Juin. Ils ont annoncé alors que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi entend que le sort futur des provinces qui seraient éventuellement cédées, ne soit pas réglé sans leur consentement.

"Je dois indiquer le point de vue sous lequel cette éventualité se présente à mes yeux, conformément aux instructions dont je suis muni.

"Dans l'opinion du Cabinet Impérial, comme je l'ai dit, il appartient à Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien IX de se prononcer le premier, sur ce qui convient aux intérêts de son pays. Si le Roi de Danemark, en vue d'assurer l'indépendance et le repos de ses peuples, se décide à faire une cession de territoires, il en est incontestablement le maître, en vertu de ses droits de souveraineté. Il est également libre d'attacher une condition aux sacrifices qu'il a résolu de faire.

"D'après cela, si cet auguste Souverain veut que la destinée des territoires cédés ne soit pas réglée sans leur consentement, il est dans son droit.

"Tout en respectant à cet égard la plénitude de la prérogative Royale de Sa Majesté Danoise, je dois rappeler que le plan de la transaction proposée le 28 Mai par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne a expressément établi que la question du consentement des Duchés ne ferait pas l'objet du Traité de Paix.

"Ce plan a obtenu l'adhésion du Cabinet Impérial. En conséquence, je dois me maintenir strictement sur la ligne que les ordres de ma Cour me prescrivent quant à l'exécution de ce plan."

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie a terminé cet exposé en demandant à faire insérer au Protocole la réserve qu'il vient d'établir au nom de sa Cour.

Se référant ensuite aux observations de M. le Comte de Clarendon, M. le Baron de Brunnow déclare qu'il s'y associe entièrement. La Cour de Russie, en accordant son assentiment cordial au plan proposé par M. le Comte Russell le 28 Mai, a sincèrement apprécié les motifs qui ont déterminé le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique à indiquer une ligne de délimitation destinée à concilier les divers intérêts qu'il importait de ménager, en vue du rétablissement de la paix. Cette intention a été reconnue et unanimement approuveé par tous les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres.

En conclusion, M. le Baron de Brunnow constate que Lord Russell n'a jamais eu la pensée de proposer cette ligne comme un ultimatum, ni de l'imposer comme tel aux Puissances belligérantes.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff déclare que les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes ont toujours compris la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne dans le sens des explications qu'ils viennent d'entendre, et non pas dans celui d'un ultimatum.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne rappelle qu'il s'était associé également à la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, parcequ'elle avait été jugée par son Gouvernement comme parfaitement équitable; mais qu'en donnant son adhésion à cette proposition, il n'a pas entendu aliéner le moins du monde le droit des Puissances neutres de mettre en avant toute autre combinaison, si celle-ci se trouvait écartée, dans le but d'arriver à une transaction.

M. le Comte Wachtmeister dit qu'il croit pouvoir se référer aux déclarations qu'il a faites dans la séance du 28 Mai, et dans plusieurs séances suivantes, sur l'adhésion donnée par son Gouvernement à la proposition faite par M. le Comte Russell. "Nous avons toujours cru," dit-il, "que la ligne de la Slei était la dernière limite au nord, à laquelle Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark pourrait consentir, et que la partie du district mixte et Allemand qui se trouve au nord de cette limite serait acquise au Danemark, en échange du Duché de Lauenbourg auquel Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark serait disposé à renoncer."

M. de Biegeleben en se référant à une observation de M. de Krieger, qui avait dit que la médiation existe déjà dans la Conférence, fait ressortir la différence qui existe entre une pareille médiation et celle exercée par l'initiative d'un Souverain neutre qui n'est pas représenté dans la Conférence, et demande si MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, quoiqu'ils aient décliné la proposition d'arbitrage, ne pourraient pas en référer à leur Gouvernement sur la question de la médiation telle qu'elle a été acceptée par les deux Puissances Allemandes.

M. de Quaade répond que puisque la ligne de frontière pourrait être tracée plus au nord que celle que son Gouvernement a acceptée comme la dernière limite, il croit inutile d'en référer à Copenhague. Il faudrait d'ailleurs dans ce cas prolonger la suspension d'armes, ce qui dans les circonstances actuelles ne saurait probablement avoir lieu qu'à des conditions auxquelles son Gouvernement ne consentirait pas.

M. le Comte Russell ayant quitté la salle de la Conférence pendant la séance précédente, et avant que M. le Comte de Bernstorff n'eut fait sa déclaration sur l'inefficacité des blocus précédemment établis par le Danemark, tient à informer ce Plénipotentiaire que la dite déclaration a été soumise à l'Avocat de la Reine, qui a donné l'avis que l'efficacité d'un blocus regarde plus spécialement les Puissances neutres, et qu'une Cour des Prises est le tribunal qui doit en décider.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff donne lecture alors de la pièce suivante :—

"Le blocus des ports de Cammin, Swinemünde, Wolgast, Greifswalde, Stralsund, et Barth, décrété par le Gouvernement Danois au mois de Février dernier, et annoncé comme devant entrer en vigueur à partir du 15 Mars, n'a point été mis à exécution jusqu'au 11 Avril, des navires sous pavillon neutre ou Prussien n'ayant pas cessé d'entrer dans ces ports ou d'en sortir. Plus tard cet état de choses n'a guère changé, car de la plupart des dits ports aucun bâtiment ennemi ne pouvait être vu. Il est vrai qu'à Swinemünde on en a aperçu quelques uns à la fin du mois de Mars et dans les premiers

jours d'Avril; mais là aussi depuis le 15 Avril jusqu'au 9 Mai aucun vaisseau ennemi ne s'est montré à l'horizon. Les vaisseaux Danois se sont bornés à stationner au nord et à l'est de l'île de Rügen, ordinairement à la hauteur du promontoire d'Arcona, et à donner la chasse aux navires de commerce qui, venant de l'ouest, se dirigeaient vers la côte de la Poméranie. Tant à Swinemünde qu'à Stralsund, les bâtiments de la marine royale de Prusse n'ont pas cessé de croiser devant les ports de manière à permettre aux navires de commerce d'y entrer sans danger, et il est authentiquement avéré que pendant l'espace de temps entre le 18 Mars et le 2 Avril quatorze vaisseaux, Prussiens et neutres, sont entrés dans le seul port de Swinemünde, sans avoir été arrêtés par des vaisseaux Danois."

M. le Comte de Clarendon appelle l'attention de la Conférence sur l'importance qu'il y a à savoir, en vue de la reprise prochaine des hostilités, si la Prusse va donner suite aux doctrines énoncées par ses Plénipotentiaires dans la séance précédente, réclamant le droit de rétablir la course, dans le cas où les blocus Danois ne seraient pas effectifs.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que les termes de la déclaration qu'il a faite dans la derniere séance n'expriment que le principe que, si le Danemark n'observe pas strictement les dispositions d'un Article de la Déclaration de Paris, la Prusse ne se regardera pas non plus comme liée par les autres Articles de cet Acte International à l'égard du *Danemark*. Il rappelle qu'il a déjà fait observer dans la dernière séance que dans sa déclaration la course n'était pas nommée, et il ajoute que cette déclaration est destinée à réserver des droits éventuels, mais non pas à annoncer des intentions. Il n'est certainement pas dans les intentions du Gouvernement Prussien de ne pas remplir les obligations qu'il a contractées envers les *autres* Puissances signataires de la Déclaration de Paris, et c'est précisément pour provoquer un échange d'idées à ce sujet que la déclaration a été faite dans la Conférence, parce que quelques uns des Cabinets, auxquels le Gouvernement Prussien s'était adressé depuis longtemps à ce sujet, ne se sont encore prononcés d'aucune manière sur la question.

Sur la demande de M. le Comte Russell, M. de Quaade déclare que le Gouvernement de Danemark reconnaît les stipulations contenues dans la Déclaration du Congrès de Paris sur la loi maritime comme étant obligatoires.

M. de Krieger fait observer que M. le Comte de Bernstorff ayant de nouveau soutenu que le blocus n'avait pas été effectif, il doit répéter que le blocus a été parfaitement effectif, mais il exprime d'ailleurs la conviction que la Conférence ne désire pas discuter des questions de fait de cette nature.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres insistent sur la nécessité de maintenir les stipulations du Congrès de Paris.

M. le Baron de Brunnow, en s'associant à cette opinion, ajoute qu'il croit connaître trop bien la pensée de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse pour supposer au Cabinet de Berlin l'intention de vouloir rétablir la course, contrairement aux engagements réciproques qui résultent de la Déclaration de Paris.

M. de Balan s'exprime en ces termes :—

"Par rapport à l'observation faite par M. le premier Plénipotentiaire du Danemark dans la dernière séance, que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark a le même droit dans les Iles Frisonnes que par exemple dans l'Ile de Seeland, j'ai à rappeler que l'Ile de Sylt n'était pas occupée le 12 Mai par les Danois, mais se trouvait au contraire dans le rayon de la juridiction des armées alliées. Il est évident qu'en infestant le 14 du mois l'Ile de Sylt par des soldats de la Marine Danoise, et en y déclarant un bourg en état de siège, le Gouvernement Danois a agi contre les stipulations du 9 Mai, qui portent que :—

" 'Les parties belligérantes conviennent qu'elles conserveront leurs positions militaires respectives sur terre et par mer, et s'interdisent de les renforcer pendant la durée de la suspension des hostilités.' "

M. de Quaade demande s'il a bien compris que l'Ile de Sylt avait été occupée par les armées alliées, et sur la réponse qu'elle n'était pas occupée non plus par l'armée Danoise, il fait observer que ce n'est pas une position stratégique, et que Sa Majesté le Roi peut y envoyer des troupes comme dans toute autre partie de la Monarchie Danoise.

M. de Krieger ajoute qu'il ne comprend pas comment on puisse considérer l'Ile de Sylt, à la côte occidentale du Slesvig, comme se trouvant dans le rayon de la juridiction militaire des armées alliées. Le fait contraire doit être connu de tout le monde.

M. de Balan tient à constater de nouveau que son Gouvernement consentirait à une prolongation de la suspension d'armes ou à un armistice. Il rappelle que sans cela les hostilités seront reprises le 26 Juin.

M. de Quaade répond que le Gouvernement Danois serait très disposé à consentir à

une prolongation de la suspension d'armes, mais que les circonstances s'y opposent et que dans tous les cas il y aurait des conditions à demander qui ne seraient pas acceptées par les Puissances alliées.

M. le Comte Appoyni dit que les conditions d'armistice des Puissances Allemandes seraient les mêmes que celles proposées dans le temps par M le Comte Russell; mais M. de Quaade explique que ces conditions ont été trouvées inacceptables.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne demande si MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands n'auraient pas de nouvelles conditions à proposer.

M. de Balan donne à entendre que la durée de l'armistice pourrait faire l'objet d'une discussion ultérieure.

M. le Comte de Clarendon adresse la même question à MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, en rappelant combien serait sérieux le renouvellement de la guerre, et que l'on ne doit pas encore abandonner tout espoir de paix, malgré les difficultés que rencontre la Conférence.

M. de Quaade répond, qu'il le regrette vivement mais qu'il n'a aucunes conditions à proposer que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands soient disposés à accepter. Le Gouvernement Danois a déjà déclaré qu'il ne consentirait ni à un armistice ni même à la prolongation de la suspension d'armes à moins qu'il n'y eût chance sérieuse d'une solution pacifique. Il n'a pas recu d'autres instructions depuis là-dessus, et aujourd'hui son Gouvernement ne se prononcerait pas autrement.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires conviennent de se réunir le Samedi, 25 Juin, à 1 heure.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Annexe au Protocole No. 11.

LIST OF TREATIES between Great Britain and more than one other Power, and of which Ratifications were Exchanged, not between all the Parties, but only with the Power named in the Second Column.

Between		Date.	Subject.
Great Britain .. .. France	Hans Towns	June 9, 1837	Slave Trade.
Great Britain .. .. France	Tuscany	Nov. 24, 1837	Ditto.
Great Britain .. .. France	Two Sicilies	Feb. 14, 1838	Ditto.
Great Britain .. Austria .. .. France .. .. Prussia .. .. Russia	Netherlands	Apr. 19, 1839	Separation of Holland and Belgium.
Great Britain .. Austria .. .. France .. .. Prussia .. .. Russia	Belgium	Apr. 19, 1839	Ditto.
Great Britain .. Austria .. .. Belgium .. .. France .. .. Netherlands .. Prussia .. .. Russia	Germanic Confederation ..	Apr. 19, 1839	Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.
Great Britain .. Austria .. .. Prussia .. .. Russia	Turkey	July 15, 1840	Pacification of the Levant.
Great Britain .. Austria .. .. France .. .. Prussia .. .. Russia	Turkey	July 13, 1841	Dardanelles and Bosphorus.
Great Britain .. Austria .. .. Prussia .. .. Russia	Belgium	Feb. 24, 1848	Slave Trade.
Great Britain .. Austria .. .. France .. .. Prussia .. .. Russia .. .. Sweden	Denmark .. .	May 8, 1852	Succession to Crown of Denmark.
Great Britain .. France .. .. Russia	Bavaria .. .. . Greece	Nov. 20, 1852	Succession to Throne of Greece.
Great Britain .. France	Sardinia	Jan. 26, 1855	Accession of Sardinia to Treaty of April 10, 1854, respecting Turkey.
Great Britain .. France	Sardinia . . . Turkey	Nov. 15, 1855	Accession to Convention between Great Britain and France, respecting Joint Captures.

Between		Date.	Subject.
Great Britain Austria France Prussia Russia Sardinia	Turkey	Mar. 30, 1856	Dardanelles and Bosphorus.
Great Britain France	Russia	Mar. 30, 1856	Aland Islands.
Great Britain France Sardinia	Turkey	May 13, 1856	Extending time for the Evacuation of the Ottoman Empire.
Great Britain Austria Belgium France Hanover Mecklenburg-Schwerin Oldenburg Netherlands Prussia Russia Sweden Hans Towns	Denmark	Mar. 14, 1857	Redemption of Sound Dues.
Great Britain Austria Belgium Brazil Denmark Spain France Mecklenburg-Schwerin Netherlands Portugal Prussia Russia Sweden Hans Towns	Hanover	June 22, 1861	Redemption of Stade Toll.
Great Britain France Russia	Denmark	July 13, 1863	Crown of Greece.
Great Britain Austria Brazil Chile Denmark Spain France Hanover Italy Oldenburg Peru Portugal Prussia Russia Sweden Turkey Hans Towns	Belgium	July 16, 1863	Redemption of Scheldt Toll.
Great Britain France Russia	Greece	Mar. 29, 1864	Union of Ionian Islands to Greece.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 11.—*Sitting of June* 22, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia; and
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

The Earl of Clarendon, referring to an observation which Count de Bernstorff had made in the last sitting to the effect that he was only aware of two Treaties, the ratification of which had only been exchanged with a single Power by the other Powers who signed them, presents to the Conference a list of twenty-one Treaties which have all been concluded by Great Britain since 1837, and the ratifications of which have only been exchanged by her with one of the other Contracting Powers. At his request, this list is annexed to the present Protocol.

Count de Bernstorff remarks that he confined himself to stating, in the observato n in question, that there were only two such Treaties, "so far as he knew," and that he had no intention of affirming that no others existed.

Earl Russell having inquired of Count Apponyi whether he had received the answer which he expected from his Government on the subject of the proposal made to the belligerent Powers to refer to a friendly Power the question of tracing a line of frontier, the first Plenipotentiary of Austria leaves it to Count Bernstorff to reply, who after expressing a desire that his reply may be followed by that of the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark before the discussion commences, makes the following declaration in the name of the two allied Courts:—

"The Plenipotentiaries of the two German Powers have reported to their Governments the proposal which the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain made in the last sitting to the belligerent Powers, namely, to appeal to a friendly Power, in conformity with the wish expressed by the Powers represented at the Congress of Paris, in the sitting of April 14, 1856, in order that a line of frontier may be traced which shall neither pass to the south of the line indicated by Denmark nor to the north of that designated by the German Plenipotentiaries.

"We are now authorized to declare in the name of Austria and Prussia, that they are ready to accept the mediation of a neutral Power, which is not represented at the Conference, and has not, consequently, as yet pronounced an opinion on the question, on condition however that their proposals for the armistice shall be accepted. They cannot, however, engage beforehand to regard themselves as definitively bound by the opinion to be expressed by the mediating Power, since circumstances do not allow them to accept an arbitrative decision. An arbitration, moreover, would neither be in conformity with the Declaration of Paris, which only contemplated an appeal to the good offices of a friendly Power, nor would it correspond with the terms of the English proposal itself."

M. de Quaade then reads the following declaration:—

"In the sitting of the 18th of June, Earl Russell, referring more especially to the Protocol signed on the 14th April, 1856, at the Congress of Paris, proposed to the belligerent Powers represented in this meeting to appeal to a friendly Power, in order that a line of frontier might be traced in the Duchy of Sleswig, which line should not pass to the south of that proposed by Denmark to the south of the town of Eckernforde and Sleswig, and following the line of the Dannevirke to Friederichstadt, nor to the north of that proposed by the Austrian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries to the south of the town of Apenrade and terminating at Tonder and Hoyer.

"This proposal is based on the idea that Denmark has consented to the general principle of the division of Sleswig, so that it is only the tracing of the boundary line which is in question, in which case it would signify little whether this line was drawn some leagues more to the north or to the south.

"The Danish Government sincerely regret that, quite contrary to their expectation, Her Britannic Majesty's Government should have so far abandoned their own proposal

of the 28th of May last, which already demanded such great sacrifices from Denmark, and from which we had reason to believe that the English Government would not depart, in order to propose to us sacrifices still more considerable.

"The Danish Government understand the proposal of the 28th of May, as consisting in a series of arrangements intimately connected with one another, and each of essential importance; and it is precisely in consideration of the connexion between these arrangements that Denmark was able to adhere to the proposal itself.

"The Danish Government cannot, therefore, allow that the question of the frontier admits particularly of being treated in a different manner from the other points which are indispensable for a definitive solution; and it is equally impossible for them to recognize that there is no difference in reality and principle, but only the difference of a little more or a little less territory between the line contemplated in the proposal of the 28th of May, and that which would eventually result from the proposal made on the 18th of June. There is evidently a very essential difference of principle between the two proposals.

"The first, while abandoning the ancient frontier between Denmark and Germany, provides, however, for the strategic and commercial considerations which ought not to be lost sight of when it is proposed to decide the frontier of a State; it especially makes due allowance for the moral conditions essentially necessary for the administration of the territories, the cession of which is not required from the King of Denmark.

"But as regards the proposal of the 18th of June, the Danish Government have in vain attempted to discover any real principle for it. The most southern and the most northern parts of the Duchy of Sleswig are, in the first place, separated from that country by two boundary lines; and where are these lines placed?

"The fact that the Danish Plenipotentiaries adhered to the proposal of the 28th of May in terms almost identic with those of that proposal, whilst the German Plenipotentiaries have proposed a line of demarcation which is as distant as possible from the English line, this fact is now turned against Denmark. The proposal of the 18th of June takes the Danish and Austro-Prussian lines, leaving to an arbitration to dispose of all the territory situated between the lines chosen, that is to say, of the most considerable portion of the Duchy of Sleswig, which has been for centuries a dependency of the Crown of Denmark, without any principle having been pointed out by which the arbiter is to be guided.

"At a time when the object in dispute was still intact, when the German Powers maintained that the King of Denmark had infringed engagements which he had entered into; at that time the Danish Government, convinced that they had never intended anything but what was right, and remembering their adhesion to the principle laid down by the Declaration of Paris of 1856, expressed their desire for an examination and a solution of the question in dispute in a manner in conformity with the spirit of that principle; but after all that has subsequently happened, they do not see that the principle of the Protocol of Paris can be alleged in favour of the proposal last made by the English Government; and under these circumstances they find themselves, to their deep regret, unable to give their assent to that proposal."

Earl Russell expresses the deep regret he feels at hearing the answers of the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers.

Count de Bernstorff does not admit that the German Powers have rejected the English proposal, but maintains that they have accepted it in the sense of the Declaration of Paris.

The Earl of Clarendon, as the author of the Declaration of the Congress of Paris in question, asserts that the expression "good offices" which he employed is a general expression, which neither excludes mediation nor arbitration, and that consequently the proposal of Earl Russell does not lay down any principle contrary to that Declaration.

M. de Balan does not regard the Declaration of Paris as having so wide a scope. Having had the honour of taking the orders of His Majesty the King of Prussia on this subject at the time, he thinks he remembers that the expressions "wish" and "good offices" were made use of because it was impossible to agree upon more precise terms.

The Earl of Clarendon maintains that the term "good offices" was employed with the object of comprising every kind of mediation, and excluding none.

Baron de Beust expresses himself as follows:—

"The restrictions which the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia have attached to their acceptance of the English proposal are an essential result of the nature of the question which is in discussion. They relieve me from the necessity of making the reservation which I should otherwise have been obliged to make; but I think it my duty to say some words to justify these same restrictions.

"For my part, I sincerely regret not to be able to support without reserve a proposal

which I perfectly recognize as having the salutary object of bringing the labours of the Conference to a satisfactory termination, and of preventing the resumption of hostilities. The Confederation, in claiming Sleswig for the Duke of Holstein, is not, as seems to be believed, guided by a feeling of cupidity. The German Governments assembled at the Diet would be acting in opposition to their principles and their antecedents, if they were conscious that they were depriving a foreign Sovereign of the territory which belongs to him. Such is not their idea, and such is not the true state of the question. A question of right is concerned; claims are brought forward which the Confederation is called upon to protect. I have abstained, from the commencement of the Conference, from attempting to impose this view on it, thinking that it would not be the means of facilitating an understanding with Powers who are placed in different circumstances, but I do not think that I have ever allowed the slightest doubt to exist on this subject. I have pointed out the only arrangement which seems to me to be possible. If it were frankly accepted, the intervention of a friendly Power, solicited by mutual agreement, might certainly contribute to facilitate its execution, and to consolidate the result. It is also within these limits that an application of the Treaty of Paris would be more closely carried out than it would be in the case of arbitrative judgment without appeal. But that in a question of right on which it has no doubts, the Confederation should submit to the decision of a third party, whose perfect impartiality would not constitute a sufficient title for its resolution--that Germany should consent to make the fate of populations now placed under the protection of her arms dependent on this same decision, is what must be recognized as impossible."

Count de Bernstorff maintains that Austria and Prussia have accepted the English proposal in the exact terms in which it was made.

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain dispute this assertion, and quote their remarks as reported in the last Protocol, to prove that in order to avoid any misunderstanding, they clearly explained that an arbitration which should be final on the question of the frontier was intended.

The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia say that they only spoke of the proposal itself, and not of the explanations by which it was accompanied. They maintain that the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark have positively rejected the proposal, while Austria and Prussia have accepted it in the sense of a mediation.

M. de Krieger cannot admit that their acceptance, thus modified, corresponds with the English proposal. He observes that the mediation exists already in the Conference.

Earl Russell states, and he does so with regret, that his proposal has been rejected by Denmark, and has not been accepted by the allied Powers. As to the answer of the German belligerent Powers, it seems clear to him, that after two or three months of useless labour, the decision of the mediating Sovereign would be set aside if the smallest proportion of the inhabitants of a district were dissatisfied with it.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne announces that, as all the arrangements which have been proposed for the purpose of arriving at an agreement as to the tracing of the frontier have unfortunately been rejected, he thinks it right to submit a new suggestion to the Conference. He expresses himself in these words:—

"When the Government of the Emperor gave their adhesion to the plan of arrangement proposed by Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, in the sitting of the 28th of May, they hoped that the united efforts of the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, seconded by the conciliatory disposition of the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers, would succeed in bringing about between the interested parties an understanding as to the tracing of the line of frontier.

"These hopes have unfortunately not been realized. All the arrangements proposed have been rejected, and no compromise seems as yet to have any chance of being accepted. In this position of affairs, the Government of the Emperor consider it their duty to make in the interests of peace a final suggestion. It is in virtue of their nationality that the northern districts of Sleswig are to be assigned to Denmark, and those of the south to Germany. It has not been thought expedient to make an appeal to the wishes of the population where those wishes seem to be manifest; but they might be consulted where they are doubtful, and if no other means exist for establishing an agreement. Whilst admitting the impossibility of taking nationality as an absolute rule in the division of the mixed districts of Sleswig, the Government of the Emperor are, however, of opinion that it would be right to obtain, by means of a vote of the communes, the elements of appreciation on which it should be agreed to base a decision. This vote by communes would allow the most exact account to be taken of each nationality in the definitive tracing of the frontier.

"In order that it might offer in other respects the guarantees desired, it would be well to stipulate that all military forces should previously be withdrawn, and that the votes should be given free from all pressure. Each Power might, moreover, send delegates to the spot, in order to ensure the perfect impartiality of the scrutiny."

Count de Bernstorff says that he sees no objection to taking *ad referendum* the proposal which the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne has just submitted to the Conference, as it starts from nearly the same point of view as the last proposal of his Government. He observes, however, that there would still be the question of the armistice to be settled.

In reply to an observation of Count de Bernstorff, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne says that the districts to be consulted would be, in his opinion, those which are situated between the line of frontier proposed to the north by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, and the line indicated to the south by the Danish Plenipotentiaries.

Count Apponyi, referring to the reservations which he has made in the preceding sittings, says, that according to his instructions he does not feel himself authorized to adhere to the proposal which has just been made.

Baron de Beust would be ready to admit the proposal of the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne as a means of coming to an understanding. He thinks that the military occupation would be no obstacle to it, and that it would be easy to afford to the population full liberty to pronounce their opinion without any constraint. Replying to the Plenipotentiary of France, who asks him if he means by this the withdrawal of the German troops during the consultation, he says that in his personal opinion he considers it possible, as well as measures which, without interfering with the course of the administration, would guarantee the perfectly independent exercise of the power of voting.

Earl Russell, while asking the opinion of the Danish Plenipotentiaries as to the proposal, says, that as regards the English Plenipotentiaries, they would be quite disposed to concur, if the Danish Government considered it possible to adhere to it.

M. de Quaade replies that he is naturally without special instructions on this subject, and he cannot even consent to take it *ad referendum*. He alludes to his declaration of the 2nd of June, in which he said that his Government would make great sacrifices in order to obtain the restoration of peace, but that there were limits beyond which they could not go; and the instructions with which he is furnished forbid him to consent to any other line than that proposed by the English Plenipotentiaries in the sitting of the 28th of May, and accepted by Denmark.

M. de Krieger, while agreeing in M. de Quaade's reply, refers to the discussion which took place in the last sitting on the subject of Count de Bernstorff's proposal to consult the population of Sleswig, and particularly to what was said on that subject by Baron de Brunnow.

The Earl of Clarendon thinks it would be useful to recapitulate what has passed on the subject of the so-called English line of frontier, since M. de Quaade has spoken of the great sacrifices made by Denmark in adopting it, and has even reproached the English Government with having now deviated from it. It becomes necessary, therefore, formally to state how and why that line was proposed. At the time of the meeting of the Conference, it seemed to be in the general interest to adhere to the Treaty of London which had been signed by the Great Powers, each of which was represented in the Conference, and the rupture of which might lead to very serious consequences. When subsequently it was found impossible to come to an understanding respecting the Treaty, it was agreed that it was necessary not to abandon it without previously discovering means to replace it by the bases of a solid and durable peace, in conformity with the feelings of the populations interested. It was then that Lord Russell thought it right to concert with the Plenipotentiaries of the other neutral Powers as to the question of tracing a new line of frontier. Those Plenipotentiaries agreed on a line which seemed to them more than any other to unite the advantages desired for Denmark. It was proposed by Lord Russell in his quality of President of the Conference, as the result of the previous understanding which had been come to by the Representatives of the neutral Powers. It is not, therefore, an exclusively English proposal, but that which the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers had selected as seeming to them most suitable to replace the Treaty. It would be useless, continues Lord Clarendon, to recapitulate all the obstacles which the proposal has met with on the part of the belligerent Powers. It is sufficient to say that, in the interests of peace, as well as in those of Denmark, it was necessary to seek for some other means of conciliating the interests concerned, without losing sight of the principle of nationality. The line in question has been proposed for a common object, in the interests of Europe, and not with the intention of laying down a principle which could

not be departed from. He is surprised, therefore, at the reproach which has just been addressed to the English Government by the Danish Plenipotentiaries, of not having kept to this line.

It is in the interest of all the neutral Powers represented in the Conference that Lord Clarendon desires to state how things happened.

Baron de Brunnow then expressed himself in these terms:—

"In the preceding sitting the Plenipotentiary of Prussia proposed to consult the wishes of the inhabitants of Sleswig as to the arrangements to be adopted with regard to them.

"In conformity with the instructions of my Court, I have had the honour to explain to the Conference the reasons which prevented my concurring in this plan.

"The same considerations apply also to the decision of the fate of the mixed districts. In my opinion, the King of Denmark ought to remain in possession of these districts, as an equivalent for the surrender which that Sovereign would be ready to make of Lauenburg.

"In support of this truth, I will beg permission to remind the Conference of the words which the Plenipotentiary of France pronounced in the sitting of the 28th of May.

"The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne said:—

"'As to the mixed districts of the centre, in whatever manner their fate may be determined, there will always be Danes subject to a German country, or Germans subject to Denmark in them. Considering the absolute impossibility of taking nationality as a rule on this point, we think that it would be just to decide the difference in favour of the weaker party, especially when she is already undergoing the sacrifices which this rule imposes on her in all the points where it is manifestly against her. My Government equally consider it as essential that the frontier should be traced in conformity with the necessities of the defence of Denmark, for these necessities must be taken into consideration by the Conference, whose mission is, whilst satisfying the legitimate claims of Germany, to take care that the new arrangements should sufficiently guarantee the independence of Denmark, and the interests of the balance of power in the North of Europe.'"

After having read this passage of Protocol No. 6 of the 28th of May, the Plenipotentiary of Russia resumed:—

"I have thought it my duty to remind the Conference of these words, since they serve to describe with complete accuracy the character of the mission of perfect equity, of conciliation, and of peace, which we have been called upon to perform.

"I have one further observation to make. It relates to a declaration which the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark were instructed to make in the sitting of the 2nd of June. They announced on that occasion that the Government of His Majesty the King expected that the future destiny of the provinces which should eventually be ceded should not be decided without their consent.

"I must point out the view which I take of this eventuality, in conformity with the instructions with which I am furnished.

"In the opinion of the Imperial Cabinet, as I have said, it is for His Majesty King Christian IX to pronounce his opinion the first as to what is expedient for the interests of his country. If the King of Denmark, with a view to securing the independence and repose of his people, decides on making a cession of territory, he has unquestionably the power so to do in virtue of his rights of sovereignty. He is equally free to attach a condition to the sacrifices which he has resolved to make.

"Consequently, if that august Sovereign chooses that the destiny of the territories ceded by him shall not be decided without their consent, he is in his right.

"While respecting on this point the plenitude of His Danish Majesty's Royal prerogative, I must remark that the plan of arrangement proposed on the 28th of May by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain expressly stated that the question of the consent of the Duchies would not form the object of the Treaty of Peace.

"That plan has obtained the adhesion of the Imperial Cabinet. It is consequently my duty strictly to preserve the line of conduct which the orders of my Court prescribe to me as to the execution of that plan."

The Plenipotentiary of Russia concluded this statement by requesting that the reservation which he had made in the name of his Court might be inserted in the Protocol.

Referring next to the observations of the Earl of Clarendon, Baron de Brunnow declares that he entirely agrees in them. The Court of Russia in giving its cordial assent to the plan proposed by Earl Russell on the 28th of May, sincerely appreciated the motives which induced Her Britannic Majesty's Government to suggest a boundary

line destined to conciliate the various interests which it was necessary to consider, with a view to the restoration of peace. That intention was recognized and unanimously approved by all the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers.

In conclusion, Baron de Brunnow affirms that Lord Russell never intended to propose that line as an ultimatum, nor to impose it as such on the belligerent Powers.

Count de Bernstorff declares that the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers have always understood the proposal of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain in the sense of the explanations which they have just heard, and not in that of an ultimatum.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne remarks that he also joined in the proposal of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, because it was considered by his Government as perfectly equitable; but that in giving his adhesion to that proposal, he did not in the least mean to deprive the neutral Powers of the right of putting forward any other combination, if that one was rejected, with a view to arriving at an arrangement.

Count Wachtmeister says that he thinks he may refer to the declaration which he made in the sitting of the 28th of May, and in several subsequent sittings, as to the adhesion of his Government to the proposal made by Earl Russell. "We always considered," he says, "that the line of the Slei was the most northern boundary to which His Majesty the King of Denmark could consent, and that the part of the mixed and German district which lies to the north of that boundary should be acquired by Denmark, in exchange for the Duchy of Lauenburg, which His Majesty the King of Denmark was ready to surrender."

M. de Biegeleben, referring to an observation of M. de Krieger, who had said that the mediation already existed in the Conference, points out the difference which exists between such a mediation and that exercised by a neutral Sovereign not represented in the Conference, and inquires if the Danish Plenipotentiaries, although they have declined the proposal of arbitration, could not refer to their Government on the question of the mediation in the form in which it has been accepted by the two German Powers.

M. de Quaade replies that as the line of frontier might be traced more to the north than that which his Government have accepted as the last limit, he considers it useless to refer to Copenhagen. It would, moreover, be necessary in this case to prolong the suspension of arms, which, under the present circumstances, could not probably take place except on conditions to which his Government would not consent.

Earl Russell having left the Conference room during the preceding sitting, and before Count de Bernstorff had made his declaration respecting the ineffectiveness of the blockade previously established by Denmark, desires to inform that Plenipotentiary that the said declaration has been submitted to the Queen's Advocate, who has expressed the opinion that the effectiveness of a blockade more particularly regards the neutral Powers, and that a Prize Court is the tribunal which ought to decide on it.

Count de Bernstorff then reads the following document:—

"The blockade of the ports of Cammin, Swinemünde, Wolgast, Greifswalde, Stralsund and Barth, notified by the Danish Government in the month of February last, and announced as coming into force from the 15th of March, was not put into execution up to the 11th of April, vessels under neutral or Prussian flag not having ceased to enter and leave those ports. Subsequently the state of things was hardly altered, for from the greater part of the said ports no hostile vessel could be seen. It is true that at Swinemunde some were perceived towards the end of the month of March and at the beginning of April; but there also from the 15th of April to the 9th of May, no hostile vessel has been in sight. The Danish vessels have merely stationed themselves to the north and east of the Island of Rügen, generally in the latitude of the promontory of Arcona, and have given chase to the merchant-vessels which came from the east and steered for the coast of Pomerania. At Swinemünde, as well as at Stralsund, the vessels of the Prussian Royal Navy have not ceased to cruize before the ports so as to allow merchant-vessels to come in without danger; and it is authentically averred that during the space of time between the 18th of March and the 2nd of April, fourteen Prussian and neutral vessels came into the port of Swinemünde alone, without having been stopped by the Danish vessels.

The Earl of Clarendon calls the attention of the Conference to the importance of ascertaining, in view of the approaching resumption of hostilities, whether Prussia intends to carry out the doctrine laid down by her Plenipotentiaries in the preceding sitting, claiming the right of re-establishing privateering, in case the Danish blockades should not be effective.

Count de Bernstorff replies that the terms of the declaration which he made in the last sitting only assert the principle that if Denmark does not strictly observe the provisions of one Article of the Declaration of Paris, neither will Prussia consider herself bound

by the other Articles of that International Act with regard to *Denmark*. He remarks that he has already observed that in his declaration privateering was not mentioned, and he adds that that declaration was intended to reserve rights, but not to announce intentions. The Prussian Government certainly do not intend not to perform the obligations which they contracted towards the *other* Powers who signed the Declaration of Paris, and it was precisely for the purpose of eliciting an exchange of ideas on this subject that the declaration was made in the Conference, as some of the Governments to which the Prussian Government had long ago addressed themselves on the subject had not given any opinion on the question.

In reply to an inquiry of Lord Russell, M. de Quaade declares that the Danish Government recognize the stipulations contained in the Declaration of the Congress of Paris respecting maritime law as binding.

M. de Krieger observes that Count de Bernstorff having again maintained that the blockade had not been effective, he must repeat that the blockade was perfectly effective: he expresses a conviction, however, that the Conference is not desirous of discussing questions of fact of this nature.

The Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers insist on the necessity of maintaining the stipulations of the Congress of Paris.

Baron de Brunnow agrees in this opinion, and adds that he is too well acquainted with the character of His Majesty the King of Prussia to suppose that the Cabinet of Berlin intend to re-establish privateering, in contravention of the reciprocal engagements which result from the Declaration of Paris.

M. de Balan expresses himself in these terms:—

"With regard to the observation made by the first Plenipotentiary of Denmark in the last sitting, that His Majesty the King of Denmark has the same rights in the Frisian Islands as, for example, in the Island of Sealand, I have to remark that the Island of Sylt was not occupied on the 12th of May by the Danes, but was, on the contrary, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the allied armies. It is evident that in overrunning the Island of Sylt on the 14th of this month with soldiers of the Danish Marine, and in declaring a town there in a state of siege, the Danish Government have acted in contravention of the stipulations of the 9th of May, which are to the effect that—

"'The belligerent parties agree to preserve their respective military positions by sea and land, and engage not to reinforce them during the continuance of the suspension of hostilities.'"

M. de Quaade asks if he is right in understanding that the Island of Sylt had been occupied by the allied armies, and on the reply that it was not occupied by the Danish army either, he observes that it is not a strategical position, and that His Majesty the King may send troops there just as much as to any other part of the Danish Monarchy.

M. de Krieger adds, that he does not understand how the Island of Sylt, on the western coast of Sleswig, can be considered as within the limits of the military jurisdiction of the allied armies. The contrary must be evident to all the world.

M. de Balan wishes again to state that his Government would consent to a prolongation of the suspension of arms, or to an armistice. He remarks that otherwise hostilities will be resumed on the 26th of June.

M. de Quaade replies, that the Danish Government would be perfectly disposed to consent to a prolongation of the suspension of arms, but that circumstances oppose it, and that in any case there would be conditions to be demanded, which would not be accepted by the allied Powers.

Count Apponyi says that the conditions of armistice to be proposed by the German Powers would be the same as those formerly proposed by Lord Russell, but M. de Quaade explains that those conditions were considered unacceptable.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne asks if the German Plenipotentiaries have no new conditions to propose.

M. de Balan gives it to be understood that the duration of the armistice might form the subject of a further discussion.

The Earl of Clarendon addresses the same question to the Danish Plenipotentiaries, remarking how serious a renewal of the war would be, and that all hopes of peace should not be abandoned, notwithstanding the difficulties which the Conference encounters.

M. de Quaade replies that he deeply regrets it, but that he has no conditions to propose which the German Plenipotentiaries would be disposed to accept. The Danish Government have already declared that they would not consent to an armistice, nor even to a prolongation of the suspension of arms, unless there was a serious chance of a pacific

solution. He has received no further instructions on the subject since then, and at this moment his Government would not decide otherwise.

The Plenipotentiaries agree to meet on Saturday, the 25th of June, at 1 o'clock.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Annex to Protocol No. 11.

LIST OF TREATIES between Great Britain and more than one other Power, and of which Ratifications were Exchanged, not between all the Parties, but only with one Power.

[See pp. 118 and 119.]

Protocole No. 12.—*Séance du* 25 *Juin,* 1864.

Présents :

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de France ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ;
MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse ;
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie ; et
M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède et Norvège.

LE Protocole de la séance précédente est lu et approuvé.

M. le Comte Russell lit la déclaration suivante :—

"Les Puissances belligérantes sont à la veille de reprendre les armes. Cette détermination met fin aux délibérations qui avaient pour objet le rétablissement de la paix.

"Bien que ce but n'ait pas été atteint, il est de mon devoir de rendre justice aux efforts que les Plénipotentiaires réunis en Conférence ont employés à arriver à une conclusion pacifique, et de signaler en même temps les circonstances qui ont mis obstacle à l'accomplissement de cette œuvre de conciliation.

"Dans cette vue, les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne déposent aujourd'hui aux actes de la Conférence un résumé des travaux qui ont commencé le 25 Avril, et qui se terminent le 25 Juin.

"Cette relation constate l'importance que les Représentants des Puissances neutres ont attachée, dès l'ouverture de la Conférence, à maintenir les engagements réciproques résultant du Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852. Elle manifeste aussi leur résolution unanime de ne point se départir de ces engagements avant d'avoir avisé, d'un commun accord, à de nouvelles combinaisons destinées à offrir à la paix générale des garanties équivalentes à celles qui résultaient de l'Acte Européen conclu en 1852.

"Dans cette intention les Plénipotentiaires de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Russie, et de Suède et Norvège, ont voué leurs soins à amener une transaction équitable, destinée à sauvegarder désormais l'indépendance de la Monarchie Danoise, après qu'une lutte inégale eût porté à l'intégrité de cet Etat une atteinte inévitable.

"Les bases de cette transaction ayant été acceptées en principe par les Puissances

belligérantes, il restait à convenir du réglement des questions de détail qu'embrassait ce plan cordialement appuyé par les Puissances neutres.

"Le différend, réduit ainsi à des proportions étroites, aurait admis une solution heureuse, si les décisions d'une Puissance impartiale, à laquelle le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique recommandait de faire appel, avaient été acceptées avec une mutuelle confiance.

"Cet espoir ne se réalisera point. La relation que je vais déposer aux actes de la Conférence indiquera les circonstances qui n'ont point permis d'accomplir un plan de conciliation appuyé par les Puissances neutres et inspiré au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique par un désir sincère de prévenir le retour des calamités de la guerre.

"L'opinion publique verra avec regret que les espérances de la paix se soient évanouies parceque les parties directement engagées dans ce litige ne sont pas parevnues à s'entendre sur le tracé d'une frontière, laissant une différence de quelques milles carrés de terrain, de plus ou de moins, soit au sud, soit au nord. L'opinion publique reconnaîtra aussi que peu de jours de plus donnés à la réflexion, au lieu de recourir aux armes, auraient pu contribuer à calmer les ressentiments, à éclairer les belligérants sur leurs vrais intérêts, et à ramener les Cabinets à des résolutions pacifiques.

"Demain les hostilités vont recommencer, sans que les conseils des Puissances amies de la paix aient réussi à prévenir le renouvellement d'une lutte si profondément regrettable.

"Quelle qu'en soit l'issue, les Cours de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Russie et de Suède, n'en restent pas moins animées du sincère désir de voir la Monarchie Danoise maintenue dans son indépendance, la conservation de cet Etat constituant un élément de l'équilibre dans le Nord.

"Leur vœu en se séparant est que ce principe demeure la base des négociations futures."

Lecture est alors donnée du résumé des travaux de la Conférence dont M. le Comte Russell vient de parler, et cette pièce est sur sa demande annexée au présent Protocole.

M. le Comte de Bernstorff tient à dire quelques mots en réponse à la déclaration de M. le Comte Russell. Il s'exprime ainsi :—

"Nous ne pouvons,comme de raison, pas être autorisés à faire une réponse officielle à la déclaration que M. le Président de la Conférence vient de lire, et dont nous n'avons pas connu d'avance le contenu; mais je crois pouvoir, sans lier d'aucune manière les mains à mon Gouvernement par rapport à des événements qui appartiennent à l'avenir et à des éventualités qui ne sauraient être calculées d'avance, rappeler ici qu'il n'a jamais été dans les intentions de mon Gouvernement de menacer l'indépendance politique du Royaume de Danemark, mais qu'il s'est toujours uniquement agi des Duchés."

M. le Baron de Beust demande quel est le but du résumé dont lecture a été donnée.

M. le Comte de Clarendon répond que c'est un compte-rendu des séances de la Conférence, qui a été rédigé d'un commun accord par MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, et qui n'engage nullement la responsabilité de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des autres Puissances représentées dans la Conférence.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes, ainsi que M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique, se réservent expressément le droit et la faculté d'y répondre.

M. le Comte Apponyi dit qu'il a de son côté une déclaration à faire, dont la lecture lui paraît devenir surtout nécessaire après le résumé qui vient d'être communiqué à la Conférence. Sa déclaration a pour but de sauvegarder les droits et la responsabilité des Gouvernements de l'Autriche et de la Prusse. Il constate en outre que l'absence d'objections de la part des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes à l'acceptation de ce résumé comme annexe au Protocole ne saurait impliquer leur adhésion au contenu de ce document.

Des réserves analogues sont faites par MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ; et M. de Krieger réclame pour la réponse éventuelle de son Gouvernement la même publicité que celle qui sera accordée à l'Annexe précitée.

M. le Comte Apponyi donne alors lecture de la déclaration suivante, au nom de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Cours alliées :—

"Pendant toute la durée des délibérations de la Conférence dont le résultat n'a malheureusement pas répondu au but de pacification qu'elle avait en vue, les Puissances Allemandes n'ont pas cessé d'être animées de cet esprit de paix et de conciliation qui les avait engagées à accepter l'invitation du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique de se réunir en Conférence à Londres pour aviser aux moyens de rétablir la paix.

"L'insurmontable opiniâtreté avec laquelle le Gouvernement Danois s'est soustrait aux engagements contractés et s'est refusé à rendre justice aux sujets Allemands du

Roi-Duc, blessa gravement l'honneur national de l'Allemagne. Après que tous les moyens de conciliation tentés avec une persévérante patience furent épuisés, l'Exécution Fédérale dans le Holstein, l'occupation du Schleswig, et finalement la guerre de l'Autriche et de la Prusse contre le Danemark, devinrent inévitables.

"A la suite de combats meurtriers le continent Danois était tombé au pouvoir des Puissances alliées, et la voix publique de l'Allemagne demandait hautement la rupture complète du lien qui unissait le Schleswig et le Holstein au Danemark, et la formation des deux Duchés en un Etat Allemand indépendant, sous sa propre dynastie.

"Malgré cela, l'Autriche et la Prusse n'hesitèrent pas à entrer dans la Conférence avec des déclarations qui n'étaient pas dirigées en principe contre l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, mais demandaient seulement que le point de droit dans la question de Succession ne fût point préjugé, et que l'indépendance politique et administrative des Duchés fût assurée.

"C'est le Danemark qui rejeta péremptoirement comme inadmissible l'idée d'une union personnelle. Persistant dans sa fatale tendance à incorporer le Schleswig, la Cour de Copenhague repoussa les seules conditions auxquelles les Puissances alliées auraient pu consentir avec honneur à la continuation de l'union des Duchés avec le Danemark.

"Dès ce moment le principe de la séparation des Duchés d'avec la Couronne Danoise devint nécessairement pour les Puissances Allemandes la condition principale de la paix.

"Même dans cette nouvelle phase des négociations, leurs dispositions conciliantes ne se démentirent point. On connaît la haute importance que les habitants du Schleswig et du Holstein attachent à l'intégrité des deux Duchés, et à leur réunion en un Etat indivisible. Ces sentiments méritent d'être respectés, et c'est donc un sacrifice considérable que l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Confédération Germanique auraient porté à leur désir du rétablissement de la paix, en consentant à céder une partie du territoire septentrional du Schleswig à la Couronne de Danemark comme compensation de la rénonciation de Sa Majesté Danoise au Duché de Lauenbourg.

"Les dispositions conciliantes des Puissances Allemandes ne se sont pas arrêtées là. La paix qui paraissait maintenant dépendre d'une entente au sujet du tracé de la frontière aurait pu être conclue, si le Danemark n'avait pas élevé des prétentions qui devaient lui restituer le chef-lieu même du pays que les armes Allemandes avaient soustrait à sa domination, et dont l'Allemagne avait le droit de réclamer la réunion intégrale avec le Holstein.

"Ce furent encore l'Autriche et la Prusse qui pendant tout le cours des négociations, et à chaque occasion, appuyèrent sur la nécessité d'une prolongation de la suspension d'armes ou de la conclusion d'un armistice formel, afin que l'œuvre de la pacification ne fût pas incessamment compromise par le danger toujours imminent du renouvellement des hostilités. A ce sujet aussi, la conduite de nos adversaires a été toute différente. Le Danemark a refusé la proposition des Puissances neutres tendant à la conclusion d'un armistice qui, en échange de l'évacuation complète du Schleswig, lui aurait rendu le Jutland. Il n'a consenti à une suspension des hostilités que pour un mois, et s'est refusé à prolonger ce terme, déjà si court, au delà de quinze jours.

"Un dernier fait signale encore la modération dont les Puissances Allemandes ont fait preuve jusqu'à la fin. Après que les Plénipotentiaires réunis en Conférence eurent échoué dans leurs efforts de s'entendre sur une ligne de frontière à tirer dans le Schleswig, l'Autriche et la Prusse, se pénétrant du texte et de l'esprit du Protocole de Paris de 1856, se déclarèrent prêtes à continuer ces négociations sous la forme d'une médiation confiée à un Souverain neutre, non représenté dans la Conférence. Ce dernier moyen d'arriver à une entente, et dont l'acceptation aurait eu pour conséquence naturelle la continuation de la suspension des hostilités, offerte de nouveau par les Puissances Allemandes, fut également rejeté par le Danemark.

"En conséquence il ne reste aux Plénipotentiaires Allemands qu'un devoir à remplir, c'est celui de déclarer solennellement qu'ils déclinent au nom de leurs Gouvernements la responsabilité du sang qui sera versé et des malheurs qui résulteront du renouvelle ment de la guerre. Cette responsabilité ne saurait retomber sur les Puissances qu'ils ont eu l'honneur de représenter à cette Conférence."

M. le Comte de Bernstorff fait suivre cette déclaration commune par une déclaration additionnelle de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens, conçue en ces termes:—

"Il ne nous reste qu'à ajouter à ce que M. le Comte Apponyi vient de dire au nom des Plénipotentiaires des deux Puissances Allemandes, que nous avons encore fait, au nom de la Prusse, dans l'avant-dernière séance de la Conférence, une proposition qui était essentiellement calculée à donner une solution pacifique à la question qui nous a occupés, et qu'en outre nous nous sommes déclarés prêts, dans la dernière séance,

à prendre la proposition de M. l'Ambassadeur de France *ad referendum*, mais que les deux propositions en question ont été absolument rejetées par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois."

M. de Quaade doit, en son nom, et en celui de ses collègues, décliner, pour son Gouvernement, toute responsabilité de la non-réussite de la négociation et du sang qui sera versé. Il constate que "le Danemark ne s'est arrêté devant aucun sacrifice, compatible avec son existence pour contribuer à l'œuvre de pacification; et que le Gouvernement Danois est par conséquent convaincu de n'avoir aucun reproche à s'adresser si l'on n'est pas parvenu à s'entendre. La situation faite au Gouvernement Danois par les événements est bien différente de celle des Puissances Allemandes, et pour peu qu'on veuille tenir compte de cette différence, on portera sur la conduite du Gouvernement Danois un tout autre jugement que celui formé par les Puissances Allemandes."

M. le premier Plénipotentiaire du Danemark donne alors lecture de la déclaration suivante:—

"Lorsque le Gouvernement Danois reçut l'invitation du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique à une Conférence dont le but était le rétablissement de la paix, il se tenait pour convaincu que le Traité conclu il y a peu d'années, et destiné à donner à l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, comme condition essentielle de l'équilibre politique en Europe, un gage ultérieur de stabilité, serait maintenu par le concours de tous ceux qui avaient participé à sa conclusion.

"Le Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852, n'était pas conditionnel ni hypothétique il ne dépendait pas de l'adhésion d'un tiers.

"Ce Traité n'altérait rien dans les rapports entre le Slesvig et la Couronne Danoise, dans laquelle ce pays est incorporé depuis plus d'un siècle; il n'altérait rien non plus dans les rapports entre les Duchés de Lauenbourg et de Holstein et la Confédération Germanique, dont le Roi de Danemark fait partie pour le Holstein et le Lauenbourg, et il ne donnait à la Confédération Germanique aucune espèce de compétence autre que celle qui lui revenait en vertu de l'Acte Fédéral et des résolutions subséquentes prises légalement par suite de cet Acte. Pour ce qui regarde particulièrement le Slesvig, la Diète Germanique a reconnu déjà en 1823 que ce Duché se trouve parfaitement en dehors de toute influence de la part de la Confédération Germanique.

"Non seulement tous les Souverains non-Allemands, mais aussi (à une exception près) tous les Etats plus considérables et plusieurs des Etats moins considérables de l'Allemagne, participèrent à la conclusion du Traité de Londres, ou adhérèrent dans la suite à ce Traité. Aucun Arrêté Fédéral ne peut affranchir les Etats Allemands des obligations qu'ainsi ils ont prises; la Confédération Germanique ne peut délier aucun des Souverains représentés à l'Assemblée Fédérale des obligations contractées par eux de la manière la plus solennelle. Une pratique contraire bouleverserait entièrement le principe de droit Européen, sur lequel l'existence de la Confédération est basée.

"L'autorité de la Confédération Germanique est limitée par des Traités, par l'Acte Fédéral, et par des résolutions subséquentes prises légalement par suite de cet Acte. Ses membres ne sont pas légalement soumis à un vote de majorité quelconque. Le Gouvernement Danois n'a point reconnu la légalité des raisons sur lesquelles la Confédération a basé la résolution d'exécution qui fut effectuée dans le Duché de Holstein au courant de l'hiver dernier; mais il n'a pas cru dans le temps devoir s'y opposer de force, de même qu'il s'est soumis à la suspension tout-à-fait illégale de l'autorité du Roi dans le Lauenbourg.

"La Prusse et l'Autriche ont pénétré à main armée dans les pays non-Allemands du Roi de Danemark. Ces Puissances ont commencé cette guerre, en alléguant comme raison que le Roi de Danemark se serait soustrait arbitrairement au remplissement de certaines obligations contractées avec la Prusse et l'Autriche.

"Le Danemark, prêt à rendre compte de ses actions, réclama lui-même une médiation en conformité de la Déclaration de Paris. Il accepta plus tard l'invitation à une Conférence, supposant que les transactions, dont la prétendue violation avait offert le prétexte à l'invasion, offrirait aussi la base des négociations. Le Gouvernement Danois est persuadé que si une discussion avait eu lieu sur cette base, il aurait été prouvé que ce n'est pas le Danemark qui s'est soustrait arbitrairement au remplissement de ses obligations; il croit plutôt qu'il aurait été démontré que c'est l'Allemagne qui a rendu impossible au Roi d'exécuter les intentions auxquelles les Puissances Allemandes s'étaient engagées à ne pas mettre obstacle. Cette discussion a été repoussée par la Prusse et l'Autriche, et au lieu de profiter de l'occasion qui s'offrait encore d'arriver à un arrangement à l'amiable, on a voulu se soustraire aux obligations Européennes créées par le Traité de Londres.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Danois n'ont pas besoin de parler ici de l'état de choses qui a été la conséquence de l'attitude prise ainsi par les Puissances Allemandes. Le Gouvernement Danois s'était livré à l'espoir que les sacrifices auxquels il s'était déclaré prêt en acceptant la proposition du 28 Mai dernier, suffiraient pour le rétablissement de la paix; mais cet espoir n'ayant pas été réalisé il ne reste aux Plénipotentiaires Danois qu'à rappeler la réserve consignée à la fin de leur déclaration du 2 Juin; et ils sont chargés de déclarer expressément qu'en vertu de cette réserve le Gouvernement Danois reprend dès-à-présent, sur le terrain du Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852, la position qu'il n'avait quittée que provisoirement par amour pour la paix et à la condition que la paix à conclure fût propre à remplacer les dispositions du dit Traité."

M. le Baron de Beust s'est exprimé en ces termes:—

"La tâche qui m'était imposée en entrant dans la Conférence consistait principalement à maintenir intacte une question de droit. La Conférence a apprécié, je l'espère, combien son accomplissement devait limiter mes tendances personnelles à me montrer conciliant et à entrer dans des voies de transaction. Mais je me flatte de n'avoir jamais oublié les ménagements qui me semblaient nécessaires pour ne pas blesser des susceptibilités. Je n'en regrette que davantage qu'à la fin de nos délibérations seulement M. le premier Plénipotentiaire du Danemark ait soulevé des questions que je n'ai pas voulu aborder, et que j'aurais voulu au moins discuter plus tôt. Cependant, puisqu'on veut revenir sur le Traité de 1852, je me permettrai également quelques mots à ce sujet. Il ne m'appartient pas de décider la question de savoir si après tout ce qui s'est passé à la Conférence, le Traité de Londres peut être regardé comme intact, bien qu'il me semble qu'un Traité est ou valide ou ne l'est pas, et que du moment qu'on a proposé et fait accepter le contraire, ou ne peut plus prétendre qu'il le soit. Il suffit, à mon point de vue, que la Confédération n'y a jamais adhéré. Aujourd'hui, on me cite les adhésions des Gouvernements Allemands. Il y en a eu en effet: il y a eu aussi des réserves, par exemple, celle de la Saxe, relativement à la compétence de la Diète. Mais qu'il me soit permis d'aller plus loin. Je n'ai jamais nié que dans le principe le Traité de Londres n'ait eu un but salutaire; quelques Gouvernements Allemands l'ont même reconnu: seulement il fallait faire ce qui était nécessaire pour le rendre exécutoire. Si le Gouvernement Danois avait profité des premières années après la conclusion du Traité pour faire jouir les Duchés des bienfaits d'un Gouvernement paternel, s'il avait respecté leur Constitution, respecté surtout le libre usage de la langue Allemande; nul doute qu'il n'eût réussi à obtenir le consentement des agnats, des Etats, et de la Confédération; et alors il n'est guère probable qu'il y aurait eu des convulsions à la mort de Sa Majesté le Roi Frédéric VII. Mais les choses s'étant passées différemment, la Diète a eu à se prononcer dans des circonstances qui rendaient toute adhésion impossible.

"Les Gouvernements Allemands ont dû se rappeler de leurs devoirs Fédéraux, et je conteste que la politique de la Confédération doive se régler d'après les actes des divers Gouvernements. Quant à l'exposé dont M. le Comte Apponyi a donné lecture, je le juge conforme à la vérité. S'il fallait une preuve de plus pour constater que les deux Puissances Allemandes se sont montrées conciliantes, on la trouverait dans un rapprochement entre les déclarations de leurs Plénipotentiaires et les miennes.

"Pour ce qui est enfin du résumé dont il a été donné lecture, ne pouvant ni le trouver complet, ni en partager les appréciations, je prie de ne pas prendre mon silence pour une adhésion. Chaque Plénipotentiaire sera libre à son tour de soumettre à qui de droit un résumé de la marche de la Conférence."

M. le Comte Apponyi propose à la Conférence d'adresser, avant de se séparer, des remerciements à M. le Comte Russell. Il s'est exprimé ainsi:—

"Messieurs! Au moment de clôre nos délibérations, je crois être l'interprête des sentiments de tous les Plénipotentiaires, en offrant en leur nom à M. le Comte Russell tous les remerciements de la Conférence pour l'esprit de conciliation et la courtoisie avec laquelle il en a dirigé les travaux.

"Quel que soit le résultat de nos réunions, nous n'en emporterons pas moins tous un souvenir précieux de la bienveillance personnelle de notre Président."

Cette proposition ayant été adoptée à l'unanimité, M. le Comte Russell en remercie la Conférence dans les termes suivants:—

"Je remercie MM. les Plénipotentiaires de l'honneur qu'ils m'ont fait.

"C'est grâce à l'aide et à l'appui qu'ils ont bien voulu m'accorder, que nos discussions ont été conduites dans l'esprit de modération et de courtoisie qu'exigeait la liberté complète avec laquelle nos opinions ont été émises.

"Je remplis un devoir bien agréable en exprimant à mes collègues de la Conférence ma vive reconnaissance pour le concours qu'ils m'ont prêté."

Sur la proposition de M. de Balan, la Conférence adresse ses remerciements à Mr. Stuart pour les soins qu'il a apportés à la rédaction des Protocoles.

Le présent Protocole est lu et approuvé.

(Signé) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE. WACHTMEISTER.

Annexe au Protocole No. 12.

Résumé des Délibérations de la Conférence de Londres du 25 Avril jusqu'au 22 Juin, 1864.

A L'INVITATION du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, les Plénipotentiaires des Cours d'Autriche, de Danemark, et de France, de la Confédération Germanique, des Cours de Prusse, de Russie, et de Suède et Norvège, se sont réunis en Conférence, à Londres, dans le but de s'entendre sur les arrangements à prendre d'un commun accord, afin de rétablir la paix entre le Danemark et l'Allemagne.

La première réunion a eu lieu le 25 Avril.

Pour nous rendre un compte exact de la situation relative des belligérants à cette époque, il suffit de jeter un regard sur la carte et de rappeler en peu de mots les événements qui ont précédé l'ouverture de la Conférence.

Le Duché de Holstein avait été militairement occupé par les troupes Fédérales, en vertu d'une mesure décrétée par la Diète de Francfort. Cette occupation, il faut le constater, s'était effectuée sans coup férir, le Roi Chrétien IX ayant résolu de ne point s'opposer par la force des armes à une mesure prise par la Confédération Germanique, dont il devait reconnaître l'autorité en qualité de Duc de Holstein.

Au mois de Février, une armée Austro-Prussienne franchit l'Eider pour prendre possession du Duché de Slesvig, comme un gage matériel de l'exécution des engagements contractés par le Gouvernement Danois en 1851 et 1852.

Après une lutte courageuse mais inégale, les troupes Danoises s'étaient repliées jusqu'au nord du Jutland.

Un combat longtemps indécis se livrait encore devant la position fortifiée de Düppel. Elle venait d'être emportée par les troupes Prussiennes, la veille du jour fixé pour l'ouverture des Conférences.

Au même moment, la garnison Danoise, abandonnant librement la forteresse de Frédéricia, avait livré aux alliés la clé de la position du Jutland.

A l'exception de l'extrémité septentrionale de cette province, au nord du Lime Fiord,—toute la partie continentale de la Monarchie Danoise se trouvait ainsi au pouvoir des alliés, à l'époque où les Plénipotentiaires allaient entrer en délibération afin d'arriver au rétablissement de la paix.

Vaincu sur terre ferme, le Danemark maintenait sa supériorité en mer. Sa marine bloquait les ports et capturait les navires marchands des Puissances Allemandes.

En représaille des pertes essuyées par leur commerce, les alliés faisaient retomber sur les habitants du Jutland une contribution de guerre évaluée à 650,000 écus, ou 90,000 livres sterling.

Tel était l'état des choses au 25 Avril.

Le premier soin des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne a eu pour objet d'inviter les belligérants à consentir à une suspension des hostilités ; mesure préalable également réclamée dans l'intérêt de l'humanité et dans celui des négociations confiées aux soins de la Conférence.

Cette proposition, faite par le Comte Russell dans la séance du 25 Avril, a été appuyée unanimement par les Plénipotentiaires de France, de Russie, et de Suède.

Une discussion prolongée s'est engagée sur la suspension simultanée des hostilités par terre et sur mer. Le Gouvernement Danois a insisté d'abord sur le maintien du

blocus, qu'il considérait comme l'équivalent de l'occupation des Duchés par les troupes alliées.

L'insuffisance des pouvoirs dont les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes se sont trouvés munis, s'est fait sentir une première fois durant ce débat. La nécessité de recourir à de nouvelles instructions de Copenhague, de Berlin, et de Vienne, a occasionné des délais qui ont interrompu les travaux de la Conférence de la manière la plus regrettable pour le succès de ses délibérations.

La rapidité même des communications télégraphiques s'est trouvée insuffisante pour vaincre cette difficulté! On s'en persuadera lorsqu'on saura que les voies de correspondance directe étant interdites aux Plénipotentiaires du Danemark, par l'état de guerre, ils ont été obligés de correspondre avec leur Gouvernement par la route de St. Pétersbourg, de la Laponie et de Stockholm.

Ces circonstances expliquent comment il se fait que la question de la suspension des hostilités, abordée le 25 Avril, n'a été résolue que dans la troisième séance, le 9 Mai, après une perte de temps de deux semaines.

Nous abrégerons le récit de ce long débat. Dans l'opinion des Représentants des Puissances neutres il eût été préférable de conclure un armistice régulier, d'une certaine durée, afin de laisser aux négociations toute la latitude nécessaire. Les Cours de Prusse et d'Autriche se sont montrées prêtes à consentir à cette proposition. Le Cabinet Danois n'a point voulu y adhérer, car les mesures de représailles par mer étant les seules qui fussent au pouvoir du Danemark, il est facile à comprendre que les Plénipotentiaires Danois n'aient pas voulu priver leur Gouvernement de cette arme, pendant un espace de temps trop prolongé, surtout dans la Baltique, où la navigation est de courte durée.

Nous indiquons cette considération dans un esprit de stricte équité, quelque nuisible que fut pour la négociation elle-même la restriction apportée par le Danemark à la suspension des hostilités.

Le Gouvernement Danois l'a limitée à quatre semaines, savoir, du 12 Mai au 12 Juin.

Le Protocole No. 3 détermine les conditions de cette trêve. Elles peuvent se résume en ces termes :—

"Il y aura suspension d'hostilités sur mer et par terre, à dater du 12 Mai, pour l'espace d'un mois;

"Le même jour le Danemark levera les blocus;

"La Prusse et l'Autriche s'obligent, pendant la suspension des hostilités, à ne pas entraver, dans les parties du Jutland occupées par leurs armées le commerce, ni les communications, ni la marche régulière de l'administration; à ne point lever de contributions de guerre, mais à payer au contraire tout ce qui serait fourni aux troupes Allemandes, qui continueront seulement à occuper leurs positions stratégiques actuelles;

"Les parties belligérantes conviennent qu'elles conserveront leurs positions militaires respectives sur terre et par mer; et s'interdisent de les renforcer pendant la suspension des hostilités;

"Notification officielle en sera faite aux Commandants des forces belligérantes de terre et de mer par leurs Gouvernements respectifs."

Cette notification n'est pas arrivée à temps pour empêcher le combat naval qui a eu lieu à peu de distance de l'Ile d'Heligoland. Mais les coups de canon échangés entre les forces respectives ont été les derniers depuis cette époque jusqu'à ce jour.

La Conférence n'a pas à regretter d'avoir offert aux belligérants, et procuré au commerce, cet intervalle de sécurité et de repos.

Après avoir obtenu ce premier résultat, les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont proposé de procéder, dans la prochaine séance, à la discussion de préliminaires de paix.

Dans ce but, le 12 Mai Lord Russell, après avoir rappelé l'adhésion donnée par les Cours de Vienne et de Berlin à la proposition de se réunir en Conférence à Londres pour aviser aux moyens de rétablir la paix, a reconnu qu'il appartenait à MM. les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche et de Prusse d'exposer les motifs qui ont engagé leurs Gouvernements à occuper une grande partie du territoire Danois, et de faire connaître les intentions de leurs Cours en vue du rétablissement d'une paix solide.

En réponse à cet appel, M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de Prusse a cru devoir déclarer que les Puissances Allemandes, avant d'entrer en discussion sur les conditions du rétablissement de la paix avec le Danemark, doivent faire observer qu'elles regardent "le terrain de la discussion comme entièrement libre de toute restriction résultant d'engagements qui peuvent avoir existé avant la guerre entre leurs Gouvernements et le Danemark." "En revendiquant ainsi pour elles-mêmes une entière liberté de discussion et la faculté de faire telles propositions qu'elle jugeront de nature à assurer

une pacification solide et durable, les Puissances Allemandes n'entendent exclure aucune combinaison qui pourra servir à faire atteindre ce but, sans porter préjudice à des droits acquis."

Les développements dans lesquels MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Cours Allemandes sont entrés à ce sujet durant les séances du 12 et du 17 Mai ont mis au grand jour une divergence complète d'opinion entre tous les Membres de la Conférence quant à la validité des engagements résultant du Traité de Londres de 1852.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont maintenu le respect dû aux obligations réciproques contractées par toutes les Puissances signataires de ce Traité. Ils ont fait observer que quoique la guerre puisse, à la rigueur, dissoudre un Traité entre deux Puissances devenues belligérantes, elle ne saurait dégager ces Puissances de leurs obligations envers les autres Puissances cosignataires du même Traité. Ils ont démontré qu'avant de déchirer cet Acte il faudrait justifier cette décision par des raisons satisfaisantes. Enfin avant de se départir d'une transaction il faudrait dire par quoi on prétend le remplacer.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie s'est énoncé entièrement dans le même esprit. "Il a maintenu qu'avant d'abandonner un Traité qui a été ratifié par les Puissances signataires, dans l'intérêt général de l'Europe, il faudrait donner des raisons jugées satisfaisantes d'un commun accord. Ces raisons devraient être bien graves. Le Traité de 1852 a eu pour objet de consolider la paix du Nord et de sauvegarder l'équilibre Européen. Il a été conclu non seulement entre les Puissances actuellement en guerre, mais entre toutes les Puissances qui y ont participé. Leurs Représentants, réunis aujourd'hui en Conférence, sont libres assurément d'échanger leurs idées sur de nouvelles combinaisons à adopter, pourvu qu'elles soient de nature à offrir à la paix de l'Europe des garanties équivalentes à celles sur lesquelles repose aujourd'hui le système de l'équilibre général."

M. le Ministre de Suède, en adhérant au point de vue développé par le Plénipotentiaire de Russie, a fait observer que comme Plénipotentiaire d'une des Puissances signataires du Traité de 1852, il doit maintenir cette base de négociation jusqu'à ce qu'il soit prouvé qu'elle est insuffisante pour atteindre le but de la Conférence actuelle; qu'avant de l'abandonner il faut tout au moins connaître la nature exacte des arrangements que l'on propose d'y substituer.

M. l'Ambassadeur de France, animé des mêmes dispositions conciliantes, a demandé aux Plénipotentiaires Allemands si, dans le cas où les arrangements de 1851 et de 1852 ne seraient pas susceptibles d'être maintenus, ils ne croiraient pas possible d'y substituer de nouvelles combinaisons, sans s'écarter du cercle tracé par les stipulations du Traité.

M. de Quaade a soutenu que son Gouvernement regarde le Traité de 1852 comme étant toujours en vigueur. M. le Baron de Beust a constaté que sa validité n'a jamais été reconnue par la Confédération.

En présence de doctrines aussi divergentes, on ne pouvait guère s'attendre à parvenir à un résultat conforme à la pensée de conciliation et de paix dans laquelle le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique avait invité les Cabinets à se faire représenter en Conférence à Londres.

Cependant, quelque incertain que parût, dès l'origine, l'espoir d'arriver à une conclusion satisfaisante, les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, dans un complet accord avec les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, n'en persistèrent pas moins dans leurs efforts afin d'amener un rapprochement entre les deux parties belligérantes.

Animé par ce désir, le Comte Russell a ouvert la séance du 17 Mai par rappeler l'engagement pris par M. le Comte de Bernstorff d'annoncer les bases de pacification que les Cours d'Autriche et de Prusse se proposaient de soumettre à la Conférence.

Le Protocole No. 5 expose les moyens que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont considérés comme les plus propres à amener une pacification solide et durable. Selon l'expression de M. le Comte de Bernstorff, "c'est une pacification qui assure aux Duchés des garanties absolues contre le retour de toute oppression étrangère, et qui en excluant ainsi pour l'avenir tout sujet de querelle, de révolution, et de guerre, garantisse à l'Allemagne la sécurité dans le Nord, dont elle a besoin pour ne pas retomber périodiquement dans l'état de choses qui a amené la guerre actuelle. Ces garanties ne sauraient être trouvées que dans l'indépendance politique complète des Duchés étroitement unis par des institutions communes."

Les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres n'ont pas considéré ce programme comme positif, clair, et satisfaisant. Ils ont jugé nécessaire d'inviter MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands à présenter leur plan sous une forme plus précise.

M. le Comte Apponyi a répondu "que la proposition comprend l'autonomie complète des Duchés, avec des institutions communes et une entière indépendance sous le rapport politique et administratif, afin d'éviter les complications qui ont eu lieu

jusqu'à présent. Quant à la question de la Succession, elle est restée ouverte, la Diète n'ayant fait qu'en suspendre la solution, sans se prononcer sur les droits du Roi de Danemark."

M. le Comte de Clarendon n'a pas pu s'empêcher de dire que la proposition des Plénipotentiaires Allemands est tellement vague qu'aucun membre de la Conférence ne peut en saisir la portée.

Le langage de M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique a été plus explicite :—

"Il a cru devoir rappeler qu'il ne s'est pas associé à la proposition faite par les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche et de la Prusse; et que, sans en être chargé par ses instructions, il ne peut s'empêcher d'affirmer officieusement que la majorité de la Diète ne consentira point à un arrangement qui, même sous une forme éventuelle ou conditionnelle, rétablirait une union entre les Duchés et le Danemark."

Que fallait-il conclure de l'ensemble de ces explications? Il en résultait que dans la pensée des Cours de Vienne et de Berlin il s'agissait de rendre les Duchés complètement indépendants sous le rapport politique et administratif, de laisser subsister un lien dynastique entre les Duchés et la Monarchie Danoise; mais de subordonner ce lien dynastique à la décision que la Diète de Francfort porterait sur la validité des titres du Roi Chrétien IX en sa qualité de Duc de Holstein.

Pour achever de caractériser le mérite de ce programme, mis en avant au nom de l'Autriche et de la Prusse, il importe de constater que le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique a cru devoir ne point s'y associer. Finalement, ce Ministre a affirmé que la majorité de la Diète refuserait son adhésion à un arrangement qui, même sous une formelle conditionelle, rétablirait une union entre les Duchés et le Danemark!

Ces explications n'ont point permis aux Plénipotentiaires Danois de donner leur assentiment à un semblable programme. Aussi n'ont-ils pas hésité à le déclarer entièrement inadmissible.

Ce refus a mis fin à la première combinaison, proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands en vue de rétablir une paix solide et durable.

La séance du 28 Mai a été ouverte par une seconde proposition présentée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche et de Prusse. Ce plan, encore plus inattendu que le premier, a eu pour objet de demander la séparation complète des Duchés de Slesvig et de Holstein du Royaume de Danemark, et leur réunion dans un seul Etat sous la souveraineté du Prince Héréditaire de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Augustenbourg.

Le Protocole No. 6 expose les raisons qui ont déterminé l'Ambassadeur de Russie à manifester son dissentiment à l'égard de la proposition de MM. les Plénipotentiaires des Cours d'Allemagne de détacher de la Monarchie Danoise le Holstein et le Slesvig en entier, et de placer cet Etat sous une dynastie nouvelle.

D'abord, selon lui, de quel droit disposerait-on de ces contrées? Elles sont occupées de fait par les alliés. De droit, elles ne leur appartiennent point.

Quant à la combinaison dynastique dont la proposition des Cours d'Allemagne fait mention, l'Ambassadeur de Russie a fait observer qu'elle préjugerait une question qui ne saurait être résolue isolément. Elle n'est pas encore ouverte pour celles des Puissances qui tiennent le Traité de Londres pour obligatoire. De plus, à son avis, Monseigneur le Prince d'Augustenbourg n'est pas le seul qui ait des prétentions à élever. Lorsque la question de Succession dans le Holstein viendrait à s'ouvrir, d'autres droits réclameraient un examen sérieux. Notamment Monseigneur le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg aurait à faire valoir de justes titres. Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie s'est fait un devoir de les réserver.

Le refus que MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark ont opposé au plan proposé par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands est conçu en ces termes :—

"Si le Gouvernement Danois a trouvé que la proposition de la séance précédente était inadmissible, à plus forte raison lui est-il impossible de discuter celle-ci."

Deux combinaisons mises en avant le 17 et le 28 Mai venaient d'être écartées ainsi l'une après l'autre sans que la négociation eût fait un seul pas en avant, tandis que la suspension des hostilités s'avançait vers son terme. Dans cet état des choses les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont pensé que le moment était arrivé où il fallait ne plus tarder à ouvrir aux belligérants la voie qui pouvait les conduire à une transaction honorable. Ils ont reconnu qu'à moins de poser les bases d'une paix solide et durable, il n'appartenait point aux Puissances neutres de renoncer au Traité de Londres. Elles ne pouvaient pas non plus concourir à un nouvel arrangement, insuffisant pour l'Allemagne, ou humiliant pour le Danemark. Enfin, les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne se sont montrés profondément pénétrés de la conviction qu'il fallait d'une part porter respect au sentiment national avec lequel les Danois savent maintenir l'indépen-

dance et l'honneur de leur ancienne Monarchie, de l'autre donner, dans la mesure du possible, une juste satisfaction aux sympathies qui unissent de tout tems les populations d'origine Allemande, qui habitent les deux rives de l'Eider.

C'est dans ces éléments de conciliation et de concorde que Lord Russell a recherché les moyens d'effectuer entre les belligérants un rapprochement désirable. Dans ce but il a donné lecture de la déclaration suivante :—

"Les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont vu avec un vif regret que la dernière séance de la Conférence n'a pas eu pour résultat d'établir les bases d'un accord entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark.

"Selon nous on ne saurait pas trouver les éléments d'une paix solide et durable, ni dans les engagements de 1851, lesquels pendant douze ans n'ont porté d'autre fruit que dissentiments et troubles, ni dans l'analyse d'un droit obscur et compliqué.

"Mais à moins de pouvoir poser les bases d'une paix solide et durable, il n'est pas de la compétence des Puissances neutres de renoncer au Traité solennel par lequel elles ont reconnu l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et elles ne pourraient non plus concourir à un nouvel arrangement qui serait insuffisant pour l'Allemagne, ou humiliant pour le Danemark.

"Il faut donc chercher ailleurs les éléments d'une paix solide et durable.

"Depuis de longues années une vive sympathie envers leurs frères sujets du Roi de Danemark anime les Allemands de la Confédération Germanique. Les Danois, de leur côté, sont inspirés par l'amour de l'indépendance et le désir de maintenir leur ancienne Monarchie. Ces sentiments, de part et d'autre, méritent le respect de l'Europe.

"Pour prévenir une lutte future, et pour satisfaire à l'Allemagne, il faudrait, selon nous, séparer entièrement de la Monarchie Danoise, le Holstein, le Lauenbourg, et la partie méridionale du Slesvig.

"Pour justifier un sacrifice aussi vaste de la part du Danemark, et pour maintenir l'indépendance de la Monarchie Danoise, il est à désirer, selon nous, que la ligne de la frontière ne soit pas traçée plus au nord que l'embouchure de la Slei et la ligne du Dannewerke.

"Il faut aussi pour la sécurité du Danemark que la Confédération Germanique n'érige et ne maintienne pas des forteresses, ni n'établisse pas des ports fortifiés, dans le territoire cédé par le Danemark.

"Un arrangement équitable de la dette publique, et la renonciation par l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Confédération Germanique, à tout droit d'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures du Danemark, serviraient à compléter les relations amicales entre l'Allemagne et le Danemark.

"Il reste une question qui ne serait pas l'objet du Traité de Paix, mais qui intéresse l'Allemagne et ne peut pas être passée sous silence. Dans l'opinion des Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, il doit être entendu que la destinée future du Duché de Holstein, du Duché de Lauenbourg, et de la partie méridionale du Duché de Slesvig qui sera annexée au Duché de Holstein, ne sera pas réglée sans leur consentement.

"Si le Roi de Danemark consent aux sacrifices de territoire qu'au nom de la paix on lui demande, il sera juste que l'indépendance de son Royaume soit garantie par les Grandes Puissances Européennes."

Ce plan, préalablement communiqué aux Représentants des Puissances neutres, a obtenu depuis leur plus cordial appui dans la Conférence.

L'adhésion de M. le Plénipotentiaire de France a été exprimée en ces termes :—

"Les idées que M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat vient d'exposer, relativement aux principes d'après lesquels devrait être réglée l'affaire Dano-Allemande, s'accordent pleinement avec les vues que j'étais chargé moi-même de soutenir dans la Conférence. Après avoir étudié les causes du conflit actuel, mon Gouvernement est demeuré convaincu qu'elles résidaient dans la mauvaise distribution des différents groupes de population dont la Monarchie Danoise est composée, ainsi que dans leurs rivalités incessantes et qu'il était, dès lors, nécessaire de rechercher les bases d'une entente dans des dispositions nouvelles plus en harmonie avec le sentiment national des deux peuples. L'arrangement dont M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat nous indique les bases, consistant à départager, autant que possible, les deux nationalités dans le Slesvig, en incorporant les Danois au Danemark, et en reliant plus étroitement les Allemands au Holstein et au Lauenbourg, ne pouvait donc manquer de rencontrer l'adhésion du Gouvernement de l'Empereur. L'application de ce principe ne semble pas, au surplus, devoir donner lieu à aucune difficulté pour les deux parties extrêmes du Slesvig, où la nationalité se trouve nettement déterminée. Quant aux districts mixtes du centre, de quelque manière que l'on décide de leur sort, il y aura toujours là des Danois soumis à un pays Allemand ou des Allemands soumis au Danemark. Devant l'impossibilité absolue

de prendre, sur ce point, la nationalité pour règle, nous pensons qu'il serait juste de trancher le différend en faveur de la plus faible des parties, surtout quand elle subit déjà les sacrifices que cette règle lui impose sur tous les points où elle est manifestement contre elle. Mon Gouvernement considère également comme essentiel que la frontière soit tracée conformément aux nécessités de la défense du Danemark, car ces nécessités doivent être prises en considération par la Conférence, dont la mission est, en donnant satisfaction aux légitimes réclamations de l'Allemagne, de veiller à ce que les arrangements nouveaux garantissent suffisamment l'indépendance du Danemark et les intérêts de l'équilibre Européen dans le Nord."

L'assentiment du Plénipotentiaire de Russie a été exprimé de la manière ci-après :—

"Dans l'opinion du Cabinet de Russie, il appartient à Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien IX de se prononcer le premier sur ce qui convient aux intérêts de son pays. Si cet auguste Souverain approuvait les bases de la pacification à conclure, le Cabinet Impérial ne refuserait point son assentiment à une transaction que la Cour de Copenhague aurait librement acceptée.

"Mais, aussi longtemps que les stipulations du Traité de Londres conservent pour le Danemark, comme pour les Puissances neutres, leur force obligatoire, le Plénipotentiaire de Russie doit décliner une délibération, selon lui, prématurée, sur le sort futur de territoires dont Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark n'a pas fait abandon.

"Si, par la suite, Sa Majesté le Roi Chrétien IX renonçait au Duché de Holstein, la question de la Succession serait ouverte. A l'avis du Plénipotentiaire de Russie, elle ne pourrait recevoir une solution légale qu'en portant respect à la justice de la cause des parties intéressées, qui auraient à faire valoir leurs titres, conformément aux principes du droit public."

L'assentiment de M. le Plénipotentiaire de Suède est contenu dans la déclaration suivante :—

"M. le Comte Wachtmeister a déclaré que son Gouvernement reconnaît, comme la Grande Bretagne, que si les Traités de 1852 doivent être abandonnés, on ne saurait trouver une solution en dehors du principe de la séparation des deux nationalités Danoise et Allemande. Partant de ce point de vue, son Gouvernement aurait trouvé plus naturel que la frontière nouvelle du Danemark fût établie sur l'Eider, parceque ce fleuve a de tout temps séparé le Danemark et l'Allemagne.

"Il est toutefois autorisé à adhérer à la proposition émise par M. le Comte Russell, à condition que la frontière du Danemark ne soit pas placée plus au nord que la Slei et le Dannewirke, que la partie du Slesvig située au nord de cette ligne soit complètement incorporée au Danemark, que l'Allemagne n'ait à l'avenir aucun droit d'immixtion dans les affaires intérieures de cette Monarchie, et que la nouvelle frontière à établir soit placée sous une garantie Européenne.

"Quant aux provinces qui dans l'éventualité susdite seraient cédées par le Roi de Danemark, son Gouvernement entend que leur sort futur ne soit point réglé sans leur consentement, et que la liberté du choix des populations soit entourée de garanties suffisantes."

MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont accepté le principe du plan de Lord Russell, en réservant à leurs Cours le droit de faire des contre-propositions sur les différentes questions de détail dont se compose l'arrangement projeté.

MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark se sont chargés de porter ce projet à la connaissance de leur Cour, ne doutant point de l'attention sérieuse avec laquelle il serait accueilli.

Cette attente a été justifiée.

Le Protocole du 2 Juin, No. 7, contient la déclaration faite par M. de Quaade d'ordre de sa Cour. Cette pièce manifeste une intention si noble et si élevée que nous croyons devoir en conserver le texte en entier dans le présent compte-rendu des délibérations de la Conférence de Londres :—

"Lorsque, à l'époque de la conclusion du Traité de Londres, le Roi actuel de Danemark accepta le choix qu'on avait fait de sa personne pour succéder éventuellement au Roi régnant alors, la résolution de Sa Majesté avait pour motif principal et décisif le ferme espoir que l'Europe saurait maintenir ce qu'elle avait reconnu et arrêté par ce Traité solennel. Sa Majesté ne voulut point par son refus mettre obstacle à ce que l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise reçut un gage ultérieur de stabilité, et elle savait, grâce aux renonciations et aux sacrifices faits par les ayant-droit, qu'elle ne lésait les droits de personne, en acceptant l'offre qu'on lui avait faite.

"Depuis lors les choses ont changé, et Sa Majesté a dû subir un désappointement des plus cruels ; malgré ses propres efforts et ceux de son peuple dévoué, son seul soutien

pour faire aboutir une œuvre à laquelle presque toute l'Europe avait concouru, Sa Majesté a dû prendre en considération la possibilité que ses espérances ne seront pas réalisées.

"S'il en devait être ainsi, si réellement les Puissances de l'Europe veulent abandonner le Traité de Londres, Sa Majesté, pour éviter la reprise des hostilités, ne s'opposera pas à une cession territoriale, pourvu toutefois qu'elle obtienne par là non seulement la paix, mais aussi une existence indépendante et parfaitement autonome pour ce qui lui restera de ses Etats, et à la condition que la destinée future des territoires cédés ne soit pas réglée sans leur consentement.

"Le Gouvernement Danois accepte donc en principe la proposition faite à la dernière séance par M. le Comte Russell pour le rétablissement de la paix entre le Danemark et les deux grandes Puissances Allemandes.

"Mais pour que la paix que nous appelons de tous nos vœux apporte une véritable pacification, il faut qu'elle soit sous tous les rapports propre à assurer au Danemark l'indépendance qui lui revient de droit, l'indépendance politique que le Traité de Londres devait lui garantir, et pour la conservation de laquelle le peuple Danois n'a pas hésité à s'engager seul dans une lutte sanglante avec des forces bien supérieures aux siennes.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Danois doivent donc faire observer dès-à-présent qu'il y a dans les sacrifices que l'on veut imposer au Danemark des limites que le Gouvernement Danois ne saurait dépasser.

"Ainsi la nouvelle frontière du Danemark est une question capitale pour ce pays. Il lui faut une frontière qui tienne compte et de ses intérêts militaires et de ses intérêts commerciaux, et cette frontière doit être entourée de garanties suffisantes.

"Il est un autre point sur lequel le Gouvernement Danois se réserve toute sa liberté.

"Ce n'est qu'à des conditions toutes spéciales que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark consentira à la cession du Duché de Lauenbourg. Ce pays fut acquis en son temps par le Roi de Danemark, en échange d'une partie de la Poméranie, pour servir d'équivalent du Royaume de Norvège sacrifié pour le rétablissement de la paix de l'Europe, et il est essentiellement étranger au différend qui a causé la guerre actuelle.

"Finalement, les Plénipotentiaires Danois doivent revendiquer pour leur Gouvernement la pleine liberté de reprendre la position qu'il a invariablement maintenue jusqu'à présent sur le terrain du Traité de Londres, aussitôt qu'il verra que l'abandon provisoire et conditionnel de cette position ne conduira pas à un arrangement juste et équitable, propre à remplacer les dispositions de ce Traité."

L'Ambassadeur de Russie, au nom des autres Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, s'est empressé de rendre en cette occasion un juste hommage aux intentions de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark. Pour replacer les faits dans leur exacte vérité, le Baron de Brunnow a rappelé que les plaintes formées de la part du Holstein et du Lauenbourg, &c., ne datent pas du règne actuel, mais d'une époque antérieure. A peine le Roi Chrétien est-il monté sur le Trône qu'il s'est vu environné de difficultés, devenues plus graves de jour en jour. On ne lui a pas laissé le temps de réparer les fautes du passé ni de calmer les ressentiments qui datent de fort loin. Il serait donc injuste de faire retomber sur son règne la responsabilité de griefs qui ne sont nullement son ouvrage.

Le Protocole du 2 Juin renferme aussi la déclaration par laquelle l'Ambassadeur de Russie a annoncé à la Conférence que l'Empereur, désirant faciliter autant qu'il dépend de lui les arrangements à conclure entre le Danemark et l'Allemagne en vue du rétablissement de la paix, a cédé à Monseigneur le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg les droits éventuels que le § 3 du Protocole de Varsovie du $\frac{24 \text{ Mai}}{5 \text{ Juin}}$, 1851, a réservés à Sa Majesté comme chef de la branche ainée de Holstein-Gottorp.

Le dit Protocole a été déposé aux actes de la Conférence.

Tous les Plénipotentiaires réunis en Conférence se sont empressés de rendre hommage à l'esprit de conciliation qui a dicté la déclaration de la Cour de Russie.

M. le Baron de Beust, en s'associant à l'expression de ces sentiments, a cru devoir faire au nom de la Confédération les réserves que la Diète jugera nécessaires relativement à l'effet du Protocole de Varsovie, et aux prétentions qui pourraient être fondées sur ce document.

M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, en rendant une entière justice aux intentions qui ont dicté la déclaration de la Cour de Russie, a saisi cette occasion pour maintenir formellement le point de vue de son Gouvernement, d'après lequel aucun état de choses nouveau ne saurait être établi dans un territoire détaché de la Monarchie Danoise, sans le concours et le consentement des populations, loyalement consultées.

M. de Quaade a fait observer que son Gouvernement regardant le Traité de Londres comme étant toujours en vigueur, la combinaison arrêtée par ce Traité n'est pas encore venue à manquer,

L'Ambassadeur de Russie a résumé les considérations sous l'influence desquelles l'Empereur de Russie a résolu de transférer les droits éventuels de la branche ainée de Holstein-Gottorp, dont il est le Chef, à la branche cadette, représentée par Monseigneur le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg. Sa Majesté a réservé à ce Souverain de faire valoir ces titres réunis, lorsqu'il jugerait que le moment en serait venu. Membre de la Confédération Germanique, ce Prince serait appelé à élever ses réclamations lui-même dans les voies légales, devant l'autorité Fédérale, dont il relève. L'Empereur de Russie restera étranger à ce litige. Il demeure dégagé désormais de toute intervention directe dans une question de Succession contestée dans le Holstein—question qu'il tient à ne point compliquer. Loin de vouloir aggraver des difficultés qui peuvent retarder le rétablissement de la paix, Sa Majesté cherche à les aplanir.

M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie, après avoir exposé ces vues, d'ordre de l'Empereur, a ajouté :—

"Je me félicite d'avoir été appelé à exprimer, comme je viens de le faire, les sentiments de Sa Majesté, en déposant aux Actes de la Conférence le Protocole de Varsovie, de l'année 1851. Ce document a donné lieu, plus d'une fois, à de fausses interprétations. Elles seront démenties par la publicité que ne tardera pas à acquérir la déclaration que je viens d'émettre, au nom de l'Empereur. La pensée de conciliation qui préside à la politique de Sa Majesté sera alors généralement connue, de même qu'elle a été appréciée unanimement aujourd'hui, par tous les membres de la Conférence."

Déjà, la tâche confiée à ses soins courait le risque d'être brusquement interrompue par la reprise soudaine des hostilités. Nous étions arrivés au 6 Juin. Il ne restait plus que six jours jusqu'au terme fixé pour la durée de la trêve. C'est avec hésitation que le Gouvernement Danois s'est décidé à la prolonger. A la demande réitérée des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, il a fini par y consentir. Mais il a limité cette prolongation à quinze jours.

L'Autriche et la Prusse, de leur côté, ont éprouvé une répugnance extrême à accepter une trève de si courte durée, tandis qu'elles avaient proposé la conclusion d'un armistice de plusieurs mois.

Après des pourparlers dont nous abrégeons le récit, on est convenu de suspendre les hostilités jusqu'au 26 Juin. Evidemment, ce délai était insuffisant pour laisser à la Conférence les moyens nécessaires d'accomplir sa tâche avec succès.

Les Protocoles du 6 et du 9 Juin attestent la persévérance des efforts employés pour obtenir le consentement du Gouvernement Danois à une cessation d'armes d'une plus longue durée.

Afin de motiver le refus itérativement exprimé d'ordre de sa Cour, M. de Quaade a déclaré plus d'une fois qu'elle ne consentirait pas à une prolongation de la suspension d'hostilités à moins qu'il n'y eût chance sérieuse de tomber d'accord sur un point aussi capital que celui de la frontière.

Cette question spéciale a formé dès lors l'objet principal de la discussion. Elle a été traitée non seulement en Conférence, mais dans des réunions confidentielles qui ont eu lieu entre les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres tantôt avec les Représentants du Danemark, tantôt avec ceux des Puissances Allemandes.

Ces délibérations fréquentes, prolongées et dirigées dans un esprit de sincère bienveillance, ont eu pour objet d'opérer entre les deux parties un rapprochement désirable.

Nous allons indiquer sommairement les résultats de cet essai de conciliation.

La première ligne de démarcation adoptée par le Gouvernement Danois avait été tracée d'Eckernförde à Friedrichstadt, un peu au sud de celle proposée le 28 Mai par les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne. Ce n'est que plus tard que les Représentants de Danemark ont été autorisés à adhérer à la ligne de la Slei et Dannewirke. Ils se sont arrêtés là, leurs instructions ne leur permettant pas de se prêter à un autre arrangement quelconque.

La première ligne mise en avant par les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse et d'Autriche a été tracée d'Apenrade à Tonder. Toutefois, M. le Comte de Bernstorff, voulant donner une preuve de ses dispositions conciliantes, s'est montré prêt à recommander à son Gouvernement une seconde ligne qui, en partant d'un point au nord de Flensbourg, aurait abouti au nord de Tonder à Hoyer. Cette seconde ligne aurait eu l'avantage de laisser le Gouvernement Danois en possession de l'Ile d'Alsen.

M. le Comte Apponyi ne s'est pas cru autorisé d'abord à adopter cette seconde ligne. Pourtant, il en a obtenu plus tard la permission. Le Protocole 9 constate toutefois que cette seconde ligne, que le Comte de Bernstorff avait recommandée à son Gouvernement, n'a pas été définitivement adoptée, "puisque de l'autre côté on n'a rien fait jusqu'ici pour venir à la rencontre des propositions Allemandes."

Cette considération a décidé MM. les Plénipotentiaires d'Autriche et de Prusse à revenir finalement à leur première ligne tracée d'Apenrade à Tonder. Cette proposition forme l'extrême limite à laquelle ils ont fini par s'arrêter.

Dans cet état des choses, il restait entre les deux lignes, l'une Danoise, l'autre Allemande, un territoire intermédiaire en litige ; sans qu'il fut au pouvoir des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres de déterminer l'une ou l'autre des deux parties à faire un seul pas en avant pour arriver à une transaction équitable.

Telle était la situation le 18 Juin. Le délai accordé par le Gouvernement Danois pour la suspension d'armes était écoulé à moitié. Il ne restait plus qu'un espace de huit jours pour accomplir l'œuvre de paix confiée aux soins de la Conférence. Voulant persévérer dans cette tâche sans se laisser décourager par les obstacles qu'il rencontrait à chaque instant sur son chemin, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique a résolu de faire un dernier essai de conciliation.

Lord Russell, en suggérant cette combinaison, s'est conformé à un vœu hautement exprimé au Congrès de Paris dans l'intérêt du maintien de la paix générale. Ce vœu, manifesté le 14 Avril, 1856, a eu pour objet de recommander aux Cabinets, dans le cas d'un dissentiment grave, de recourir aux bons offices d'un Etat ami, avant d'en appeler à la force.

En se rendant l'organe de cette proposition, Lord Russell s'est énoncé dans les termes que nous allons citer textuellement :—

"Maintenant que la principale question en dispute s'est réduite à celle de tracer une frontière à quelques lieues plus ou moins au nord, quand les deux parties belligérantes ont soutenu avec éclat l'honneur de leurs armes, et quand la reprise des hostilités produirait une phase nouvelle de calamités douloureuses pour l'humanité et peu dignes de la civilisation de notre siècle, les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne croient remplir un devoir sacré en proposant aux Puissances belligérantes, c'est-à-dire, à l'Autriche, à la Prusse, et au Danemark, de faire appel à une Puissance amie, afin qu'une ligne de frontière soit tracée, qui ne passerait ni au sud de la ligne indiquée par le Danemark, ni au nord de celle désignée par MM. les Plenipotentiaires Allemandes."

Les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes, se trouvant sans instructions spéciales, ont pris cette proposition *ad referendum*.

M. le Comte de Clarendon a cru devoir en préciser le sens afin d'empêcher tout malentendu. Dans ce but il a dit, "qu'il n'admet pas l'interprétation de M. de Krieger que l'on ne saurait pas appliquer la Déclaration du Congrès de Paris, sans faire également appel à la Puissance Médiatrice pour toutes les questions en litige. Il s'agit uniquement du territoire en dispute et de la frontière. L'intention des Plénipotentiaires Anglais est de proposer que cette question du territoire entre les deux lignes indiquées soit soumise à l'arbitrage d'une Puissance amie, les Puissances belligérantes s'engageant à accepter sa décision comme finale."

Dans la même séance MM. les Plénipotentiaires Prussiens ont demandé que les habitants du Schleswig soient consultés au sujet des dispositions à adopter à leur égard, et qu'il ne soit pas décidé du sort d'une partie ou de la totalité de ces populations, sans que préalablement leurs vœux aient été loyalement constatés.

Ce projet a provoqué une discussion que le Plénipotentiaire de Russie a resumé en ces termes :—

"Dans cette réunion, nous choisissons des voies quelquefois divergentes pour arriver à un but qui nous est commun : je veux dire, le rétablissement de la paix. La proposition que MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Prusse viennent d'émettre dans ce but n'a pas rencontré, au sein de la Conférence, un assentiment unanime. MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Cour d'Autriche ont constaté en combien leurs vues diffèrent de celle de la Prusse. MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont prononcé leur dissentimeut d'une manière encore plus formelle. J'ai été dans l'obligation de m'exprimer dans le même esprit. M. l'Ambassadeur de France a restreint la question aux districts mixtes, sans l'étendre au delà. M. le Ministre de Suède et Norvège n'a point voulu préjuger à cet égard les intentions des Plénipotentiaires du Danemark. Leur réponse est décisive. Elle décline la proposition Prussienne appuyée par M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération Germanique seul. Le résultat de cette délibération atteste que le mode de la solution indiquée par la Cour de Prusse n'a pas réuni les suffrages de la Conférence."

La Conférence s'est réunie le 22 Juin pour entendre les décisions que les Puissances belligérantes auraient prises à la suite de la proposition faite par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique en vue d'en appeler à une Puissance amie pour régler la question de la délimitation, formant actuellement la difficulté principale qui retardait une solution pacifique du litige.

La réponse des Puissances belligérantes n'a pas répondu aux vœux du Gouvernement

de Sa Majesté Britannique. L'Autriche et la Prusse, "tout en se montrant disposées à accepter la médiation d'une Puissance neutre qui n'est pas représentée dans la Conférence, n'ont pas voulu s'engager d'avance à se regarder comme définitivement liées par l'opinion à émettre par la Puissance médiatrice, puisque les circonstances ne leur permettent pas d'accepter une décision arbitrale."

Le Gouvernement Danois a articulé un refus encore plus prononcé. Il a déclaré qu'à son vif regret il se trouve dans l'impossibilité de donner son assentiment à la proposition du Cabinet Anglais. Le Plénipotentiaire du Danemark a motivé ce refus par la nécessité dans laquelle il se trouvait de regarder la délimitation proposée le 28 Mai comme définitive, de manière à ne pas lui permettre d'adhérer à une solution arbitrale qui pouvait modifier cette ligne.

Cette opinion a été combattue par Lord Clarendon. En rétablissant les faits dans leur exacte vérité, il a démontré que la ligne indiquée le 28 Mai a été proposée dans l'intérêt du Danemark et de la paix, et non pas dans l'intention de poser un principe dont on ne pouvait pas se départir.

Le Plénipotentiaire de Russie s'est associé à l'opinion de Lord Clarendon. Il a constaté que Lord Russell n'a jamais eu la pensée de proposer cette ligne comme un ultimatum, ni de l'imposer comme tel aux Puissances belligérantes.

M. l'Ambassadeur de France et M. le Ministre de Suède se sont exprimés dans le même esprit.

Toutes les combinaisons mises en avant pour arriver à un accord sur le tracé de la frontière ayant été malheureusement écartées, le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne a cru devoir soumettre à la Conférence une nouvelle suggestion. Il s'est exprimé ainsi :—

"Lorsque le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a donné son adhésion au projet de transaction mis en avant par le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique, dans la séance du 28 Mai, il espérait que les efforts réunis des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres, secondés par les dispositions conciliantes des Plénipotentiaires des Puissance belligérantes, parviendraient à amener, entre les parties intéressées, une entente sur le tracé de la ligne de frontière.

"Ces espérances ne se sont malheureusement pas réalisées. Toutes les combinaisons proposées ont été repoussées, et aucun compromis ne semble jusqu'ici avoir chance d'être accepté. Dans cette situation, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur considère comme de son devoir de faire, dans l'intérêt de la paix, une dernière suggestion. C'est en vertu de leur nationalité que les districts septentrionaux du Slesvig doivent être attribués au Danemark et ceux du sud à l'Allemagne. On n'a pas jugé utile de faire un appel au vœu des populations là où ce vœu semblait manifeste ; mais on pourrait le consulter là où il est douteux et où aucun autre moyen n'existerait plus pour établir un accord. Tout en admettant l'impossibilité de prendre la nationalité pour règle absolue, dans le partage des districts mixtes du Slesvig, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur est d'avis, cependant, que l'on devrait demander à un vote des communes les éléments d'appréciation auxquels on conviendrait de s'en rapporter. Ce vote par communes permettrait de tenir, dans le tracé définitif de la frontière, le compte le plus exact possible de chaque nationalité.

"Pour qu'il présentât d'ailleurs les garanties désirables, il serait utile d'établir que toute force militaire serait préalablement éloignée, et que les suffrages seraient exprimés en dehors de toute pression. Chaque Puissance pourrait, en outre, envoyer des délégués sur les lieux afin de constater la parfaite sincérité du scrutin."

Lord Russell, en demandant l'opinion de MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois sur cette proposition, a dit que quant aux Plénipotentiaires Anglais, ils seraient tout disposés à s'y rallier, si le Gouvernement Danois croyait pouvoir y donner son adhésion.

M. de Quaade a répondu qu'il se trouvait naturellement sans instructions à ce sujet, et qu'il ne saurait consentir à la prendre même *ad referendum*. Il a rappelé sa déclaration du 2 Juin, dans laquelle il a dit que son Gouvernement ferait de grands sacrifices pour arriver au rétablissement de la paix, mais qu'il y avait des limites qu'il ne pouvait dépasser ; et les instructions dont il est muni lui défendent de consentir à aucune autre ligne qu'à celle proposée par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Anglais dans la séance du 28 Mai, et acceptée par le Danemark.

Cette déclaration a terminé le débat. Elle a indiqué en même temps l'obstacle que les efforts les plus persévérants des Puissances neutres n'ont pas été à même de surmonter.

C'est devant cette difficulté invincible que les travaux de la Conférence de Londres viennent de s'arrêter.

(Translation.)

Protocol No. 12.—*Sitting of June* 25, 1864.

Present:

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria;
The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark;
The Plenipotentiary of France;
The Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation;
The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain;
The Plenipotentiaries of Prussia;
The Plenipotentiary of Russia;
The Plenipotentiary of Sweden and Norway.

THE Protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

Earl Russell reads the following declaration:—

"The belligerent Powers are on the eve of resuming hostilities. This determination puts an end to the deliberations, the object of which was the restoration of peace.

"Although this object has not been attained, it is my duty to do justice to the efforts which the Plenipotentiaries assembled in Conference have made to arrive at a pacific conclusion, and at the same time to point out the circumstances which have prevented the accomplishment of this work of conciliation.

"With this view, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain deposit to-day among the archives of the Conference a summary of the proceedings which commenced on the 25th of April, and which terminate on the 25th of June.

"This narrative shows the importance which the Representatives of the neutral Powers have attached, since the opening of the Conference, to the maintenance of the reciprocal engagements resulting from the Treaty of London of the 8th of May, 1852. It shows also their unanimous resolution not to depart from those engagements before having devised, by mutual agreement, new arrangements calculated to provide guarantees for the peace of Europe, equivalent to those which were the result of the European Act concluded in 1852.

"With this intention the Plenipotentiaries of France, of Great Britain, of Russia, and of Sweden and Norway, have devoted their efforts to bringing about an equitable arrangement, designed to preserve henceforth the independence of the Danish Monarchy, since an unequal contest has inflicted an inevitable injury on the integrity of that State.

"The bases of that arrangement having been accepted in principle by the belligerent Powers, the arrangement of the questions of detail which this plan, cordially supported by the neutral Powers, comprised, remained to be settled.

"The difference, thus reduced within narrow limits, would have admitted of a successful solution, if the decision of an impartial Power, to which it was recommended by Her Britannic Majesty's Government to appeal, had been accepted with mutual confidence.

"This hope is not to be realized. The narrative which I am about to deposit in the archives of the Conference will point out the circumstances which have forbidden the accomplishment of a plan of conciliation supported by the neutral Powers and suggested to Her Britannic Majesty's Government by a sincere desire to prevent the recurrence of the calamities of war.

"Public opinion will see with regret that the hopes of peace have vanished, because the parties directly engaged in this dispute have been unable to come to an understanding with regard to the tracing of a frontier, leaving a difference of some square miles of territory more or less to the south or north. Public opinion will also recognize that a few days more devoted to reflection, instead of having recourse to arms, might have contributed to calm resentment, to enlighten the belligerents as to their real interests, and to lead the Cabinets to more pacific resolutions.

"To-morrow hostilities will recommence, without the advice of the Powers desirous of peace having succeeded in preventing the renewal of a conflict so deeply to be regretted.

"Whatever may be its issue, the Courts of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden remain none the less animated with a sincere desire to see the Danish Monarchy maintain its independence, as the preservation of that State constitutes an element of the balance of power in the North.

"Their wish, in separating, is that this principle may continue to be the basis of future negotiation."

The summary of the proceedings of the Conference, of which Earl Russell has spoken, is then read, and this document is annexed at his request to the present Protocol.

Count de Bernstorff wishes to say a few words in reply to Earl Russell's declaration. He expresses himself as follows:—

"It is obviously impossible that we should be authorized to make an official reply to the declaration which the President of the Conference has just read, and with the contents of which we were not previously acquainted, but I think that, without in any way binding my Government with reference to events which belong to the future, and to eventualities which cannot be calculated beforehand, I may remark at once that it was never the intention of my Government to threaten the political independence of Denmark, but that the sole question in dispute has always been that of the Duchies."

Baron de Beust inquires what is the object of the summary which has been read.

The Earl of Clarendon replies that it is an account of the sittings of the Conference which has been drawn up by mutual agreement by the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, and which involves no responsibility on the part of the Plenipotentiaries of the other Powers represented in the Conference.

The Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers, as well as the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation, expressly reserve to themselves the right and the power of replying to it.

Count Apponyi says that he has, on his part, a declaration to make, which it becomes, in his opinion, doubly necessary to read after the summary which has just been communicated to the Conference. His declaration is intended to defend the rights and the responsibility of the Governments of Austria and Prussia. He states, moreover, that the absence of objections on the part of the Plenipotentiaries of the German Powers to the acceptance of this summary as an Annex to the Protocol, in no way implies their adhesion to the contents of this document.

Similar reservations are made by the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark; and M. de Krieger claims for the eventual reply of his Government the same publicity as that which will be given to the above-mentioned Annex.

Count Apponyi then reads the following declaration in the name of the Plenipotentiaries of the allied Courts:—

"During the whole of the deliberations of the Conference, the result of which has unfortunately not been in accordance with the pacific object which it had in view, the German Powers have not ceased to be animated by that spirit of peace and of conciliation which induced them to accept the invitation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government to meet in Conference in London to devise means for the restoration of peace.

"The insurmountable obstinacy with which the Danish Government withdrew from the engagements which they had contracted, and refused to do justice to the German subjects of the King-Duke, inflicted a severe wound on the national honour of Germany. After every means of conciliation, employed with persevering patience, had been exhausted, Federal Execution in Holstein, the occupation of Schleswig, and finally war by Austria and Prussia against Denmark, became inevitable.

"After a succession of sanguinary contests, the mainland of Denmark fell into the hands of the allied Powers, and the public voice of Germany loudly demanded the complete abolition of the tie which united Schleswig and Holstein to Denmark, and the conversion of the two Duchies into an independent German State, under its proper dynasty.

"Notwithstanding this, Austria and Prussia did not hesitate to come to the Conference with declarations which were not directed in principle against the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, but only demanded that the point of right in the question of Succession should not be prejudged, and that the political and administrative independence of the Duchies should be secured.

"It was Denmark who peremptorily rejected as inadmissible the idea of a personal union. Persisting in its fatal tendency to incorporate Schleswig, the Court of Copenhagen rejected the only conditions on which the allied Powers could have consented with honour to the continuation of the union of the Duchies with Denmark.

"From that moment the principle of the separation of the Duchies from the Danish Crown became necessary for the German Powers, and the principal condition of peace.

"Even in this new phase of the negotiations, their conciliatory dispositions were in no way diminished. The great importance which the inhabitants of Schleswig and Holstein attach to the integrity of the two Duchies, and to their union in one undivided State, is well known. These sentiments are deserving of respect, and it was therefore a considerable sacrifice which Austria, Prussia, and the Germanic Confederation made from a desire for the restoration of peace, in consenting to cede a part of the northern

territory of Schleswig to the Crown of Denmark as a compensation for His Danish Majesty's surrender of the Duchy of Lauenburg.

"The conciliatory disposition of the German Powers did not stop here. The peace which seemed now to depend on an understanding on the subject of the tracing of the frontier, might have been concluded if Denmark had not raised pretensions which would have restored to her the capital itself of the country which the German arms had released from her rule, and the integral union of which with Holstein Germany had a right to claim.

"It was Austria and Prussia, too, who during the whole course of the negotiations, and at every opportunity, insisted on the necessity of a prolongation of the suspension of arms, or the conclusion of a formal armistice, in order that the work of pacification might not be incessantly compromised by the continual and imminent danger of the renewal of hostilities. On this subject, also, the conduct of our adversaries has been quite different. Denmark refused the proposal of the neutral Powers for the conclusion of an armistice, which would have restored Jutland to her, in exchange for the complete evacuation of Schleswig. She only consented to a suspension of hostilities for one month, and refused to prolong this term, already so short, for more than a fortnight.

"One further fact points out also the moderation which the German Powers have shown to the last. After the Plenipotentiaries assembled in Conference had failed in their efforts to come to an understanding on a line of frontier to be drawn in Schleswig, Austria and Prussia, in conformity with the text and the spirit of the Protocol of Paris of 1856, declared themselves ready to continue these negotiations in the form of a mediation entrusted to a neutral Sovereign, not represented in the Conference. This last means of arriving at an understanding, the acceptance of which would have naturally resulted in the continuation of the suspension of hostilities, again offered by the German Powers, was equally rejected by Denmark.

"There remains consequently but one duty for the German Powers to perform, it is that of solemnly declaring that they decline, in the name of their Governments, the responsibility of the blood which will be shed and of the evils which will result from the renewal of the war. This responsibility cannot fall on the Powers whom they have had the honour to represent in this Conference."

Count de Bernstorff follows this mutual declaration by an additional declaration of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries, expressed in these terms:—

"It only remains for us to add to what Count Apponyi has just said in the name of the Plenipotentiaries of the two German Powers, that we also made, in the last sitting but one of the Conference, a proposal which was essentially calculated to bring about a pacific solution of the question which occupied our attention, and that, moreover, we declared ourselves ready in the last sitting to take the proposal of the Ambassador of France *ad referendum*, but that the two proposals in question were absolutely rejected by the Danish Plenipotentiaries."

M. de Quaade must, in his name and in that of his colleague, decline for his Government all responsibility for the failure of the negotiation, and the blood which may be shed. He affirms that "Denmark in contributing to the work of pacification, has been deterred by no sacrifice compatible with her own existence, and that the Danish Government are consequently convinced that they have no reason to reproach themselves if an understanding has not been arrived at. The situation in which events have placed the Danish Government is very different from that of the German Powers, and if allowance is made for this difference, a judgment quite contrary to that formed by the German Powers will be passed on the conduct of the Danish Government."

The first Plenipotentiary of Denmark then reads the following declaration:—

"When the Danish Government received the invitation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government to a Conference, the object of which was the restoration of peace, they were under the conviction that the Treaty concluded a few years before, and designed to afford a further pledge of stability to the integrity of the Danish Monarchy as an essential condition of the balance of power in Europe, would be maintained by the concurrence of all who had taken part in its conclusion.

"The Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, was not conditional or hypothetical; it did not depend on the adhesion of a third party.

"The Treaty made no alteration in the relations between Sleswig and the Danish Crown, with which that country has been incorporated for more than a century; nor did it make any alteration in the relations between the Duchies of Lauenburg and of Holstein, and the Germanic Confederation, to which the King of Denmark belongs as regards Holstein and Lauenburg; and it did not give to the Germanic Confederation any kind

of competence other than that which it possessed in virtue of the Federal Act and of the subsequent resolutions legally taken in consequence of that Act. As regards Sleswig, particularly, the Germanic Diet had already recognized in 1823 that that Duchy was perfectly free from any influence on the part of the Germanic Confederation.

"Not only all the non-German Sovereigns, but also (with scarcely one exception) all the more considerable, and some of the less considerable, States of Germany took part in the conclusion of the Treaty of London, or subsequently adhered to that Treaty. No Federal Resolution can liberate the German States from the obligations which they have thus taken; the Germanic Confederation cannot release any one of the Sovereigns represented in the Federal Assembly from the obligations contracted by them in the most solemn manner. A contrary practice would entirely overthrow the principle of European international law on which the existence of the Confederation is based.

"The authority of the Germanic Confederation is limited by Treaties, by the Federal Act, and by the subsequent resolutions taken legally in consequence of that Act. Its members are not legally subjected to any vote of the majority. The Danish Government have never recognized the legality of the reasons on which the Confederation based the resolution of Execution which was carried into effect in Holstein during the last winter; but they did not at the time think fit to oppose it by force, and in the same manner they submitted to the altogether illegal suspension of the King's authority in Lauenburg.

"Prussia and Austria have invaded by armed force the non-German countries of the King of Denmark. Those Powers commenced this war, alleging as a reason that the King of Denmark had arbitrarily withdrawn from the performance of certain obligations contracted with Prussia and Austria.

"Denmark, ready to account for her actions, herself solicited a mediation in conformity with the Declaration of Paris. She subsequently accepted the invitation to a Conference, supposing that the transactions, the pretended violation of which had afforded a pretext for the invasion, would also afford a basis for the negociations. The Danish Government are persuaded that if a discussion had taken place on this basis, it would have been proved that it is not Denmark who has arbitrarily withdrawn from the performance of her obligations; they think rather that it would have been shown that it is Germany which has rendered it impossible for the King to execute the intentions which the German Governments engaged themselves not to oppose. This discussion has been rejected by Prussia and Austria, and instead of availing themselves of the opportunity which still offered to effect an amicable arrangement, they have attempted to withdraw from the European obligations created by the Treaty of London.

"The Danish Plenipotentiaries need not now dilate on the state of things which has been the consequence of the attitude thus assumed by the German Powers. The Danish Government had indulged in the hope that the sacrifices which they had declared themselves ready to make in accepting the proposal of the 28th of May last would be sufficient for the restoration of peace; but that hope not having been realized, it only remains for the Danish Plenipotentiaries to refer to the reservation recorded in the conclusion of their declaration of the 2nd of June, and they are instructed expressly to declare that in virtue of that reservation the Danish Government resume from this moment, on the ground of the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, the position which they had only abandoned provisionally from their desire for peace, and on the condition that the peace to be concluded should be adapted to replace the provisions of that Treaty.

Baron de Beust expressed himself in these terms:—

"The task which was imposed on me on coming to the Conference consisted principally in maintaining intact a question of right. The Conference has, I hope, understood how much its accomplishment has tended to limit my personal disposition to show myself conciliatory and to enter on the path of arrangement. But I flatter myself that I have never forgotten the consideration which seemed to me to be necessary in order to avoid wounding susceptibilities. I regret the more that it is only at the conclusion of our deliberations that the first Plenipotentiary of Denmark has raised questions on which I was unwilling to enter, and which I should at least have wished to discuss sooner. Since, however, the Treaty of 1852 is to be reverted to, I will also indulge in a few observations on this subject. It is not for me to decide on the question whether, after all that has passed in the Conference, the Treaty of London can be regarded as intact, although it appears to me that either a Treaty is valid or it is not, and that from the moment that the contrary has been proposed and accepted, it can no longer be pretended that it is so. It is sufficient, according to my views, that the Confederation has never adhered to it. I now hear the adhesions of the German Governments quoted. Such adhesions did, in fact, take place; reservations also were made, as, for example, that of Saxony with regard

to the competency of the Diet. But let me be allowed to go further. I have never denied that in principle the object of the Treaty of London was a desirable one; some German Governments have themselves admitted this, but the steps which were required to bring it into force should have been taken. If the Danish Government had taken advantage of the first years after the conclusion of the Treaty to grant to the Duchies the benefit of a paternal Government, if they had respected their constitution, and above all respected the free use of the German language, no doubt they would have succeeded in obtaining the consent of the agnates, of the States, and of the Confederation, and then it is hardly probable that convulsions would have taken place at the death of His Majesty King Frederick VII. But things having happened differently, the Diet has had to give its decision under circumstances which rendered all adhesion impossible.

"The German Governments have been compelled to remember their Federal duties, and I deny that the policy of the Confederation ought to be guided by the policy of the various Governments. As to the statement which Count Apponyi has read, I consider it to be in conformity with the truth: if a further proof were required to show that the two German Powers have shown themselves conciliatory, it would be found in an assimilation between the declarations of their Plenipotentiaries and mine.

"Finally, as regards the summary which has been read, as I cannot consider it as complete, nor concur in the views expressed in it, I must beg that my silence may not be regarded as assent. Each Plenipotentiary is free in his turn to submit in the proper quarter a summary of the proceedings of the Conference."

Count Apponyi proposes that the Conference should, before separating, offer its thanks to Earl Russell. He expresses himself as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—At the moment of closing our deliberations, I feel that I express the sentiments of all the Plenipotentiaries in offering, in their name, to Earl Russell the warm thanks of the Conference for the spirit of conciliation and the courtesy with which he has directed its labours.

"Whatever may be the result of our meetings we shall none the less all of us retain a pleasant recollection of the personal kindness of our President."

This proposal having been unanimously adopted, Earl Russell thanks the Conference in the following terms:—

"I thank the Plenipotentiaries for the honour which they have done me.

"It is through the assistance and support which they have afforded me that our discussions have been conducted in the spirit of moderation and courtesy which was necessary for the perfect freedom with which our opinions have been expressed.

"I perform an agreeable duty in expressing to my colleagues in the Conference my gratitude for the support they have given me."

At the proposal of M. de Balan the Conference offers its thanks to Mr. Stuart for the care which he has devoted to the drawing up of the Protocols.

The present Protocol is read and approved.

(Signed) APPONYI.
BIEGELEBEN.
G. QUAADE.
BILLE.
KRIEGER.
LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.
BEUST.
RUSSELL.
CLARENDON.
BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.
BRUNNOW.
LE C^TE^. WACHTMEISTER.

Annex to Protocol No. 12.

Summary of the Deliberations of the Conference of London, from the 25th of April to the 22nd of June, 1864.

AT the invitation of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, the Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Austria, Denmark, and France, of the Germanic Confederation, of the Courts of Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, met in Conference in London with the object

of coming to an understanding respecting the arrangements to be made by mutual agreement in order to re-establish peace between Denmark and Germany.

The first meeting took place on the 25th of April.

In order to come to a thorough understanding of the relative situation of the belligerents at this period, it is sufficient to cast a glance at the map, and to recall in a few words the events which had preceded the opening of the Conference.

The Duchy of Holstein had been in military occupation of the Federal troops, in virtue of a measure decreed by the Diet of Frankfort. This occupation, it must be stated, was effected without a blow being struck; King Christian IX having resolved not to oppose by force of arms a measure taken by the Germanic Confederation, whose authority he was bound to recognize in the quality of Duke of Holstein.

In the month of February an Austro-Prussian army crossed the Eider to take possession of the Duchy of Sleswig as a material guarantee for the execution of the engagements contracted by the Danish Government in 1851 and 1852.

After a courageous but unequal struggle, the Danish troops fell back as far as the north of Jutland.

A combat, long undecided, was still going on before the fortified position of Düppel. It was carried by the Prussian troops on the eve of the day fixed for the opening of the Conferences.

At the same moment the Danish garrison, abandoning voluntarily the fortress of Fredericia, delivered the key of the position of Jutland to the allies.

With the exception of the northern extremity of this province, to the north of the Lime Fiord, all the continental portion of the Danish Monarchy was thus in the power of the allies, at the time when the Plenipotentiaries were about to enter into deliberation in order to arrive at the re-establishment of peace.

Conquered on land, Denmark maintained her superiority on the sea. Her navy blockaded the ports and captured the merchant-vessels of the German Powers.

In reprisal for the losses sustained by their commerce, the allies levied on the inhabitants of Jutland a contribution of war estimated at 650,000 crowns, or 90,000*l.* sterling.

Such was the state of things on the 25th of April.

The first care of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain was to invite the belligerents to consent to a suspension of hostilities; a preliminary measure equally called for by the interests of humanity and of the negotiations confided to the care of the Conference.

This proposal made by Earl Russell in the meeting of the 25th of April, was unanimously supported by the Plenipotentiaries of France, Russia, and Sweden.

A prolonged discussion took place as to the simultaneous suspension of hostilities by land and sea. The Danish Government at first insisted on the maintenance of the blockade, which they considered as an equivalent for the occupation of the Duchies by the allied troops.

The insufficiency of the powers with which the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers were furnished, made itself felt for the first time during this debate. The necessity of having recourse for fresh instructions to Copenhagen, to Berlin, and to Vienna, has occasioned delays which have interrupted the labours of the Conference in a manner much to be regretted as regards the success of its deliberations.

Even the rapidity of telegraphic communication was found insufficient to overcome this difficulty. This will be admitted when it is known that the route for direct correspondence being closed to the Danish Plenipotentiaries by the state of war, they were obliged to correspond with their Government by the route of St. Petersburgh, Lapland, and Stockholm.

These circumstances explain how it was that the question of the suspension of hostilities, brought forward on the 25th of April, was not settled till the third sitting, on the 9th of May, after a fortnight's loss of time.

We will shorten the account of this long debate. In the opinion of the Representatives of the neutral Powers it would have been preferable to conclude a regular armistice of a certain duration, in order to leave all necessary latitude for negotiation. The Courts of Prussia and Austria declared themselves ready to consent to this proposal. The Danish Cabinet would not adhere to it; for reprisals by sea being the only measures within the power of Denmark, it is easy to understand that the Danish Plenipotentiaries did not wish to deprive their Government of this arm during too prolonged a period, above all in the Baltic, where the navigation is of short duration.

We point out this consideration in a spirit of strict equity, however injurious the restrictions imposed by Denmark on the suspension of hostilities might be to the negotiation itself.

The Danish Government limited it to four weeks, namely, from the 12th of May to the 12th of June.

Protocol No. 3 determines the conditions of this truce. They may be resumed in these terms:—

"Hostilities shall be suspended by sea and by land, from the 12th of May, for the space of a month;

"On the same day Denmark shall raise the blockades;

"Prussia and Austria engage, during the suspension of hostilities, not to impede, in the parts of Jutland occupied by their armies, either the commerce, or the communications, or the regular course of the administration; not to raise contributions of war, but, on the contrary, to pay for all that may be furnished to the German troops, who shall simply continue to occupy their present strategical positions;

"The belligerent parties agree to preserve their respective military positions by sea and land, and engage not to reinforce them during the continuance of the suspension of hostilities;

"Official notification shall be made to the Commanders of the belligerent forces by sea and land by their respective Governments."

This notification did not arrive in time to prevent the naval combat which took place at a short distance from the Island of Heligoland. But the cannon-shots exchanged between the respective forces were the last from that to the present time.

The Conference has no cause to regret its having offered to the belligerents, and procured for commerce, this interval of security and repose.

After having obtained this first result, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain proposed to proceed in the next sitting to the discussion of the preliminaries of peace.

With this object, Lord Russell, on the 12th of May, after having referred to the adhesion of the Courts of Vienna and Berlin to the proposal to assemble in Conference in London, in order to devise means for the restoration of peace, recognized that it belonged to the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia to explain the motives which induced their Governments to occupy a large portion of the Danish territory, and to make known the intentions of their Courts with a view to the re-establishment of a solid peace.

In reply to this appeal, the first Plenipotentiary of Prussia thought it his duty to declare that the German Powers, before entering into a discussion on the conditions for the re-establishment of peace with Denmark, think it right to observe that they consider "the ground of discussion as entirely free from any restriction resulting from engagements which may have existed before the war between their Governments and Denmark. Whilst thus claiming for themselves full liberty of discussion, and the power of making such proposals as they may consider to be of a nature to ensure a solid and lasting pacification, the German Governments do not mean to exclude any combination which may tend to attain that object, without prejudicing acquired rights."

The explanations which were given by the Plenipotentiaries of the German Courts on this subject in the sittings of May 12 and 17 clearly brought to light a complete divergence of opinion existing between all the members of the Conference with regard to the validity of the engagements resulting from the Treaty of London of 1852.

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain maintained the respect due to the reciprocal obligations contracted by all the Powers who were parties to that Treaty. They observed that though, strictly speaking, war may put an end to a Treaty between two Powers who have become belligerents, yet it cannot release those Powers from their obligations to the other Powers who joined in the signature of the same Treaty. They showed that before destroying this act that decision ought to be justified by satisfactory reasons. In short, before abandoning an agreement, it ought to be understood what was intended to take its place.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia expressed himself exactly to the same purpose. "He maintained that before abandoning a Treaty which has been ratified by the Powers who signed it in the general interests of Europe, it would be necessary to bring forward reasons which should be generally agreed upon as satisfactory. These reasons must be very grave ones. The Treaty of 1852 was concluded with the object of consolidating the peace of the North, and preserving the balance of power in Europe. It was concluded not only between the Powers actually at war, but also between all the Powers who were parties to it. Their Representatives, now met in Conference, are assuredly at liberty to exchange their ideas as to new combinations to be adopted, provided that they are of a nature to offer guarantees for the peace of Europe equivalent to those on which the system of the balance of power now rests."

The Minister of Sweden, while adhering to the line of argument of the Plenipotentiary

of Russia, observed that, as the Plenipotentiary of one of the Powers who signed the Treaty of 1852, he must maintain that basis of negotiation until it should have been proved that it was insufficient to enable them to attain the object of the present Conference; that, before abandoning it, it was at least necessary to be acquainted with the exact nature of the arrangements which it was proposed to substitute for it.

The Ambassador of France, animated by the same conciliatory disposition, asked the German Plenipotentiaries if, in case the arrangements of 1851 and 1852 should not admit of being maintained, it would not be possible, in their opinion, to substitute for them fresh combinations without departing from the circle traced out by the stipulations of the Treaty.

M. de Quaade maintained that his Government considered the Treaty of 1852 as being still in force. Baron de Beust observed that its validity had never been recognized by the Confederation.

In the presence of such divergent doctrines there was little expectation of being able to arrive at a result at all in conformity with the thoughts of conciliation and peace with which Her Britannic Majesty's Government had invited the Cabinets to cause themselves to be represented in a Conference in London.

Nevertheless, however uncertain the hope of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion appeared from the beginning, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, in entire accord with the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, did not the less persevere in their efforts to bring about an agreement between the two belligerent parties.

Animated by this desire Earl Russell opened the sitting of May 17, by recalling the engagement entered into by Count Bernstorff to announce the bases of pacification which the Courts of Austria and Prussia proposed to submit to the Conference.

Protocol No. 5 sets forth the means which the German Plenipotentiaries considered as the best adapted to bring about a solid and durable pacification. To use the words of Count Bernstorff, "it is a pacification which assures to the Duchies absolute guarantees against the return of any foreign oppression, and which, by thus excluding for the future any subject of dispute, of revolution, and of war, guarantees to Germany that security in the North which she requires in order not to fall periodically into the state of affairs which brought on the present war. These guarantees can only be found in the complete political independence of the Duchies, and their close connection by means of common institutions."

The Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers did not consider this programme as positive, clear, and satisfactory. They deemed it necessary to invite the German Plenipotentiaries to bring forward their plan in a more precise form.

Count Apponyi replied, "that the proposal comprises the complete autonomy of the Duchies, with common institutions and entire independence in their political and administrative relations, in order to avoid the complications which have hitherto taken place. As to the question of the Succession it remains open, the Diet having only suspended its solution, without pronouncing on the rights of the King of Denmark."

The Earl of Clarendon could not refrain from observing that the proposal of the German Plenipotentiaries was so vague that no member of the Conference could understand its bearing.

The language of the Plenipotentiary of the German Confederation was more explicit:—

"He thought it right to remark that he had not joined in the proposal made by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia; and that, although not directed to do so by his instructions, he cannot help affirming officiously that the Diet will not consent to an arrangement which, even under an eventual or conditional form, would restore the union between the Duchies and Denmark."

What was to be concluded from the sum of these explanations? It resulted from them that the idea of the Courts of Vienna and Berlin was to make the Duchies entirely independent in political and administrative matters, to allow a dynastic tie to subsist between the Duchies and the Danish Monarchy, but to make that tie dependent on the decision which the Frankfort Diet might give as to the validity of the titles of King Christian IX in his quality of Duke of Holstein.

To complete the description of the merits of this plan, put forward in the name of Austria and Prussia, it must be stated that the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation did not feel justified in joining in it. Finally, that Minister affirmed that the majority of the Diet would refuse its adhesion to an arrangement which, even under a conditional form, would re-establish a union between the Duchies and Denmark!

These explanations did not enable the Danish Plenipotentiaries to give their assent to such a plan. They had no hesitation in declaring it entirely inadmissible.

This refusal put an end to the first combination proposed by the German Plenipotentiaries, with a view to the re-establishment of a solid and durable peace.

The sitting of the 28th of May opened with a second proposal brought forward by the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia. This plan, still more unexpected than the first, had for its object to demand a complete separation of the Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein from the Kingdom of Denmark, and their union in a single State under the Sovereignty of the Hereditary Prince of Sleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg.

Protocol No. 6 gives the reasons which determined the Ambassador of Russia to express his dissent with regard to the proposition of the Plenipotentiaries of the German Courts to detach from the Danish Monarchy the whole of Holstein and Sleswig, and to place that State under a new dynasty.

In the first place, he said, by what right were those countries to be disposed of? They are occupied in fact by the allies. By right they do not belong to them.

In regard to the dynastic combination mentioned in the proposal of the German Courts, the Ambassador of Russia observed that it would prejudge a question which could not be decided alone, and which was not yet open for those Powers who considered the Treaty of London as binding. Further, in his opinion, the Prince of Augustenburg was not the only one who had claims to assert. When the question of the Succession of Holstein came to be opened, other rights would be entitled to serious examination. Especially the Grand Duke of Oldenburg would have just claims to assert. The Plenipotentiary of Russia considered it his duty to reserve them.

The refusal with which the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark met the plan proposed by the German Plenipotentiaries was expressed in the following terms:—

"If the Danish Government considered the proposal of the preceding sitting inadmissible, so much the more is it impossible for them to discuss this one."

Two combinations brought forward on the 17th and 28th of May had thus been, one after the other, rejected, without the negotiation having advanced a single step, while the suspension of arms was approaching its termination. In this state of things, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain thought that the moment had arrived when there should be no further delay in opening to the belligerents the path which might lead them to an honourable arrangement. They recognized that unless the foundations of a solid and durable peace were laid, it was not for the neutral Powers to renounce the Treaty of London. Neither could they agree to a new arrangement insufficient for Germany or unsatisfactory to Denmark. Finally, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain showed that they were deeply imbued with the conviction that, on the one hand, respect must be paid to the national sentiment with which the Danes know how to maintain the independence and honour of their ancient Monarchy, and, on the other, fair satisfaction should, as far as possible, be given to the sympathies which from time immemorial have united the populations of German origin who inhabit the two banks of the Eider.

Lord Russell sought in these elements of conciliation and concord the means of effecting between the belligerents the desired reconciliation. With this object he read the following declaration:—

"The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain have seen with deep regret that the last sitting of the Conference has not resulted in the establishment of the bases of an agreement between Germany and Denmark.

"In our opinion the elements of a solid and durable peace can neither be found in the engagements of 1851, which during twelve years have borne no other fruit than dissensions and troubles, nor in the analysis of an obscure and complicated law.

"But unless it is possible to lay down the bases of a solid and durable peace, it is not competent for the neutral Powers to renounce the solemn Treaty by which they recognized the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, neither could they concur in a new arrangement which would be insufficient for Germany, or humiliating for Denmark.

"The elements of a solid and durable peace must therefore be sought elsewhere.

"For many years a lively sympathy for their brethren who are subject to the King of Denmark has animated the Germans of the Germanic Confederation. The Danes, on their side, are inspired by the love of independence, and the desire of maintaining their ancient Monarchy. These sentiments on either side deserve the respect of Europe.

"In order to prevent a future contest, and to satisfy Germany, it would be necessary, in our opinion, entirely to separate Holstein, Lauenburg, and the southern part of Sleswig from the Danish Monarchy.

"To justify so vast a sacrifice on the part of Denmark, and to maintain the independence of the Danish Monarchy, it is desirable, in our opinion, that the line of the frontier should not be drawn more to the north than the mouth of the Slei and the line of the Dannewerke.

"It is also necessary for the security of Denmark that the Germanic Confederation should not erect or maintain fortresses, nor establish fortified ports in the territory ceded by Denmark.

"An equitable arrangement of the public debt and the renunciation by Austria, Prussia, and the Germanic Confederation of all right of interference in the internal affairs of Denmark, would serve to complete the friendly relations between Germany and Denmark.

"A question remains which would not form the object of the Treaty of Peace, but which interests Germany, and cannot be passed by in silence. In the opinion of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain it should be understood that the future destiny of the Duchy of Holstein, of the Duchy of Lauenburg, and of the southern part of the Duchy of Sleswig which will be annexed to the Duchy of Holstein, shall not be settled without their consent.

"If the King of Denmark consents to the sacrifices of territory which are required of him in the name of peace, it would be just that the independence of his Kingdom should be guaranteed by the great European Powers."

This plan, which had been previously communicated to the Representatives of the neutral Powers, received their most cordial support in the Conference.

The adhesion of the Plenipotentiary of France was expressed in the following terms:—

"The ideas which the Principal Secretary of State has just expressed, with regard to the principles according to which the Dano-German affair should be settled, are in full accordance with the views which I was myself instructed to maintain in the Conference. After having studied the causes of the present conflict, my Government have remained convinced that they were attributable to the improper division of the different groups of population of which the Danish Monarchy is composed, as well as to their incessant rivalries, and that it was from that moment necessary to seek for the bases of an agreement in new arrangements more in harmony with the national sentiment of the two races. The arrangement of which the Principal Secretary of State has pointed out to us the bases, consisting in dividing, as far as possible, the two nationalities in Sleswig, incorporating the Danes with Denmark, and uniting the Germans more intimately with Holstein and Lauenburg, could not fail therefore to receive the adhesion of the Government of the Emperor. Moreover, it does not seem that the application of this principle can give rise to any difficulty as regards the two extreme parts of Sleswig, where the nationality is clearly determined. As to the mixed districts of the centre, in whatever manner their fate may be determined, there will always be Danes subject to a German country, or Germans subject to Denmark in them. Considering the absolute impossibility of taking nationality as a rule on this point, we think that it would be just to decide the difference in favour of the weaker party, especially when she is already undergoing the sacrifices which this rule imposes on her in all the points where it is manifestly against her. My Government equally consider it as essential that the frontier should be traced in conformity with the necessities of the defence of Denmark, for these necessities must be taken into consideration by the Conference, whose mission is, whilst satisfying the legitimate claims of Germany, to take care that the new arrangements should sufficiently guarantee the independence of Denmark and the interests of the balance of power in the north of Europe."

The assent of the Plenipotentiary of Russia was expressed in the following manner:—

"In the opinion of the Cabinet of Russia, it is for His Majesty King Christian IX to pronounce himself the first as to what is expedient for the interests of his country. If that august Sovereign approved the bases of the pacification to be concluded, the Imperial Cabinet would not refuse its assent to a transaction which the Court of Copenhagen had freely accepted.

"But, so long as the stipulations of the Treaty of London preserve their binding force for Denmark, as well as for the neutral Powers, the Plenipotentiary of Russia must decline a deliberation, which in his opinion is premature, as to the future fate of the territories which His Majesty the King of Denmark has not surrendered.

"If, subsequently, His Majesty King Christian IX were to surrender the Duchy of Holstein, the question of the Succession would be open. In the opinion of the Plenipotentiary of Russia, it could only receive a legal solution by paying due respect to the justice of the cause of the parties interested, who would have to assert their titles, in conformity with the principles of international law."

The assent of the Plenipotentiary of Sweden was contained in the following declaration:—

"Count Wachtmeister declared that, like Great Britain, his Government recognize that if the Treaties of 1852 must be abandoned, no solution could be found except on the principle of the separation of the two nationalities, Danish and German. Starting from this point of view, his Government would have considered it more natural that the new frontier of Denmark should have been established on the Eider, as this river has always separated Denmark and Germany.

"He is, however, authorized to adhere to the proposal put forward by Lord Russell, on condition that the frontier of Denmark shall not be drawn more to the north than the Slei and the Dannewirke; that the part of Sleswig situated to the north of this line shall be completely incorporated with Denmark; that Germany shall in future have no right of interference in the internal affairs of that Monarchy; and that the new frontier to be established shall be placed under a European guarantee.

"As to the provinces which in the aforesaid eventuality would be ceded by the King of Denmark, his Government expect that their future destiny will not be decided without their consent, and that the freedom of choice of the population will be protected by sufficient guarantees."

The German Plenipotentiaries accepted the principle of Lord Russell's plan, reserving to their Courts the right of making counter-propositions on the various questions of detail of which the projected arrangement was composed.

The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark undertook to bring this project to the knowledge of their Court, having no doubt of the serious attention with which it would be received.

This expectation was justified.

The Protocol of June 2, No. 7, contains the declaration made by M. Quaade by order of his Court. This document evinces such noble and exalted intentions, that we think it right to preserve its text in full in this record of the deliberations of the Conference of London: —

"When, at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of London, the present King of Denmark accepted the choice which had been made of his person to succeed eventually to the King then reigning, the principal and decisive motive for His Majesty's resolution was the firm hope that Europe would know how to maintain what she had recognized and resolved by that solemn Treaty. His Majesty would not by his refusal prevent the Danish Monarchy from receiving a further pledge of stability, and he knew, thanks to the renunciations and sacrifices made by the rightful claimants, that he infringed the rights of no one by accepting the offer which had been made to him.

"Since then things have changed, and His Majesty has been subjected to a most cruel disappointment. Notwithstanding his own efforts, and those of his devoted people, his sole support in carrying out a work in which almost all Europe had concurred, His Majesty has been compelled to consider the possibility of his hopes not being realized.

"If such is to be the case, if really the Powers of Europe wish to abandon the Treaty of London, His Majesty, to prevent the resumption of hostilities, will not oppose a territorial cession, provided always that he obtains thereby, not only peace, but also an independent and perfectly autonomous existence as regards the remainder of his States, and on condition that the future destiny of the territories ceded be not decided without their consent.

"The Danish Government accept, therefore, in principle the proposal made in the last sitting by Earl Russell for the re-establishment of peace between Denmark and the two great German Powers.

"But in order that this peace, so earnestly desired by us, may bring with it a true reconciliation, it is necessary that it should be in every respect adapted to secure to Denmark the independence which belongs to her of right, the political independence which the Treaty of London was meant to guarantee to her, and for the preservation of which the Danish people have not hesitated to engage singlehanded in a sanguinary conflict with forces far superior to their own.

"The Danish Plenipotentiaries must, therefore, at once observe that there are limits to the sacrifices which it is desired to impose upon Denmark which the Danish Government cannot exceed.

"Thus the new frontier of Denmark is a vital question for that country. She requires a frontier which shall provide for both her military and her commercial interests, and that frontier must be protected by sufficient guarantees.

"There is another point on which the Danish Government reserve to themselves full liberty.

"It is only on special conditions that His Majesty the King of Denmark will consent to the cession of the Duchy of Lauenburg. That country was acquired at the time by

the King of Denmark in exchange for a part of Pomerania, to serve as an equivalent for the Kingdom of Norway, which was sacrificed for the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, and it is essentially unconcerned in the dispute which has caused the present war.

"Finally, the Danish Plenipotentiaries must claim for their Government full liberty to resume the position which they have invariably maintained until now on the ground of the Treaty of London, as soon as they may find that the provisional and conditional abandonment of that position will not conduce to a just and equitable arrangement, adapted to replace the provisions of that Treaty."

The Ambassador of Russia, in the name of the other Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, hastened to render on this occasion just homage to the intentions of His Majesty the King of Denmark. To replace the facts exactly as they stood, Baron de Brunnow called attention to the fact that the complaints made on the part of Holstein and of Lauenburg, &c., do not date from the present reign, but from a previous period. Scarcely had King Christian mounted the Throne when he found himself surrounded by difficulties, becoming more threatening from day to day. Time was not left to him to repair the faults of the past, or to calm the antipathies dating from a very distant period. It would, then, be unjust to throw upon his reign the responsibility of misfortunes which are in no degree its work.

The Protocol of June 2 contains also the declaration by which the Ambassador of Russia announced to the Conference that the Emperor, desiring to facilitate, as far as depends on him, the arrangements to be concluded between Denmark and Germany with a view to the re-establishment of peace, has ceded to Monseigneur the Grand Duke of Oldenburg the eventual rights which Section 3 of the Protocol of Warsaw of $\frac{\text{May 24}}{\text{June 5}}$, 1851, reserved to His Majesty as Chief of the elder branch of Holstein-Gottorp.

The said Protocol was deposited in the archives of the Conference.

All the Plenipotentiaries assembled in Conference hastened to render homage to the spirit of conciliation which dictated the declaration of the Court of Russia.

Baron de Beust whilst joining in the expression of these sentiments, thought it his duty to make, in the name of the Confederation, the reservations which the Diet might consider necessary relative to the effect of the Protocol of Warsaw, and to the pretensions which might be founded on that document.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, whilst rendering entire justice to the intentions which dictated the declaration of the Court of Russia, seized the opportunity to maintain formally the views of his Government, according to which no new state of things could be established in a detached territory of the Danish Monarchy, without the concurrence and the consent of the populations, loyally consulted.

M. de Quaade observed that as his Government regard the Treaty of London as being still in force, the combination settled by that Treaty has not yet failed.

The Ambassador of Russia recapitulated the considerations under the influence of which the Emperor of Russia has resolved to transfer the eventual rights of the elder branch of Holstein-Gottorp, of which he is the Chief, to the younger branch, represented by Monseigneur the Grand Duke of Oldenburg. His Majesty has reserved to this Sovereign to establish their joint titles, whenever he may consider that the moment for it should have arrived. As a member of the Germanic Confederation, that Prince would be called on to assert his claims himself in the legal course, before the Federal authority on which he depends. The Emperor of Russia will remain unconcerned in this suit. He is henceforward free from any direct intervention in a question of contested Succession in Holstein—a question which he is anxious not to complicate. Far from wishing to aggravate the difficulties which may retard the re-establishment of peace, His Majesty seeks to diminish them.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia, after having explained these views, by order of the Emperor, added :—

"I congratulate myself on having been called upon to express, as I have just done, the sentiments of His Majesty, in depositing the Protocol of Warsaw of the year 1851 among the archives of the Conference. That document has given rise, more than once, to false interpretations. They will be contradicted by the publicity which the declaration I have just made in the name of the Emperor will not fail to acquire. The spirit of conciliation which presides over His Majesty's policy will then be generally known, as it has been unanimously appreciated to-day by all the members of the Conference."

Already the task confided to its care ran the risk of being rudely interrupted by the sudden resumption of hostilities. We had arrived at the 6th of June. There remained only six days up to the term fixed for the duration of the truce. It was with hesitation that the Danish Cabinet decided to prolong it. At the reiterated request of the Plenipo-

tentiaries of the neutral Powers, they ended by consenting to it. But they limited this prolongation to a fortnight.

Austria and Prussia, on their side, felt extreme repugnance to accepting a truce of such short duration, when they had proposed the conclusion of an armistice of several months.

After discussions, the record of which we abridge, it was agreed to suspend hostilities till the 26th of June. Clearly, this period was insufficient to leave to the Conference the necessary means of accomplishing its task successfully.

The Protocols of the 6th and the 9th of June attest the perseverance of the efforts employed to obtain the consent of the Danish Government to a cessation of arms of a longer duration.

In order to explain the refusal repeatedly pronounced by order of his Court, M. de Quaade declared more than once that it could not consent to a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities unless there should appear to be a fair probability of agreement upon a point so vital as that of the frontier.

This particular question has formed from that time the main subject of discussion. It has been discussed not only in Conference, but in meetings held confidentially by the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, both with the Representatives of Denmark and with those of the Germanic Powers.

These frequent deliberations, prolonged and directed by a feeling of sincere friendliness, have had for their object to bring about a desirable reconciliation between the two parties.

We will indicate briefly the results of this attempt at conciliation.

The first line of demarcation adopted by the Danish Government had been traced from Eckernförde to Frederichstadt, a little to the south of the line proposed on the 28th of May by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain. It was only at a later period that the Representatives of Denmark were authorized to adhere to the line of the Slei and the Dannewirke. They stopped there, their instructions not permitting them to entertain any other arrangement whatever.

The first line of demarcation put forward by the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia and Austria was traced from Apenrade to Tonder. Nevertheless, Count Bernstorff, wishing to give a proof of his desire for conciliation, declared his readiness to recommend to his Government a second line which should be drawn from a point to the north of Flensburg and would terminate to the north of Tonder at Hoyer. This second line would have had the advantage of leaving the Danish Government in possession of the Island of Alsen.

Count Apponyi did not at first consider himself authorized to adopt this second line. Subsequently, however, he obtained permission to do so. The Protocol No. 9, however, states that this second line which Count Bernstorff had recommended to his Government was not definitively adopted, "because hitherto no steps had been taken on the other side to meet the German proposals."

This consideration decided the Plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia to recur finally to their first line traced from Apenrade to Tonder, and this proposition forms the extreme limit at which they have finally taken their stand.

In this state of things there remained between the two lines—the one Danish and the other German—an intermediate territory in dispute, and it was not in the power of the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers to induce either one or the other of the two parties to advance a single step towards an equitable arrangement.

Such was the situation on the 18th of June. One half of the period granted by the Danish Government for the suspension of arms had elapsed. There remained but a space of eight days to accomplish the work of peace confided to the Conference. Wishing to persevere in this task without permitting themselves to be discouraged by the obstacles which they encountered at every step, the Government of Her Britannic Majesty resolved upon a last attempt at conciliation.

In suggesting this arrangement, Lord Russell conformed to a desire earnestly expressed at the Congress of Paris in the interest of the maintenance of a general peace. This desire, enunciated on the 14th April, 1856, had for its object to recommend to the Cabinets, in the event of a serious misunderstanding, to have recourse to the good offices of a friendly State before appealing to force.

In making himself the organ of this proposition, Lord Russell expressed himself in the following terms, which we quote verbally:—

"Now that the principal question in dispute has been reduced to the tracing a frontier some miles more or less to the north, when the two belligerent parties have brilliantly sustained the honour of their arms, and when the renewal of hostilities would produce

a new series of calamities, disastrous to humanity, and unworthy of the civilization of our age, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain think it their bounden duty to propose to the belligerent Powers, namely, to Austria, to Prussia, and to Denmark, that a friendly Power should be appealed to, in order that a line of frontier may be traced, which should neither pass to the south of the line indicated by Denmark, nor to the north of that designated by the German Plenipotentiaries."

The Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers, being without special instructions, took this proposition *ad referendum.*

The Earl of Clarendon thought proper to explain its meaning, so as to prevent any misunderstanding. With this object, he said, "that he did not admit the interpretation of M. de Krieger that the Declaration of the Congress of Paris is not applicable unless an appeal is also to be made to the mediating Power with regard to all the questions in dispute. The disputed territory and the frontier are alone in question. The intention of the English Plenipotentiaries is to propose that the question of the territory between the two lines pointed out should be submitted to the arbitration of a friendly Power, the belligerent Powers engaging to accept its decision as final.

In the same sitting the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia demanded that the inhabitants of Schleswig should be consulted upon the arrangements to be adopted with regard to them, and that the fate of a part or of the whole of those populations should not be decided without their wishes being first properly declared.

This project gave rise to a discussion which the Plenipotentiary of Russia summed up in these terms:—

"In this meeting we sometimes choose divergent paths in order to arrive at an object which is common to us all; I mean the restoration of peace. The proposal which the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia have just made with this object has not met with an unanimous assent in the Conference. The Plenipotentiaries of the Court of Austria have stated how far their views differ from those of Prussia. The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain have pronounced their dissent in a manner still more formal. I have been compelled to express myself in the same spirit. The Ambassador of France has limited the question to the mixed districts, without extending it beyond them. The Minister of Sweden and Norway has been unwilling to prejudge in this respect the intentions of the Plenipotentiaries of Denmark. Their reply is decisive. It declines the Prussian proposal, which is supported by the Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation alone. The result of this deliberation proves that the manner of solution indicated by the Court of Prussia has not secured the united suffrages of the Conference."

The Conference assembled on the 22nd of June to hear the decisions which the belligerent Powers had taken upon the proposal made by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty with the view of calling on a friendly Power to settle the question of boundary, which was now the principal difficulty that delayed the pacific solution of the dispute.

The reply of the belligerent Powers did not respond to the wishes of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty. Austria and Prussia, "while showing themselves disposed to accept the mediation of a neutral Power not represented in the Conference, were not willing to engage beforehand to consider themselves definitively bound by the opinion which might be expressed by the mediating Power, as circumstances did not allow them to accept an arbitrative decision."

The Danish Government expressed a refusal even more decided. They declared that, to their great regret, it was impossible for them to give their consent to the proposal of the English Cabinet.

The Plenipotentiary of Denmark explained this refusal by the necessity which obliged him to regard the boundary proposed on the 28th of May as final, so as not to allow him to agree to an arbitrative decision which might modify that line.

Lord Clarendon combated this opinion. While representing facts in their real light, he showed that the line indicated on the 28th of May had been proposed in the interest of Denmark and of peace, and not with the intention of laying down a principle from which there could be no departure.

The Plenipotentiary of Russia concurred in the opinion of Lord Clarendon. He affirmed that Lord Russell never intended to propose this line as an ultimatum, nor to impose it as such on the belligerent Powers.

The Ambassador of France and the Minister of Sweden expressed themselves in the same sense.

All the combinations brought forward to arrive at an agreement on the line of the frontier having unfortunately been rejected, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne thought fit to lay before the Conference a new proposal. He said,—

"When the Government of the Emperor gave their adhesion to the plan of arrangement proposed by Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, in the sitting of the 28th of May, they hoped that the united efforts of the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers, seconded by the conciliatory disposition of the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent Powers, would succeed in bringing about between the interested parties an understanding as to the tracing of the line of frontier.

"These hopes have unfortunately not been realized. All the arrangements proposed have been rejected, and no compromise seems as yet to have any chance of being accepted. In this position of affairs, the Government of the Emperor consider it their duty to make in the interests of peace a final suggestion. It is in virtue of their nationality that the northern districts of Sleswig are to be assigned to Denmark, and those of the south to Germany. It has not been thought expedient to make an appeal to the wishes of the population where those wishes seem to be manifest; but they might be consulted where they are doubtful, and where no other means exist for establishing an agreement. Whilst admitting the impossibility of taking nationality as an absolute rule in the division of the mixed districts of Sleswig, the Government of the Emperor are, however, of opinion that it would be right to obtain, by means of a vote of the communes, the elements of appreciation on which it should be agreed to base a decision. This vote by communes would allow the most exact account to be taken of each nationality in the definitive tracing of the frontier.

"In order that it might offer in other respects the guarantees desired, it would be well to stipulate that all military forces should previously be withdrawn, and that the votes should be given free from all pressure. Each Power might, moreover, send delegates to the spot, in order to ensure the perfect impartiality of the scrutiny."

Lord Russell, in asking the opinion of the Danish Plenipotentiaries on this proposal, said that as regarded the English Plenipotentiaries, they would be disposed to concur if the Danish Government thought proper to give their adhesion.

M. de Quaade replied that he was of course without instructions on the subject, and that he could not even consent to accept it *ad referendum*. He alluded to his declaration of the 2nd of June, in which he said that his Government would make great sacrifices in order to obtain the restoration of peace, but that there were limits beyond which they could not go, and his instructions forbade him to consent to any other line than that proposed by the English Plenipotentiaries in the sitting of the 28th of May, and accepted by Denmark.

This declaration ended the debate. It showed at the same time the obstacle which the most persevering efforts of the neutral Powers have not been able to overcome.

It is before this insurmountable difficulty that the labours of the Conference of London have come to an end.

Protocols of Conferences held in London relative to the Affairs of Denmark.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1864.

LONDON:

COPIES OF LETTERS

FROM THE

PRUSSIAN AND GERMAN PLENIPOTENTIARIES

RESPECTING THE

SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONFERENCES

ON

DANISH AFFAIRS,

ANNEXED TO THE 12TH PROTOCOL.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1864.

LONDON:
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Copies of Letters from the Prussian and German Plenipotentiaries respecting the Summary of the Proceedings of the Conferences on Danish Affairs annexed to the 12th Protocol.

No. 1.

Count Bernstorff and M. de Balan to Earl Russell.

Londres, le 30 *Juin,* 1864.

LES Soussignés, Plénipotentiaires de Prusse à la Conférence qui vient d'être close, n'ont pu examiner qu'après la dernière séance le "Résumé des délibérations" qui a été déposé aux actes de la Conférence par MM. les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne et qui forme une Annexe du dernier Protocole.

Les Soussignés ont trouvé dans ce document plusieurs lacunes et quelques inexactitudes par rapport à leurs propres déductions et déclarations, qu'il leur importe de constater dans l'intérêt d'une appréciation juste et impartiale de la marche des négociations pendant la durée de la Conférence.

Ils ont rédigé à ce sujet le Mémorandum ci-joint, auquel ils prient son Excellence M. le Comte Russell de vouloir bien donner, ainsi qu'à la présente note, la même publicité qu'aux Protocoles de la Conférence et à leurs annexes.

Les Soussignés, &c. (Signé) BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.

(Translation.)

London, June 30, 1864.

THE Undersigned, the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia at the Conference which has just been closed, could not examine until after the last sitting the "Summary of the deliberations" which was deposited among the archives of the Conference by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, and which forms an Annex to the last Protocol.

The Undersigned have discovered in this document several omissions and some inaccuracies with respect to their own conclusions and declarations, which they are anxious to record in the interest of a just and impartial appreciation of the course of negotiations during the progress of the Conference.

They have drawn up on this subject the inclosed Memorandum, to which they beg his Excellency Earl Russell to give, as well as to this note, the same publicity which has been accorded to the Protocols of the Conferences and their annexes.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) BERNSTORFF.
BALAN.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Memorandum.

A LA page 2 du "Résumé," l'insuffisance des pouvoirs dont les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances belligérantes se trouvaient munis au commencement de la Conférence, est mentionné dans un ton de reproche. On n'en saurait reconnaître la justesse. La Conférence ayant été ouverte expressément sans base et sans suspension d'armes, les conditions de cette dernière ne pouvaient être réglées dans la première séance. Ce n'est pas la faute des Plénipotentiaires Allemands si elles ne l'ont pas été dans la seconde. Ils y ont explicitement formulé les conditions,

sous lesquelles leurs Cours consentiraient, soit à une simple suspension d'armes, soit à un armistice. Le Danemark a rejeté l'une et l'autre. Lord Russell a alors proposé, de son côté, des conditions d'armistice. Les Puissances Allemandes les ont encore acceptées. Le Danemark les a rejetées, et est revenu sur la suspension d'armes aux conditions qu'il avait rejetées dans la séance précédente. Par un excès de condescendance les Puissances Allemandes y ont encore adhéré malgré le terme si court d'un mois sur lequel le Danemark a insisté.

Ces faits, constatant les dispositions conciliantes des Puissances Allemandes, sont d'une grande portée. Ils sont cependant effacés par la manière dont le Résumé, à la page 3, les représente.

Le mérite assigné, page 4 du Résumé, à la Conférence d'avoir offert aux belligérants et "procuré au commerce un intervalle de sécurité et de repos," est plus que contestable au point de vue de la Prusse. Son armée et son commerce ont trouvé une si courte suspension d'armes plutôt onéreuse qu'avantageuse.

Passant ensuite à la discussion sur la validité du Traité de Londres du 8 Mai, 1852, le Résumé signale bien ce qui a été dit à ce sujet par les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres et du Danemark, mais quant à ceux des Cours Allemandes, il dit seulement que leurs développements ont mis au grand jour une divergence complète d'opinions entre les membres de la Conférence.

L'équité aurait exigée que le Résumé eût rendu au moins ce que le premier Plénipotentiaire de Prusse a dit dans la séance du 12 Mai, et dont le Protocole de cette séance fait mention en ces termes :—

"M. le Comte de Bernstorff répond que le Traité de Londres n'a pas été conclu, à proprement parler, entre toutes les Puissances qui l'ont signé, mais entre le Danemark et chacune des autres Puissances qui, par cette raison, n'ont échangé de ratifications qu'avec le Danemark. Il demande quel est donc l'engagement que les Puissances ont pris envers le Danemark ? C'est de reconnaître à l'avenir un nouvel ordre de Succession que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark avait l'intention d'introduire. Mais cet ordre de Succession n'a point été introduit d'une manière légale pour les Duchés, puisque ni les Etats des Duchés, ni les Agnats, ni la Confédération Germanique n'y ont consenti. L'objet de l'engagement n'existe donc point en réalité, puisqu'on ne peut supposer que les Puissances se soient engagées à reconnaître à l'avenir quelque chose d'illégal."

En relevant cette omission, il est utile de rappeler ici que les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse, entendant toujours citer de nouveau la dépêche du 30 Janvier comme preuve que leur Gouvernement aurait reconnu à cette époque la validité du Traité de Londres, se sont vus obligés de faire une déclaration explicite à ce sujet qui se trouve consignée dans le Protocole de la dixième séance du 18 Juin (page 4 *et seq.* du Protocole).

A la page 7, le Résumé qualifie la proposition des Plénipotentiaires Allemands, c'est-à-dire, "l'indépendance politique complète des Duchés étroitement unis par des institutions communes," de "tellement vague qu'aucun membre de la Conférence ne peut en saisir la portée." Ce reproche a été catégoriquement décliné dans la Conférence par les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Allemandes, et le Résumé lui-même prouve que la manière dont ils ont formulé leur proposition n'a pas été aussi intelligible qu'on paraît vouloir le faire croire. Car il rend exactement la pensée des Cours de Vienne et de Berlin, en disant qu'il s'agissait de rendre les Duchés "complètement indépendants sous le rapport politique et administratif; de laisser subsister un lien dynastique entre les Duchés et la Monarchie Danoise ; mais de subordonner ce lien dynastique à la décision que la Diète de Francfort porterait sur la validité des titres du Roi Chrétien IX en sa qualité de Duc de Holstein."

Mais il ne serait pas juste de dire que cette dernière réserve soit la cause pour laquelle les Plénipotentiaires Danois auraient déclaré le programme Allemand entièrement inadmissible. Au contraire, M. de Quaade et M. Krieger ont expressément déclaré à différentes reprises, et nommément dans la séance du 17 Mai (v. Protocole No. 5), que, quand même la question dynastique serait décidée en faveur du Roi Chrétien, l'indépendance des Duchés étroitement unis, telle que les Puissances Allemandes la demandaient, n'en serait pas moins entièrement inadmissible.

Si les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont hésité à spécifier les différentes garanties qui auraient dû assurer l'indépendance politique des Duchés, et si cette réserve ne leur a valu de la part des Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres que le reproche, articulé dans le Résumé, d'avoir été trop vagues, ils ont lieu d'espérer que même les

Plénipotentiaires Danois ont mieux apprécié cette réserve, en l'attribuant à de justes motifs de délicatesse.

A la page 12, le Résumé a omis le dernier alinéa de la déclaration de M. l'Ambassadeur de France, faite dans la séance du 28 Mai, et citée jusque là mot pour mot. Cet alinéa est ainsi conçu :—

"Quant à la désignation du Souverain sous l'autorité duquel le nouvel Etat devrait être placé, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur n'a aucun parti pris. Il donnerait volontiers son appui à toute combinaison qui serait conforme au vœu des populations loyalement consultées."

Il importe, au point de vue Prussien, de constater que le principe de ne décider de la destinée des Duchés qu'en conformité du vœu des populations—principe que les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse ont été dans le cas de faire valoir plusieurs fois, et en dernier lieu par leur déclaration du 18 Juin (page 19 du Résumé en bas)—a été énoncé déjà de la manière précitée dans la séance du 28 Mai par M. le Plénipotentiaire de France.

A la page 13 le Résumé, après avoit cité *in extenso* les déclarations par lesquelles les Plénipotentiaires des Puissances neutres ont exprimé leur assentiment à la proposition Anglaise de séparer du Royaume de Danemark le Holstein et la partie méridionale du Schleswig jusqu'à la Schlei, se borne à dire :—

"MM. les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont accepté le principe du plan de Lord Russell, en réservant à leurs Cours le droit de faire des contre-propositions sur les différentes questions de détail dont se compose l'arrangement proposé.

"MM. les Plénipotentiaires du Danemark se sont chargés de porter ce projet à la connaissance de leur Cour, ne doutant point de l'attention sérieuse avec laquelle il serait accueilli.

"Cette attente a été justifiée."

Ici le Résumé est de nouveau fort incomplet. C'est par oubli sans doute qu'il s'abstient de mentionner plus en détail la seconde déclaration que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands ont faite dans la séance du 28 Mai. Pour réparer cet oubli, il suffit de citer le Protocole. "M. le Comte de Bernstorff," y est-il dit, "prenant alors la parole, déclare que les Plénipotentiaires Allemands n'ont comme de raison pas d'instructions pour se prononcer d'une manière définitive sur les détails de la proposition qu'ils viennent d'entendre de la part de MM. les Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique. Mais connaissant l'esprit de conciliation qui anime leurs Gouvernements respectifs, et qui répond à celui qui a guidé le Gouvernement Anglais dans son désir de trouver une base qui puisse servir de compromis entre les points de vue opposés des Puissances belligérantes, ils croient pouvoir déclarer dès-à-présent que ni l'Autriche et la Prusse, ni la Confédération Germanique, ne se refuseront à prendre en sérieuse considération un projet de transaction qui puisse servir à faire atteindre le but que leurs Plénipotentiaires ont désigné dès le commencement comme celui qu'ils ont en vue, c'est-à-dire, d'assurer une pacification solide et durable. Sous ce rapport la ligne de démarcation proposée ne saurait cependant remplir le but, puisque le principal sujet de plainte et d'agitation pour la plus grande partie des populations du Schleswig continuerait non-seulement de subsister, mais serait même infiniment aggravé par leur séparation d'avec le reste des Duchés, et leur incorporation dans le Royaume de Danemark.

"Les Plénipotentiaires Allemands doivent donc réserver à leurs Gouvernements de faire des contre-propositions à cet égard.

"Pour ce qui concerne le Duché de Lauenbourg, ils se permettront de faire observer que la question de la Succession y est également regardée comme douteuse. Mais comme, en effet, les droits que la Couronne de Danemark peut y faire valoir sont moins contestés que dans les deux autres Duchés, les Puissances Allemandes seraient probablement disposées à le considérer comme un objet de compensation pour une partie du territoire septentrional du Duché de Schleswig."

Cette déclaration n'est pas seulement une preuve de l'esprit de conciliation, dont les Plénipotentiaires Allemands se sont montrés animés, mais il est nécessaire de la connaître pour comprendre la Déclaration Danoise de la séance prochaine, à laquelle le Résumé rend un si éclatant hommage.

A la page 15 une omission non moins caractéristique mérite d'être relevée. De toute la discussion qui a rempli la séance du 2 Juin, le Résumé ne mentionne que les observations par lesquelles M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie a pris à tâche de mettre hors de cause le Roi Chrétien IX et son Gouvernement, en soutenant qu'il serait injuste de faire retomber sur son règne la responsabilité de griefs qui ne sont nullement son ouvrage.

Par un nouvel oubli, incompatible avec les régles de l'équité, le passage suivant n'a pas trouvé de place dans le Résumé :—

"M. le Comte Apponyi fait observer qu'il ne s'agit nullement de la personne du Roi, mais seulement du système poursuivi par le Gouvernement Danois dans les Duchés, et M. le Comte de Bernstorff ajoute que l'incorporation du Schleswig a été sanctionnée sous le règne actuel."

C'est en effet par la sanction de la malencontreuse Constitution du 18 Novembre, 1863, que Sa Majesté Danoise a inauguré son règne. Les conseils de suivre une autre voie ne lui avaient pas manqué.

A la page 18 le Résumé, en mentionnant la ligne d'un point au nord de Flensbourg à Hoyer, "que les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse, dans un but de conciliation, se sont montrés prêts à recommander à leur Gouvernement," omet de nouveau une partie essentielle du texte du Protocole qui, en indiquant cette ligne, ajoute (page 10 du Protocole 7), "et qui comprendrait les Iles Frisonnes dans la partie du Duché à réunir à l'Allemagne."

A la page 20 du Résumé, la réponse des Puissances Allemandes à la dernière proposition Anglaise qui se rattache à la déclaration du Congrès de Paris relative à une médiation est très-incomplètement rendue. Voici la fin de cette réponse, que le Résumé supprime :—

"Un arbitrage ne serait, du reste, ni conforme à la Déclaration de Paris, qui n'a en vue qu'un recours aux bons offices d'une Puissance amie, ni ne répondrait aux termes mêmes de la proposition Anglaise."

Une dernière lacune reste à signaler. Le Résumé, en citant aux pages 21 et 22, la "suggestion" Française, de faire voter les districts mixtes par communes, pour fixer la frontière, a oublié de mentionner que les Plénipotentiaires de Prusse se sont déclarés prêts à prendre cette dernière proposition pacifique *ad referendum*, tandis que les Plénipotentiaires Danois, en s'y refusant, ont, ainsi que le Résumé le dit, "indiqué l'obstacle que les efforts les plus persévérants des Puissances neutres n'ont pas été à même de surmonter."

(Translation.)

AT page 2 of the "Summary" the insufficiency of the powers with which the Representatives of the belligerent Powers were provided at the beginning of the Conference is mentioned in a tone of reproach. It is impossible to allow the justice of this. The Conference having been expressly opened without bases and without a suspension of arms, the conditions of the latter could not be settled in the first sitting. It is not the fault of the German Plenipotentiaries if they were not settled in the second. They expressly laid down the conditions under which their Courts would consent, either to a simple suspension of arms or to an armistice. Denmark refused both. Lord Russell then proposed, on his side, conditions of an armistice. The German Powers again accepted them. Denmark rejected them, and returned to the suspension of arms upon the conditions which she had refused in the preceding sitting. By an excess of condescension, the German Powers again agreed to it, notwithstanding the very short period of one month upon which Denmark insisted.

These facts, proving as they do the conciliatory dispositions of the German Powers, are of great importance. Yet they are obliterated by the way in which the Summary, at page 3, represents them.

The merit ascribed, at page 4 of the Summary, to the Conference of "having offered to the belligerents and procured for commerce an interval of security and repose," is more than controvertible in Prussia's point of view. Her army and her commerce have found so short a suspension of arms a burden rather than an advantage.

Proceeding afterwards to the discussion upon the validity of the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, the Summary describes accurately that which was said on this subject by the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers and of Denmark; but with regard to those of the German Courts, it says only that their developments brought to light the complete divergence of opinion between the members of the Conference.

Equity required that the Summary should at least have reproduced that which the first Plenipotentiary of Prussia said in the sitting of May 12, and which the Protocol of that sitting details in these words: –

"Count de Bernstorff replies that the Treaty of London was not concluded,

properly speaking, between all the Powers who signed it, but between Denmark and each of the other Powers, who, for this reason, only exchanged ratifications with Denmark. He asks what is the engagement which the Powers have entered into with Denmark. It is to recognize for the future a new order of Succession, which His Majesty the King of Denmark intended to introduce. But this order of Succession has not been introduced in a legal manner as regards the Duchies, since neither the States of the Duchies, nor the Agnates, nor the German Confederation have consented to it. The object of the engagement does not then exist in reality, since it cannot be supposed that the Powers engaged themselves to recognize for the future anything illegal."

While remarking this omission, it is as well to draw attention to the fact that the Plenipotentiaries of Russia, continually hearing the despatch of January 30 quoted as a proof that their Government recognized at that time the validity of the Treaty of London, saw themselves compelled to make an explicit declaration on that head, which declaration is recorded in the Protocol of the 10th sitting of June 18 (page 4 *et seq.* of the Protocol).

At page 7, the Summary characterizes the proposition of the German Plenipotentiaries, viz., "the complete political independence of the Duchies, and their close connection by means of common institutions," as "so vague that no member of the Conference could understand its bearing." This reproach was categorically taken exception to in the Conference by the German Plenipotentiaries, and the Summary itself proves that the way in which they laid down their proposition was not as unintelligible as apparently it is desired that it should be believed to be. For it renders exactly the opinion of the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, when it says that the object was to make the Duchies "completely independent in their political and administrative relations; to allow a dynastic tie to subsist between the Duchies and the Danish Monarchy, but to subject this dynastic tie to the decision which the Diet of Frankfort may come to upon the validity of the titles of King Christian IX in his quality as Duke of Holstein."

But it would not be just to say that this last reserve was the cause on account of which the Danish Plenipotentiaries declared the German programme to be entirely inadmissible. On the contrary, M. de Quaade and M. Krieger expressly declared several times, and particularly in the sitting of the 17th May (Protocol No. 5) that, even should the dynastic question be decided in favour of King Christian, the independence of the Duchies closely united, as demanded by the German Powers, would still be entirely inadmissible. If the German Plenipotentiaries hesitated to specify the different guarantees which would have to secure the political independence of the Duchies, and if this reserve has only obtained for them from the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers the reproach, expressed in the Summary, of being too vague, they have reason to hope that even the Danish Plenipotentiaries have better appreciated that reserve in attributing it to just motives of delicacy.

At page 12, the Summary has omitted the last paragraph of the French Ambassador's declaration made in the sitting of the 28th May, and quoted up to that point word for word This paragraph ran thus:—

"As to the nomination of the Sovereign under whose authority the new State is to be placed, the Emperor's Government have come to no decision. They would willingly give their support to any combination which would be in conformity with the wishes of the population loyally consulted"

It is important, in the Prussian point of view, to establish the fact that the principle of deciding the destiny of the Duchies only in conformity with the wishes of the population—a principle which the Prussian Plenipotentiaries several times asserted, in the last instance in their declaration of the 18th June (page 19 of the Summary at the bottom) had been already put forward in the above-mentioned manner in the sitting of the 28th May by the French Plenipotentiary.

On page 13 the Summary, after having quoted *in extenso* the declarations by which the Plenipotentiaries of the neutral Powers expressed their adhesion to the English proposition of separating Holstein and the southern part of Schleswig up to the line of the Schlei from the Kingdom of Denmark, confines itself to saying that—

"The German Plenipotentiaries accepted the principle of Lord Russell's plan, reserving to their Courts the right of making counter-propositions on the various questions of detail of which the projected arrangement was composed.

"The Plenipotentiaries of Denmark undertook to bring this project to the

knowledge of their Court, having no doubt of the serious attention with which it would be received. This expectation was justified."

Here again the Summary is very incomplete. Doubtless it is through forgetfulness that it abstains from mentioning in greater detail the second declaration which the German Plenipotentiaries made in the sitting of May 28. To repair this forgetfulness, it suffices to quote the Protocol. It is there stated that "Count Bernstorff declares that the German Plenipotentiaries have, as is natural, no instructions to pronounce their opinion in a definitive manner on the details of the proposals of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain which they have just heard. But knowing the spirit of conciliation which animates their respective Governments, and which coincides with that which has guided the English Government in their desire to discover a basis which might serve as a compromise between the opposite views of the belligerent Powers, they think they may at once declare that neither Austria and Prussia nor the Germanic Confederation will refuse to take into serious consideration the proposal of a transaction which may serve to attain the object which their Plenipotentiaries have designated from the beginning as that which they have in view, viz., to insure a solid and durable peace. With regard to this point, the line of demarcation proposed cannot, however, attain the desired end, as the principal subject of complaint and agitation as regards the greater part of the population of Schleswig would not only continue to exist, but would even be infinitely aggravated by their separation from the rest of the Duchies and their incorporation in the Kingdom of Denmark.

"The German Plenipotentiaries must, therefore, reserve to their Governments the right of making counter-proposals on this point.

"As regards the Duchy of Lauenburg, they must be allowed to observe that the question of the Succession is regarded as doubtful in that Duchy also. But as, in fact, the claims which the Crown of Denmark can put forward to it are less contested than in the two other Duchies, the German Powers would probably be disposed to consider it as an object of compensation for a part of the northern territory of the Duchy of Schleswig."

This declaration is not only a proof of the spirit of conciliation with which the German Plenipotentiaries were animated, but it is necessary to know it in order to understand the Danish declaration in the next sitting, to which the Summary renders so striking an homage.

At page 15 a no less characteristic omission deserves to be noticed. Of all the discussions which occupied the sitting of June 2, the Summary only mentions the observations by which the Russian Ambassador endeavoured to place King Christian IX and his Government out of the question, by maintaining that it would be unjust to allow the responsibility of grievances which are by no means his work to fall upon his reign.

By a fresh act of forgetfulness, incompatible with the rules of equity, the following passage has found no place in the Summary:—

"Count Apponyi observes that there is no question as to the person of the King, but merely as to the system pursued by the Danish Government in the Duchies, and Count de Bernstorff adds that the incorporation of Schleswig was sanctioned during the present reign."

It was, in fact, by the sanction of the unfortunate Constitution of November 18, 1863, that His Danish Majesty inaugurated his reign. Advice to him to adopt another course was not, however, wanting.

At page 18 the Summary, while mentioning the line from a spot to the north of Flensburg to Hoyer, which the "Prussian Plenipotentiaries, with a view to conciliation, agreed to recommend to their Government," again omits an essential part of the text of the Protocol, which, in speaking of this line, adds (page 10 of Protocol 7), "and which shall comprehend the Frisian Islands in the part of the Duchy to be united to Germany."

At page 20 of the Summary, the answer of the German Powers to the last English propositions, which related to the Declaration of the Congress of Paris with regard to a mediation, is very incompletely reproduced.

The following is the end of that answer, which the Summary suppresses:—"An arbitration, moreover, would neither be in conformity with the Declaration of Paris, which only contemplated an appeal to the good offices of a friendly Power, nor would it correspond with the terms of the English proposal itself."

There remains one more omission to be pointed out. The Summary, in quoting at pages 21 and 22 the French suggestion of making the mixed districts vote by

communes, in order to fix the frontier, has forgotten to mention that the Prussian Plenipotentiaries declared themselves ready to accept *ad referendum* this last pacific proposal, while the Danish Plenipotentiaries, by refusing it, have, as says the Summary, indicated "the obstacle which the most persevering efforts of the neutral Powers have not been able to overcome."

No. 2.

Baron de Beust to Earl Russell.—(Received July 1.)

M. le Comte, *Londres, le* 29 *Juin,* 1864.

LA clôture de la Conférence a mis fin aux rapports officiels que j'ai été heureux d'entretenir avec votre Excellence. Quelque vifs que soient mes regrets de les voir terminés par un résultat de nos délibérations si peu conforme au but que l'on s'était proposé, je pense cependant qu'en déblayant le terrain la Conférence n'a pas été entièrement stérile. Veuillez me permettre de réclamer une dernière fois votre attention pour une communication que je suis dans le cas de vous adresser avant de quitter Londres.

Aux termes du Protocole de la séance de clôture les Plénipotentiaires Allemands se sont réservé le droit et la faculté de répondre au résumé dont lecture fut faite et qui se trouve annexé au Protocole.

Je demande donc à profiter de cette faculté, désirant surtout prouver à votre Excellence que je ne me suis pas trop avancé en disant, au sujet de ce travail, que je ne pouvais ni le trouver complet ni en partager les appréciations. Profondément convaincu que votre Excellence, en le soumettant à la Conférence d'abord et ensuite au Parlement Anglais, n'a eu en vue que d'appeler sur nos discussions un jugement impartial et éclairé, je ne doute pas qu'elle ne m'approuve de vouloir contribuer à mieux atteindre ce but.

Qu'il me soit donc permis de suivre les développements du Résumé, les Protocoles à la main.

Passant en revue les événements qui ont précédé la réunion de la Conférence le Résumé rappelle que l'occupation militaire du Holstein s'est accomplie sans coup férir ; le Roi de Danemark, dit-on, devait reconnaître l'autorité de la Confédération Germanique "en qualité de Duc de Holstein." Mais plus loin le Résumé arrivant au récit de la guerre qui s'était engagée par terre et par mer entre les deux Puissances Allemandes et le Danemark, fait mention de la capture "des navires marchands des Puissances Allemandes."

Il sera juste de rappeler le fait que le Danemark n'a pas seulement capturé les navires marchands des deux Puissances belligérantes, mais encore ceux des autres Etats Allemands, ce qui ferait penser que dans cette circonstance Sa Majesté Danoise ne s'est pas considérée comme Duc de Holstein ; c'eût été au moins ne pas faire preuve d'un sentiment de fédéralisme bien prononcé que de s'emparer du bien de Confédérés avec lesquels on se trouve en état de paix. Au reste la question de savoir si ces actes, contraires au droit des gens, ne constituent pas un cas de guerre pour la Confédération, pour avoir été ajournée en vue de la Conférence, n'en sera pas moins remise à l'ordre du jour par le fait même de la reprise des hostilités.

Je n'ai que peu de mots à ajouter au récit qui concerne les négociations sur la suspension des hostilités pendant les premières séances. Il s'agit seulement de compléter l'appréciation de la conduite des deux parties. Puisque le Résumé juge conforme "à un esprit de stricte équité" de relever les considérations qui ont déterminé le Danemark à refuser un armistice et à ne consentir qu'à une suspension des hostilités pour la durée d'un mois,—restriction que le Résumé déclare expressément avoir été nuisible pour la negociation elle-même,—ne devait-on pas payer un juste tribut d'éloges à la modération et à l'abnégation des Puissances Allemandes? N'avaient-elles pas, par les mêmes raisons, un intérêt saillant à préférer un armistice, et ne se trouvaient-elles pas dans la position avantageuse d'avoir accepté une proposition d'armistice émanée du Gouvernement Britannique? Et cependant elles se sont accommodées du consentement tardif des Plénipotentiaires Danois à une proposition rejetée d'abord par eux-mêmes.

J'arrive à la discussion de la question principale, et en premier lieu à ce qui s'est passé dans la séance du 12 Mai. D'après le Résumé j'ai constaté que la validité du Traité de 1852 n'a jamais été reconnue par la Confédération. Qu'il me

soit permis de rappeler que je ne me suis pas borné à citer ce fait que le Résumé qualifie de "doctrine;" mais que j'ai soutenu de plus qu'il fallait vider la question de la validité du Traité avant de discuter de nouvelles combinaisons.

Il me semble que la Conférence en adoptant cette "doctrine" se serait trouvée sur un terrain moins hérissé de difficultés que n'était celui où elle a continué à marcher.

Car à quoi, je vous le demande en conscience, M. le Comte, à quoi pouvait servir la réserve de revenir sur un Traité répudié par la Confédération, déchiré pour l'Autriche et la Prusse par la guerre, déclaré "impuissant" par une des Puissances neutres, "invalidé" par une autre, reconnu enfin par le Gouvernement Britannique insuffisant à satisfaire aux exigences de la situation? N'était-ce pas arrêter et neutraliser cet élan vers une solution pacifique qui pendant plusieurs semaines a paru dominer la Conférence et faisait espérer qu'elle aboutirait? Et cette réserve a-t-elle empêché le Traité de 1852 de mourir? Car c'est là le résultat positif de la Conférence, et je suis heureux de le constater, n'en déplaise à la main paternelle qui a rédigé le Résumé.

Arrivé à la séance du 17 Mai le Résumé cite le texte d'une déclaration que j'ai faite pour prévenir la Conférence que la majorité de la Diète de Francfort ne consentirait point à un arrangement quelconque rétablissant l'union entre le Danemark et les Duchés. Cette déclaration est même reproduite deux fois, et je n'ai qu'à me féliciter de l'importance que l'on semble y attacher.

Pourquoi faut-il que l'auteur du Résumé, si attentif à quelques unes de mes paroles, en ait passé d'autres sous silence qui dans ma pensée étaient tout aussi importantes et que je vais rappeler tout à l'heure?

Nous voilà arrivés à la séance du 28 Mai. Après avoir cité le texte de la proposition faite par tous les Plénipotentiaires Allemands demandant la réunion des Duchés sous le sceptre du Prince héréditaire d'Augustenbourg, et après avoir énumeré les objections de M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie et constaté le refus des Plénipotentiaires Danois de la discuter, le Résumé nous apprend que la proposition Allemande s'étant trouvée ainsi écartée, le Gouvernement Britannique a jugé à-propos de faire la proposition du partage du Slesvig. Les choses ne se sont nullement passées ainsi, et je regrette d'avoir à faire observer qu'ici le Résumé est non seulement incomplet mais positivement inexact.

Il résulte du Protocole que M. le Comte Apponyi ayant donné lecture de la déclaration collective des Plénipotentiaires Allemands, votre Excellence a immédiatement après donné lecture de la proposition Anglaise et qu'alors la discussion s'est ouverte à la fois sur toutes les deux. Le Résumé substitue donc les séduisantes couleurs d'une imagination féconde à la simple vérité en prétendant que deux combinaisons mises en avant le 17 et le 28 Mai venant d'être écartées l'une après l'autre, les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne ont pensé que le moment était arrivé où il fallait ne plus tarder à ouvrir aux belligérants une voie de transaction. Il est très essentiel de rétablir ici les faits dans toute leur exactitude.

Les Plénipotentiaires Allemands après avoir fait connaître à la Conférence, en forme courtoise de proposition, l'accord qui s'était établie entre les deux Grandes Puissances et la Confédération sur la question dynastique et territoriale, n'ont ni retiré ni abandonné cette base, mais ils se sont prêtés à la concilier autant que possible avec la proposition Anglaise, qu'ils devaient accueillir comme un premier pas vers une entente et non comme un ultimatum. Cette appréciation s'est trouvée depuis entièrement justifiée par les explications que MM. les Plénipotentiaires Anglais ont donné à ce sujet aux Plénipotentiaires Danois dans l'avant dernière séance sur la nature de cette proposition. C'est la question des frontières qu'on a dès lors discutée dans l'espoir de se rapprocher, mais sans que le programme que renferme la déclaration Allemande du 28 Mai n'ait jamais été abandonné.

Ce n'est qu'en passant que je ferai remarquer le soin que l'auteur du Résumé a mis à relever les objections de M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie contre la proposition Allemande et à supprimer les répliques que ces objections ont provoquées.

La séance du 2 Juin, à en juger par le Résumé, n'aurait été remplie que par une déclaration lue par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Danois, une déclaration dont M. le Plénipotentiaire de Russie a donné lecture, et d'un discours de ce Membre de la Conférence. Cependant le Protocole de la même séance rend compte d'une discussion qui n'était pas sans intérêt. Les données fournies par M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de Prusse sur la question de la Succession dans le Lauenbourg étaient faites pour mériter un peu plus d'attention, car elles rehaussent l'esprit de conciliation

dont les Plénipotentiaires Allemands se sont montrés animés en acceptant le Lauenbourg comme un équivalent pouvant être offert par le Danemark. On y trouve encore les détails d'une discussion sur la question de frontière qui démontrent combien il était difficile de s'entendre en prenant comme point de départ des convenances politiques, militaires, et commerciales, au lieu d'un principe, celui de la nationalité, effleuré déjà alors et positivement formulé par moi dans la séance suivante. Il y avait dans tout cela en effet un peu moins de sentiment, mais un peu plus d'intérêt pratique.

Les séances des 6, 9, et 18 Juin, dont le Résumé ne se rappelle que pour citer quelques traits de la discussion sur les frontières, avaient fourni matière à des explications assez importantes. Le Plénipotentiaire de la Confédération, mettant dans les termes les plus précis à toute cession de territoire Slesvicois au profit du Danemark, la condition absolue du consentement des populations, fut amené dans le courant de la discussion à expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles le Duché de Slesvig, se trouvant au pouvoir des Puissances alliées, appartenait de droit non au Roi de Danemark mais au Duc de Holstein. Il me semble que le refus des Puissances neutres d'adopter cette manière de voir, fondée en droit et soutenue par l'opinion publique de toute l'Allemagne, n'était pas une raison de passer tout ce débat sous silence.

Un juge impartial ne pourra s'empêcher d'y puiser au moins la conviction que l'Allemagne en refusant de rendre le Slesvig au Danemark n'est pas poussée par un esprit de convoitise ni de conquête, et que l'offre de faire dépendre le sort futur des populations de leur propre choix était une preuve de son désintéressement, en même temps qu'il constituait un véritable sacrifice. Ce ne sera certes par l'Allemagne qui aura à regretter l'insuccès des efforts faits dans la séance suivante par M. le premier Plénipotentiaire de Prusse et par moi pour faire adopter cette base de transaction.

Nous arrivons au dernier épisode de la Conférence, la proposition de l'arbitrage.

Vous voudrez bien vous souvenir, M. le Comte, de la raison qui m'a obligé de refuser un arbitrage sans appel, c'était—je l'avais déjà constaté préalablement—que pour l'Allemagne il s'agit d'une question de droit et nullement d'un objet de convoitise ou d'une conquête. Le Résumé n'en dit rien et je tiens à le constater.

Après avoir mis votre patience à l'épreuve, M. le Comte, par des réclamations, il m'est bien agréable de pouvoir terminer par une adhésion. Les derniers mots du Résumé, en citant une déclaration du premier Plénipotentiaire du Danemark, signalent "la difficulté invincible devant laquelle se sont arrêtés les travaux de la Conférence," ils indiquent d'où venait "l'obstacle." J'ai appris à le connaître et je suis heureux de voir—c'est le Résumé qui nous le dit—que les Puissances neutres ont fait des efforts persévérants pour le surmonter.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) BEUST.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte, *London, June* 29, 1864.

THE close of the Conference has put an end to the official relations which I have had the pleasure of holding with your Excellency. However lively may be my regrets to see them terminated by a result to our deliberations so little in conformity with the object which was proposed, I still think that in clearing the ground the Conference has not been entirely barren. Allow me for the last time to call your attention to a communication that I have to address to you before leaving London.

By the terms of the Protocol of the final sitting, the German Plenipotentiaries reserved to themselves the right and the power to reply to the summary which was read, and which is found annexed to the Protocol.

I ask therefore to avail myself of this power, desiring especially to prove to your Excellency that I was not going too far in saying, on the subject of this work, that I could neither consider it complete nor share its conclusions. Deeply convinced that your Excellency in first submitting it to the Conference, and afterwards to the English Parliament, had only in view to invite for our discussions an impartial and enlightened judgment, I do not doubt that you will approve my wishing to contribute to the better attainment of this end.

Let me therefore be allowed to follow the progress of the Summary, Protocols in hand.

Passing in review the events which preceded the assembling of the Conference

the Summary remarks that the military occupation of Holstein was accomplished without a blow being struck; the King of Denmark, it is said, had to recognize the authority of the German Confederation "in his quality of Duke of Holstein." But further on, the Summary coming to the recital of the war which commenced by sea and by land between the two German Powers and Denmark, mentions the capture of the "merchant-vessels of the German Powers."

It will be proper to recall the fact, that Denmark has not only captured the merchant-ships of the two belligerent Powers, but also those of the other German States; which would give rise to the impression that in that case His Danish Majesty did not look on himself as Duke of Holstein: it was at least not a proof of a very decided feeling of Federalism to carry off the property of Confederates with whom one is at peace. For the rest, the question of determining whether these acts, contrary to the right of nations, did not constitute a case of war for the Confederation, although deferred in consideration of the Conferences, will none the less resume its claim to consideration from the very fact of the recommencement of hostilities.

I have but little to add to the recital which concerns the negotiations upon the suspension of hostilities during the first sittings. It is only necessary to complete the explanation of the conduct of both parties.

As the Summary considers it agreeable to "a spirit of strict equity" to notice the considerations which determined Denmark to refuse an armistice, and to consent only to a suspension of hostilities for the space of one month, a restriction which the Summary expressly declares to have been injurious to negotiation itself, should not a just tribute of praise be paid to the moderation and to the self-denial of the German Powers? Had they not for the same reasons a keen interest to prefer an armistice, and did they not find themselves in the advantageous position of having accepted a proposition of armistice which emanated from the British Government? And yet they accepted the tardy consent of the Danish Plenipotentiary, to a proposition at first rejected by themselves.

I come to the discussion of the principal question, and in the first place to what passed at the sitting of the 12th of May. According to the Summary I affirmed that the validity of the Treaty of 1852 has never been recognized by the Confederation. Let me be permitted to remark that I did not confine myself to mentioning this fact, which the Summary calls "doctrine," but that I further urged that it was necessary to dispose of the question of the validity of the Treaty before discussing new combinations.

It appears to me that the Conference in adopting this "doctrine" would have found itself upon a ground less thickset with difficulties than that over which it continued to travel.

For of what, I ask you in conscience, M. le Comte, of what service could be the reservation of the right to return to a Treaty repudiated by the Confederation, torn up by Austria and Prussia through the war, declared "powerless" by one of the neutral Powers, "invalidated" by another; in fine, recognized by the British Government as insufficient to satisfy the exigencies of the situation? Was it not checking and neutralizing that ardour for a peaceful solution which during some weeks seemed to rule the Conference and gave hopes of success? And has this reservation prevented the death of the Treaty of 1852? For this is the positive result of the Conference, and I am happy to establish it without offence to the paternal hand which composed the Summary.

Coming to the sitting of the 17th of May, the summary cites the text of a declaration which I made to warn the Conference that the majority of the Diet of Frankfort would not consent to any arrangement re-establishing the union between Denmark and the Duchies. This declaration is even reproduced twice, and I can only congratulate myself on the importance which seems to be attached to it.

How comes it that the author of the Summary, so attentive to some of my words, should have passed over others in silence, which to my mind were of quite equal importance, and which I shall shortly repeat?

We now come to the sitting of the 28th of May. After having cited the text of the proposition made by all the German Plenipotentiaries demanding the union of the Duchies under the sceptre of the hereditary Prince of Augustenburg, and after having communicated the objections of the Russian Plenipotentiary and recorded the refusal of the Danish Plenipotentiaries to discuss it, the Summary informs us that the German proposition being thus rejected, the British Government considered

it expedient to make the proposal of the partition of Schleswig. This is not at all what passed, and I regret to have to remark that here the Summary is not only incomplete, but positively inexact.

It appears from the Protocol that Count Apponyi having read the collective declaration of the German Plenipotentiaries, your Excellency immediately after read the English proposal, and that then the discussion opened at once upon both. The Summary therefore substitutes the seductive colours of a fertile imagination for the simple truth in pretending that two combinations put forward on the 17th and 28th of May having been rejected one after the other, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain thought that the moment had arrived when there should no longer be delay in opening to the belligerents a method of arrangement. It is very essential to re-establish here the facts with full precision.

The German Plenipotentiaries after having made known to the Conference in the courteous form of a proposition, the agreement which had been established between the two great Powers and the Confederation upon the dynastic and territorial question, neither withdrew nor abandoned this basis, but they lent themselves to reconciling it as far as possible with the English proposition, which they should receive as a first step towards an understanding, and not as an ultimatum. This view has been since entirely justified by the explanations which the English Plenipotentiaries gave on this subject to the Danish Plenipotentiaries at the last meeting but one upon the nature of this proposition. It was the question of the frontiers which was thenceforward discussed in the hope of agreement, but without the programme which is contained in the German declaration of the 18th of May having ever been abandoned.

I shall only remark in passing on the care shown by the author of the Summary in recording the objections of the Russian Plenipotentiary to the German proposition, and in suppressing the replies to which those objections gave rise.

The meeting of June 2, to judge from the Summary, was taken up simply with a declaration read by the Danish Plenipotentiaries, a declaration read by the Russian Plenipotentiary, and a speech of that member of the Conference; yet the Protocol of the same meeting reports a discussion which was not without interest. The information furnished by the first Prussian Plenipotentiary respecting the question of the Succession in Lauenburg was such as to merit a little more attention, for it illustrates the conciliatory spirit with which the German Plenipotentiaries showed themselves to be animated in accepting Lauenburg as an equivalent which might be offered by Denmark. There are also to be found in it the details of a discussion on the question of frontier, which demonstrate how difficult it was to come to an understanding whilst taking as the point of departure political, military, and commercial expediency, instead of a principle, that of nationality, which had been at that time already glanced at, and was positively laid down by me at the next meeting. There was in fact in all this somewhat less sentiment, but somewhat more of practical interest.

The meetings of the 6th, 9th, and 18th June, to which the Summary only alludes so far as to cite some features of the discussion on the frontiers, furnished material for explanations of some importance. The Plenipotentiary of the Confederation, whilst affixing in the most precise terms to any cession of territory of Schleswig to the profit of Denmark, the absolute condition of the consent of the populations, was induced in the course of the discussion to explain the reasons for which the Duchy of Schleswig, being in the power of the allied Powers, belonged by right not to the King of Denmark but to the Duke of Holstein. It appears to me that the refusal of the neutral Powers to adopt this view, founded on right and supported by the public opinion of the whole of Germany, was not a reason for passing over this debate in silence.

An impartial judge will not fail to deduce from it at least the conviction that Germany, in refusing to restore Schleswig to Denmark, is not inspired by a spirit of covetousness or conquest, and that the offer to make the future fate of the populations depend on their own choice was a proof of her disinterestedness, at the same time that it constituted an actual sacrifice. It will certainly not be Germany who will have to regret the failure of the efforts made at the following meeting by the first Prussian Plenipotentiary and by myself to procure the adoption of this basis of arrangement.

We come to the last episode of the Conference, the proposal of arbitration.

You will recollect, my Lord, the reason which obliged me to refuse arbitration

without appeal, namely (I had already previously established this), because, as far as Germany was concerned, a question of right is involved, and in no way an object of covetousness or conquest. The Summary says nothing of this, and I desire to record it.

After having put your patience to the proof, my Lord, by complaints, it is very agreeable to me to be able to finish with an approval. The last words of the Summary, in citing a declaration of the first Danish Plenipotentiary, alludes to "the insurmountable difficulty before which the labours of the Conference have come to an end;" they indicate from what quarter the "obstacle" came. I have learned to know it, and am happy to see—it is the Summary which tells us so—that the neutral Powers have made persevering efforts to surmount it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BEUST.

Copies of Letters from the Prussian and German Plenipotentiaries respecting the Summary of the Proceedings of the Conferences on Danish Affairs annexed to the 12th Protocol.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1864.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

DENMARK AND GERMANY.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

AFFAIRS OF THE DUCHIES

OF

HOLSTEIN, LAUENBURG, AND SCHLESWIG:

1858.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1864.

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Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig: 1858.

No. 1.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Sir A. Malet.

Sir, *Potsdam, August* 13, 1858.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 6th instant, reporting the presentation by the Hanoverian Envoy of a communication to the Diet signifying the dissent of his Government from the decision of the Joint Committees in the affair of the Danish Duchies, I have to acquaint you that I had a long conversation on this subject with Count Platen, the Hanoverian Prime Minister, during the Queen's stay at Hanover.

Count Platen deprecated all intention to be unfair to Denmark, and stated that his communication was simply directed against the Diet, whose proceedings were informal. I impressed upon his Excellency that Great Britain had no direct interest in the dispute, and wished to avoid all appearance of interference; but I added that we were indirectly concerned in the possible complications which might arise if troops were moved. Count Platen declared that there was no chance of this, as the Diet was essentially a pacific body, but that it would insist on the total suspension of all constitutional action in the Duchies during the negotiations. His Excellency foretold that hereafter Schleswig would appeal to a European Conference against the Treaty of 1852, on which prophecy I considered it unnecessary to make any remark.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 2.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 18, 1858.

IN reply to your despatch of the 16th ultimo, giving a reported description of a conversation which I held with Count Platen at Hanover, I have to state that the account of it is entirely erroneous. To Count Platen and other Ministers with whom I had the honour to converse in Germany during my attendance on Her Majesty, I always held the same language on the subject of the Danish dispute. I invariably stated that Her Majesty's Government considered the Holstein part of the question a purely German one, and only indirectly interesting England, inasmuch as the occupation of Holstein might produce European complications in which we should be involved; that we had recommended the Danes to yield on several points, and would continue to do so; and that we trusted they would be met with a fair spirit, and not with the predisposition to establish a quarrel, which doubtless the Extreme party in Germany desired.

I distinctly stated that on the Holstein point the Diet was the legal tribunal. With respect to any controversy regarding Schleswig, I could not admit its jurisdiction, and, should such arise, it must be referred to the European Powers who signed the Treaty.

It is useless to speculate now upon the future force of the Treaty of 1852. With the exception of Prussia, all the other Powers signed it with satisfaction, and it is undoubtedly the intention of Her Majesty's Government to abide by it.

Should circumstances hereafter arise which would clearly prove that an abrogation or modification of that Treaty would be desirable, the Contracting Parties must be the improvers or abolitionists of their own work. One great political principle must ever rule the conduct of a British Minister who makes British interests his chief guide, namely, the

integrity of a Danish Monarchy; and it appears to Her Majesty's Government that the greatest security for this fact is that the Danish Government should act fairly by its subjects, and respect those Treaties which were intended to secure their happiness.

This is the language which you will hold to M. Hall after you have stated exactly what my conversations were with the Prussian and Hanoverian Governments on the Danish question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 3.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Her Majesty's Ministers at Courts in the Germanic Confederation.

Foreign Office, October 20, 1858.

THE communication which it is understood that the Danish Representative at Frankfort has recently made to the Diet has necessarily formed a subject for the serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I have already had occasion to inform you that the question at issue between Denmark and the Diet is one which in its present phase is considered by Her Majesty's Government as purely German; but Her Majesty's Government, while they disclaim any desire or pretension to interfere with proceedings purely local, such as the internal action of the Diet, feel that they may fairly be allowed to address a friendly communication on this subject to the Governments who act as principals in the present stage of the affair.

It is not the object of Her Majesty's Government, in making this communication, to reason upon the particular points in discussion between the Diet and Denmark. The solution of these difficulties, within the sphere of negotiation, rests with the parties interested. But it is in view of the sphere being extended beyond negotiation that Her Majesty's Government feel bound to express their opinion that the Danish communication to the Diet affords—as Her Majesty's Government have the surest ground for believing—a reasonable basis for successful negotiation; and if the Diet should at once and altogether reject the Danish propositions as unsatisfactory, the inference must be that peaceful views have been set aside, and that the Diet is prepared to press matters to an extremity.

This contingency induces Her Majesty's Government to entreat the several Governments of Germany to furnish their Representatives at Frankfort with instructions calculated to avert this result; and I have to instruct you, in making the contents of this despatch known to M. , to assure his Excellency that it is solely in the cause of general peace, and in the certain belief that any disturbance of such peace in Germany would lead to grave complications, that Her Majesty's Government are desirous that the present opportunity should be embraced of settling this irritating question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 4.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Grey.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 26, 1858.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 6th instant, reporting a conversation which you have had with Baron Manderström on the present position of affairs between Denmark and the Germanic Confederation; and with reference to the desire of the Swedish Government that the Holstein Question should be referred to an European Conference, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government consider the question to be purely German as long as Holstein alone is concerned; and I have to instruct you to discourage and deprecate all idea of an European Conference upon this point.

I have made a communication to the above effect to Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen, whose language to M. Hall, as reported in the inclosed copy of a despatch, I have approved.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 5.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Lord Bloomfield.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 12, 1859.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 4th instant, reporting a conversation with Baron Schleinitz respecting the Danish Duchies, I have to observe to you that the language used by his Excellency with reference to Schleswig does not appear to Her Majesty's Government to be calculated to smooth the difficulties which already encumber the Holstein question.

In my despatch of the 18th of October last, you will see that the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government are in accordance with the understanding which I came to with His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, when I was at Berlin, namely, that Holstein was a German question, but that if the relations between Denmark and Schleswig were to be discussed, the question would become European, and one which would concern in an equal degree all the Powers who signed the Treaty of 1852.

It seems to Her Majesty's Government to be extremely desirable to keep these questions distinct, especially at the present moment, and your Lordship will urge Baron Schleinitz to take a similar view of this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 6.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 12, 1859.

HER Majesty's Government entirely approve the language which you held to M. Hall and the Minister for Schleswig, as reported in your despatch of the 6th instant, relative to the suppression of certain literary and scientific societies in Schleswig.

Her Majesty's Government have viewed this measure with extreme concern. The Danish Government well know the exertions which have been made by Great Britain to smooth the difficulties which were supposed to have been created in Germany as regards the affairs of the Duchies. You will press upon the Danish Government the imprudence at this time of taking measures repugnant to the feelings of the inhabitants of Schleswig, such as those you describe, and which appear to Her Majesty's Government as justly liable to exception.

The policy of Denmark should be one of strict justice and conciliation, and it will be your duty to advise this course. Should a contrary one be followed, you will not conceal from the Danish Government that Her Majesty's Government would not willingly give their good offices to that Government, and even if they did so, their exertions in favour of Denmark would be rendered nugatory.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, hope that if those orders cannot be cancelled, they will at least be modified.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 7.

The Earl of Malmesbury to Colonel Hodges.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 16, 1859.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 12th instant, relative to the circulation in Holstein of drafts of petitions in favour of union with Schleswig by the partizans of the Holstein States, I have to instruct you to take every opportunity of discouraging such proceedings. You will at the same time state that the Treaty of 1852, by which the Succession to the Crown of Denmark was regulated, and to which Great Britain was a party, while it stipulated that "the whole of the dominions now united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark" shall devolve to the Prince therein named, only made a reservation as regards the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg to the effect that the reciprocal rights and obligations of the King of Denmark and of the Germanic Confederation concerning those Duchies should not be affected by the Treaty.

No stipulation of the Treaty excepts the Duchy of Schleswig from the full and complete exercise of sovereignty by the King of Denmark; and while Her Majesty's Government are prepared to maintain the Treaty, they are of opinion that any attempt to effect a union between Schleswig and Holstein would lead to complications which it would be most desirable to avoid.

I am, &c.
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

DENMARK AND GERMANY.

Correspondence respecting the Affairs of the Duchies of Holstein, Lauenburg, and Schleswig: 1858.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1864.

LONDON:

ACCESSIONS

TO THE

TREATY OF LONDON

OF

MAY 8, 1852,

RELATING TO THE

SUCCESSION TO THE DANISH CROWN.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1864.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Accessions to the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, relating to the Succession to the Danish Crown.

THE Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Norway, and Denmark, respecting the Succession to the Crown of Denmark, was signed at London on the 8th of May, 1852, and the ratifications were exchanged in London on the 19th June following. In accordance with the IVth Article of the Treaty the following Powers were invited to accede to it:— Treaty, May 8, 1852. Annex A.

Circular, October 22, 1852. Annex B.

Bavaria.	Oldenburg.
Hanover.	Saxe-Weimar.
Netherlands.	Belgium.
Saxony.	Naples.
Wurtemberg.	Spain.
Hesse-Cassel,	Portugal.
Hesse-Darmstadt.	Greece.
Baden.	Tuscany, and
Mecklenburg-Schwerin.	Sardinia.
Mecklenburg-Strelitz.	

The Powers which acceded to the Treaty were:—

Hanover,	Dec. 11, 1852.	Annex C.
Hesse-Cassel,	„ 16, „	„ D.
Netherlands,	„ 20, „	„ E.
Oldenburg,	„ 10, „	„ F.
Portugal,	March 19, 1853.	„ G.
Spain,	Dec. 6, 1852.	„ H.
Saxony,	„ 9, „	„ I.
Wurtemberg,	Nov. 28, „	„ J.
Sardinia,	Dec. 4, „	„ K.
Naples,	Jan. 28, 1853.	„ L.
Belgium,	Dec. 28, 1852.	„ M.
Tuscany,	„ 6, „	„ N.

Oldenburg and Saxony, however, in their accessions, reserved certain rights contained in ancient Treaties.

The following States refused to accede to the Treaty until the views of the German Diet on the subject should be known:—

Bavaria,	Dec. 20, 1852.	Annex O.
Hesse-Darmstadt,	Jan. 24, 1853.	„ P.
Saxe-Weimar,	Dec. 31, 1852.	„ Q.
Baden,	Jan. 26, 1853.	„ R.
Mecklenburg-Schwerin,	Jan. 10, 1853.	„ S.
Mecklenburg-Strelitz.	„ 10, „	

Annex A.

Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Prince President of the French Republic, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and the King of Denmark on the other part, relative to the Succession to the Crown of Denmark. Signed at London, May 8, 1852. (*Ratifications exchanged at London, June* 19, 1852.)

Au nom de la Très Sainte et Indivisible Trinité.

SA Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, considérant que le maintien de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, lié aux intérêts généraux de l'équilibre Européen, est d'une haute importance pur la conservation de la paix, et qu'une combinaison qui appellerait à succéder à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, la descendance mâle, à l'exclusion des femmes, serait le meilleur moyen d'assurer l'intégrité de cette Monarchie, ont résolu, à l'invitation de Sa Majesté Danoise, de conclure un Traité, afin de donner aux arrangements relatifs à cet ordre de Succession un gage additionnel de stabilité par un acte de reconnaissance Européenne.

En conséquence, les Hautes Parties Contractantes ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, savoir :

Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Très Honorable Jacques Howard, Comte de Malmesbury, Vicomte Fitzharris, Baron Malmesbury, Pair du Royaume Uni, Membre du Très Honorable Conseil Privé de Sa Majesté Britannique, et Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique pour les Affaires Etrangères ;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, le Sieur Louis Charles Baron de Kübeck, Chevalier de l'Ordre de Sainte Anne de Russie de la seconde classe, Commandeur de l'Ordre du Sauveur de Grèce, et de l'Ordre du Lion d'Or de la Maison Electorale de Hesse, Chargé d'Affaires de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique près la Cour de Sa Majesté Britannique ;

Le Prince Président de la République Française, le Sieur Alexandre Colonna Comte Walewski, Commandeur de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'Honneur, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de Saint Janvier des Deux Siciles, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre du Mérite de Saint Joseph de Toscane, Ambassadeur de la République Française près Sa Majesté Britannique ;

Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, le Sieur Chrétien Charles Josie Bunsen, Commandeur de l'Ordre de l'Aigle Rouge, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de la Maison Ducale Ernestine de Saxe, &c., &c., Conseiller Intime Actuel de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, son Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté Britannique ;

Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, le Sieur Philippe Baron de Brunnow, Chevalier des Ordres de Saint Alexandre Newski en diamants, de l'Aigle Blanc, de Sainte Anne de la première classe, de Saint Stanislas de la première classe, de Saint Wladimir de la troisième classe, ayant la Médaille pour la Campagne de Turquie, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de Danebrog de Danemark, Commandeur de l'Ordre de Saint Etienne de Hongrie, Chevalier des Ordres de Prusse de l'Aigle Rouge de la seconde classe, et de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, et de plusieurs autres Ordres étrangers, son Conseiller Privé, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté Britannique ;

Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, le Sieur Jean Gothard, Baron Rehausen, Commandeur de l'Ordre de St. Olaf, et Chevalier de l'Ordre de l'Etoile Polaire, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de Danebrog de Danemark, son Chambellan, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté Britannique ;

Et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, le Sieur Christian de Bille, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de Danebrog, décoré de la Croix d'Argent du même Ordre, Grand-Croix de l'Ordre de l'Etoile Polaire de Suède, Commandeur de celui des Guelphes de Hanovre de la première classe, Commandeur de l'Ordre de la Conception de Portugal, Chevalier de celui du Sauveur de Grèce, son Chambellan, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire près Sa Majesté Britannique ;

Lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs respectifs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des Articles suivants :—

ARTICLE I.

Après avoir pris en sérieuse considération les intérêts de sa Monarchie, Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de l'assentiment de Son Altesse Royale le Prince Héréditaire, et de ses plus proches Cognats, appelés à la Succession par la Loi Royale de Danemark, ainsi que de concert avec Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, Chef de la Branche aînée de la Maison de Holstein-Gottorp, ayant déclaré vouloir régler l'ordre de Succession dans ses Etats, de manière à ce qu'à défaut de descendance mâle en ligne directe du Roi Frédéric III de Danemark, sa Couronne soit transmise à Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, et aux descendants issus du mariage de ce Prince avec Son Altesse la Princesse Louise de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, née Princesse de Hesse, par ordre de primogéniture, de mâle en mâle ; les Hautes Parties Contractantes, appréciant la sagesse des vues qui ont déterminé l'adoption éventuelle de cette combinaison, s'engagent d'un commun accord, dans le cas où l'éventualité prévue viendrait à se réaliser, à reconnaître à Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, et aux descendants mâles, issus en ligne directe de son mariage avec la dite Princesse, le droit de succéder à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

ARTICLE II.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes, reconnaissant comme permanent le principe de l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, s'engagent à prendre en considération les ouvertures ultérieures que Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark jugerait à propos de leur adresser, si, ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise, l'extinction de la descendance mâle, en ligne directe, de Son Altesse le Prince Christian de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, issue de son marriage avec Son Altesse la Princesse Louise de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, née Princesse de Hesse, devenait imminente.

ARTICLE III.

Il est expressément entendu que les droits et les obligations réciproques de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark et de la Confédération Germanique, concernant les Duchés de Holstein et de Lauenbourg, droits et obligations établis par l'Acte Fédéral de 1815, et par le droit Fédéral existant, ne seront pas altérés par le présent Traité.

ARTICLE IV.

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes se réservent de porter le présent Traité à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder.

ARTICLE V.

Le présent Traité sera ratifié, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Londres dans le délai de six semaines, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

En foi de quoi, les Plénipotentiaires respectifs l'ont signé, et y ont apposé le cachet de leurs armes.

Fait à Londres, le huit Mai, l'an de grâce mil huit cent cinquante-deux.

(L.S.) MALMESBURY. (L.S.) BILLE.
(L.S.) KUBECK.
(L.S.) A. WALEWSKI.
(L.S.) BUNSEN.
(L.S.) BRUNNOW.
(L.S.) REHAUSEN.

(Translation.)

In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Prince President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, taking into consideration that the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, as connected with the general interests of the balance of power in Europe, is of high importance to the preservation of peace, and that an arrangement by which the Succession to the whole of the dominions now united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, should devolve upon the

male line, to the exclusion of females, would be the best means of securing the integrity of that Monarchy, have resolved, at the invitation of His Danish Majesty, to conclude a Treaty, in order to give to the arrangements relating to such order of Succession, an additional pledge of stability by an act of European acknowledgment.

In consequence, the High Contracting Parties have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable James Howard, Earl of Malmesbury, Viscount Fitzharris, Baron Malmesbury, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Lewis Charles Baron de Kübeck, Knight of the Order of St. Anne of Russia of the second class, Commander of the Order of the Redeemer of Greece, and of the Order of the Golden Lion of the Electoral House of Hesse, Chargé d'Affaires of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty at the Court of Her Britannic Majesty;

The Prince President of the French Republic, the Sieur Alexander Colonna Count Walewski, Commander of the National Order of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Januarius of the Two Sicilies, Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of St. Joseph of Tuscany, Ambassador of the French Republic to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the King of Prussia, the Sieur Christian Charles Josiah Bunsen, Commander of the Order of the Red Eagle, Grand Cross of the Order of the Ducal Ernestine House of Saxony, &c., &c., Privy Councillor of His Majesty the King of Prussia, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, Knight of the Orders of St. Alexander Newski in diamonds, of the White Eagle, of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, of St. Wladimir of the third class, having the Medal for the Campaign of Turkey, Grand Cross of the Order of Danebrog of Denmark, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Orders of Prussia of the Red Eagle of the second class, and of St. John of Jerusalem, and of several other foreign Orders, his Privy Councillor, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, the Sieur John Gothard Baron de Rehausen, Commander of the Order of St. Olaf, and Knight of the Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross of the Order of Danebrog of Denmark, his Chamberlain, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

And His Majesty the King of Denmark, the Sieur Christian de Bille, Grand Cross of the Order of Danebrog, decorated with the Silver Cross of the same Order, Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star of Sweden, Commander of that of the Guelphs of Hanover of the first class, Commander of the Order of the Conception of Portugal, Knight of that of the Redeemer of Greece, his Chamberlain, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

After having taken into serious consideration the interests of his Monarchy, His Majesty the King of Denmark, with the assent of His Royal Highness the Hereditary Prince, and of his nearest Cognates, entitled to the Succession by the Royal Law of Denmark, as well as in concert with His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Head of the elder Branch of the House of Holstein-Gottorp, having declared his wish to regulate the order of Succession in his dominions in such manner that, in default of issue male in a direct line from King Frederick III of Denmark, his Crown should devolve upon His Highness the Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, and upon the issue of the marriage of that Prince with Her Highness the Princess Louisa of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, born a Princess of Hesse, by order of primogeniture, from male to male; the High Contracting Parties, appreciating the wisdom of the views which have determined the eventual adoption of that arrangement, engage by common consent, in case the contemplated contingency should be realized, to acknowledge in His Highness the Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, and his issue male in the direct line by his marriage with the said Princess, the right of succeeding to the whole of the dominions now united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

ARTICLE II.

The High Contracting Parties, acknowledging as permanent the principle of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, engage to take into consideration the further propositions which His Majesty the King of Denmark may deem it expedient to address to them, in case (which God forbid) the extinction of the issue male, in the direct line, of His Highness the Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, by his marriage with Her Highness the Princess Louisa of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, born a Princess of Hesse, should become imminent.

ARTICLE III.

It is expressly understood that the reciprocal rights and obligations of His Majesty the King of Denmark, and of the Germanic Confederation, concerning the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, rights and obligations established by the Federal Act of 1815, and by the existing Federal right, shall not be affected by the present Treaty.

ARTICLE IV.

The High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves to bring the present Treaty to the knowledge of the other Powers and to invite them to accede to it.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London at the expiration of six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at London, the eighth day of May, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

(L.S.)	MALMESBURY.	(L.S.)	BILLE.
(L.S.)	KUBECK.		
(L.S.)	A. WALEWSKI.		
(L.S.)	BUNSEN.		
(L.S.)	BRUNNOW.		
(L.S.)	REHAUSEN.		

Annex B.

Circular.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 22, 1852.

I HAVE to communicate to you herewith copies of the Treaty which was concluded at London on the 8th of May last, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, on the one part, and Denmark on the other part, the principal object of which is to ensure the maintenance of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, in the event of the extinction of the male line in the present reigning family.

For this purpose, and in conformity with the intention in this respect expressed by the King of Denmark, the High Contracting Powers have engaged to recognize in such an event the right of His Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and of his male descendants by his marriage with Her Highness the Princess Louisa of Hesse, to succeed to the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark.

This Treaty having been ratified, and the High Contracting Parties having by Article IV engaged to bring it to the knowledge of the other Powers, and to invite them to accede to it, I have to instruct you to take the necessary steps, in conjunction with your colleagues the Representatives of Austria, Denmark, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden and Norway, to bring this Treaty to the knowledge of the Government, and to invite its accession.

Should no Danish Minister be accredited at the Court of , you will postpone the execution of this instruction, as regards the Court so situated, until you shall have ascertained that a direct communication on that subject has been made to the Government by the Government of Denmark.

I am, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Annex C.

Accession of the King of Hanover, December 11, 1852.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norwège, d'une part, et de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de l'autre, ayant conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark ; et toutes les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'étant réservé par l'Article IV du dit Traité de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances en les invitant à y accéder, elles ont fait adresser cette invitation à Sa Majesté le Roi de Hanovre.

Et Sa dite Majesté, après avoir eu communication du dit Traité, a autorisé le Soussigné, Président du Conseil des Ministres et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, à déclarer que Sa Majesté le Roi de Hanovre accède formellement par le présent Acte au susdit Traité, dont copie se trouve ci-annexée.

En foi de quoi, &c.

(Signé) SCHELE.

Hanovre, le 11 *Decembre*, 1852.

Annex D.

Accession of the Elector of Hesse (Hesse-Cassel), December 16, 1852.

M. de Baumbach to Sir A. Malet.

(Translation.) *Cassel, December* 16, 1852.

THE Undersigned, Chief of the Electoral Ministry and Minister for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of his Excellency Sir A. Malet, Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, bearing date the 17th of November, relative to the Treaty regulating the Succession to the Danish Throne, agreed to in London on the 8th of May of this year.

He did not delay communicating the same to His Royal Highness, and has the honour to inform his Excellency that His Royal Highness accedes to the Treaty, and has authorized the Undersigned to declare this his Accession.

In consequence the Undersigned has drawn up a Protocol of Adhesion (a copy of which is herewith inclosed), and has transmitted the same to the Danish Government.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) BAUMBACH.

Annex E.

Accession of the King of the Netherlands, December 20, 1852.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark de l'autre, ayant conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark ; et les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'étant réservé par l'Article IV du dit Traité de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder, elles ont fait adresser cette invitation à Sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas.

Et Sa dite Majesté, après avoir eu communication du dit Traité, a autorisé le Soussigné, son Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, à déclarer que Sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas accède formellement par le présent Acte au susdit Traité, dont copie se trouve ci-annexé.

En foi de quoi le Soussigné a signé le présent Acte d'Accession, et y a apposé le cachet de ses armes.

Fait à la Haye, le vingt Décembre, mil huit cent cinquante-deux.

(Signé) DE ZUYLEN DE NYEVELT.
(L.S)

Annex F.

Accession of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, December 10, 1852.

M. de Rössing to Baron d'Holmfeld.

Oldenbourg, ce 10 *Décembre,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Conseiller d'Etat de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc d'Oldenbourg, Chef du Départment de la Maison Grand Ducale et des Affaires Etrangères, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note que son Excellence M. le Baron Dirckinck de Holmfeld, Envoyé en Mission Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, a bien voulu lui adresser sous la date du 11 Novembre, 1852, pour lui communiquer le texte du Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai dernier, et n'a pas manqué de placer cet Acte sous les yeux de son auguste Maitre.

Le Soussigné est chargé aujourd'hui de répondre. Si d'une part Son Altesse Royale rend pleine justice aux motifs qui ont guidé les Puissances Contractantes en signant un Traité destiné à garantir le repos du Nord de l'Europe, d'autre part elle ne saurait méconnaître les graves difficultés d'une succession éventuelle dans le Royaume de Danemark et dans les Duchés. Son Altesse Royale fait non seulement les vœux les plus sincères pour que le dit Traité serve à aplanir ces difficultés, mais encore est-elle prète à y contribuer de son côté et à répondre aux intentions des Hautes Puissances ainsi qu'aux ouvertures qui lui ont été faites à cet égard en n'hésitant pas à déclarer qu'elle se désiste pour elle et ses descendants de ses droits éventuels de sa succession en faveur de Son Altesse le Prince de Slesvig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glücksbourg, et ses descendants mâles issus en ligne directe du mariage de ce Prince avec Son Altesse Madame la Princesse Louise née Princesse de Hesse, dans le cas où Son Altesse le Prince Christian monterait sur le Trône de Danemark, et aussi longtemps que ce trône serait occupé par son descendance mâle. Son Altesse Royale se réfère du reste à la teneur des Traités conclus entre le Danemark et la Russie à Copenhague le 11 Avril, 1767, et à Tsarskoe-Selo le 21 Mai, 1773, par rapport à l'échange des Comtés d'Oldenbourg et de Delmenhorst.

En s'acquittant ainsi des ordres de son auguste Maître, le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) V. ROSSING.

Annex G.

Accession of the Queen of Portugal, March 19, 1853.

(Translation.)

WE, Donna Maria, &c., &c., &c., make known to all our subjects that the General Cortes have decreed, and we will the following Law:—

Single Article.—The Government are authorized to propose to Her Majesty the Queen the Accession to the Treaty of 8th May last, signed in London by the Plenipotentiaries of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia; of the President of the French Republic; of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; of His Majesty the King of Prussia; of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; of His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, on the one side; and by the Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Denmark on the other; respecting the eventual order of succession to the whole of the States now united under the sceptre of the King of Denmark.

We therefore command all the authorities whom the knowledge and execution of the said Law may concern, to observe and keep it, and to cause it to be observed and kept entirely as it is expressed.

The Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs shall cause it to be printed, published, and circulated.

At the Palace of Necessidades, 19th March, 1853.

(Signed) QUEEN.

(Countersigned) VISCOUNT D'ATHOGUIA.

HER Majesty the Queen having been invited by M. dal Borgo di Primo, the Resident Minister of the King of Denmark at this Court, in the name and by authority of his Sovereign, to give Her accession to the Treaty signed in London on the 8th May of last year relating to the eventual order of Succession to the whole of the States now united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark; and a similar invitation having

been by virtue of the 4th Article of said Treaty addressed by the Representatives, residing in Lisbon, of the other Powers signing the compact, the same august Lady has been pleased, after consulting the Cortes, and hearing the opinion of the Council of State, to furnish the Viscount d'Athoguia, Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and for the Marine and Colonial Departments, with the necessary full powers for signing in Her Royal name as Her Plenipotentiary the Act of Accession, which ceremony took place yesterday at the Foreign Office, in the presence of the said Resident Danish Minister, who on this occasion presented on his part, in the name of his Sovereign, the act of acceptance with the ordinary formalities.

In consequence of which Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to order the insertion of the said Treaty in the "Diario do Governo."

Annex H.

Accession of the Queen of Spain, December 6, 1852.

M. de Lis to Mr. Otway.

(Translation.) *Madrid, December* 6, 1852.

IN reply to the note which you have been pleased to address to me under date of the 26th ultimo, I have the honour to inform you that the Queen my Sovereign having been graciously pleased to accede to the Treaty concluded in London on the 8th of May last, relative to the order of eventual Succession to the totality of the States which are at present annexed to the Danish Crown, I have this day delivered into the hands of the Minister Resident of His Danish Majesty at this Court the Act containing this declaration.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) MANUEL BERTRAM DE LIS.

Annex I.

Accession of the King of Saxony, December 9, 1852.

M. de Beust to Mr. Forbes.

Dresde, ce 9 *Décembre,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Roi de Saxe, s'est empressé de soumettre au Roi son auguste Maître la note en date du 25 Novembre passé, par laquelle l'Honorable M. Francis R. Forbes, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, d'après les ordres de Sa dite Majesté Britannique, a invité le Gouvernement Royal de Saxe à accéder au Traité signé à Londres le 8 Mai de l'année courante, entre la Grande Bretagne, la Russie, l'Autriche, la France, la Prusse, et la Suède et Norvège, d'une part, et le Danemark de l'autre part, concernant les arrangements relatifs à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle dans les Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté Danoise.

Sa Majesté ayant pris connaissance de ces arrangements ainsi que des stipulations destinées à en garantir la stabilité, se plait à reconnaître la sagesse des vues, et la sollicitude pour les grands intérêts politiques de l'Europe, dont les Hautes Parties Contractantes ont donné, dans cette circonstance, un nouvel et éclatant témoignage. Animé de ces sentiments, Sa Majesté veut bien se prêter au désir manifesté par ses hauts alliés, et croire que les intérêts bien fondés de sa Maison Royale n'y mettent pas obstacle. Ces intérêts ayant principalement rapport aux droits éventuels de Succession appartenant à la branche Albertine de la Maison de Saxe sur le Duché de Lauenbourg, pour le cas où la Maison de Brunswic-Lünebourg se trouvant en 1697 en possession du dit Duché viendrait à s'éteindre, il ne s'agit en effet que de droits éventuels, mais qui ne sauraient être altérés par le Traité du 8 Mai passé.

C'est dans cette supposition, et sous la réserve de ces mêmes droits éventuels, que le Gouvernement du Roi, sans prétendre au reste anticiper sur les résolutions que la Confédération Germanique par l'organe de la Diète pourrait être amené à prendre dans cette question, n'hésite pas à déclarer son assentiment au Traité signé à Londres le 8 Mai passé, et à s'associer ainsi à une combinaison servant à maintenir l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et à assurer en même temps la conservation de la paix générale.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) BEUST.

Annex J.

Accession of the King of Wurtemberg, November 28, 1852.

M. Neurath to Mr. Magenis.

Stuttgardt, le 28 *Novembre,* 1852.

LE Soussigné a eu l'honneur de recevoir l'office par lequel Mr. Magenis lui a transmis sous la date du 23 Novembre dernier un exemplaire du Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, entre Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part; et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, d'autre part; dans le but d'assurer le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité actuelle, ainsi que d'établir l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, et par lequel il a été chargé au nom de son Gouvernement d'inviter le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Wurtemberg à y accéder.

Le Soussigné a la satisfaction d'annoncer à Mr. Magenis que Sa Majesté le Roi son auguste Souverain, se rendant au désir qui lui a été exprimé, l'a autorisé d'informe le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Danoise qu'il accédait au susdit Traité.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) NEURATH.

Annex K.

Accession of the King of Sardinia, December 4, 1852.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohème, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norvège, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark de l'autre part, ayant conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, et les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'étant reservé par l'Article IV du dit Traité de le porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder, elles ont fait adresser cette invitation à Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne. Sa Majesté après en avoir eu communication, a autorisé le Soussigne, son Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères, à déclarer qu'elle accède formellement au susdit Traité, dont le texte se trouve ci-annexé.

En foi de quoi le Soussigné a signé le present Acte d'Accession, et y apposé le cachet de ses armes.

Fait à Turin, le 4 Décembre, l'an de grace 1852.

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères,
(Signé) DABORMIDA.

Annex L.

Accession of the King of Naples.

M. Carafa to Sir W. Temple.

(Translation.) *Naples, December* 4, 1852.

His Excellency the Chevalier Temple, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy, &c., in transmitting in his esteemed note of the 28th November last to the Undersigned, &c., the text of a Treaty negotiated in London on the 8th day of May, 1852, for the purpose of securing the integrity of the Danish Monarchy, and of regulating the order of eventual Succession to the whole of the States actually united under the sceptre of His Majesty the King of Denmark, has invited, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen of England, the Government of the Two Sicilies to accede thereto.

The Undersigned having made it his duty to inform the King his august Master thereof, His Majesty has been pleased to authorize him to sign, under this present date, a Ministerial declaration, by which the accession on the part of His Majesty's Government to the aforesaid Treaty has had full and complete effect.

He has, therefore, the honour to bring this to his Excellency's knowledge in reply to his note, and avails, &c.

(Signed) CARAFA.

Annex M.

Accession of the King of the Belgians, December 28, 1852.

SA Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, le Prince Président de la République Française, Sa Majesté la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède et de Norwége, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark, de l'autre, ayant conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, un Traité relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark ; et les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'étant réservé par l'Article IV du dit Traité de la porter à la connaissance des autres Puissances, en les invitant à y accéder, elles ont fait adresser cette invitation à Sa Majesté le Roi des Belges.

Et Sa dite Majesté, après avoir eu communication du dit Traité, a autorisé le Soussigné à déclarer que Sa Majesté le Roi des Belges accède formellement par le présent Acte au susdit Traite, dont copie se trouve ci-annexé.

En foi de quoi le Soussigné a signé le présent Acte d'Accession et y a apposé le cachet de ses armes.

Fait à Bruxelles, le 28 Décembre, 1852.

(Signé) H. DE BROUCKERE.

Annex N.

Accession of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, December 6, 1852.

The Duke of Casigliano to Sir H. Bulwer.

LE Soussigné, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat au Département des Affaires Etrangères, a l'honneur d'accuser réception de la note que son Excellence Sir Henri Lytton Bulwer, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, a bien voulu lui adresser touchant le Traité signé à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, ayant pour but d'assurer le maintien de la Monarchie Danoise dans son intégrité, et de donner à cet effet par la reconnaissance des Puissances une sanction Européenne à l'ordre éventuel de Succession établi par Sa Majesté Danoise pour la totalité des Etats réunis sons son sceptre.

Le Cabinet de Copenhague, en exercant le droit d'initiative qui lui avait été réservé, avait déjà procédé envers le Gouvernement Grand-Ducal à une communication semblable, et l'avait directement invité à accéder au Traité ci-dessus nommé.

Le Soussigné, après avoir pris les ordres de son auguste Souverain, s'est empressé de transmettre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Danoise une Déclaration Ministérielle constatant l'accession la plus formelle du Gouvernement Toscan au Traité dont il s'agit.

Cette détermination du Gouvernement Grand-Ducal répondant entièrement au désir exprimé par son Excellence Sir Henri Lytton Bulwer dans sa note ci-dessus louée, et à l'invitation qui en était la suite, le Soussigné se fait un devoir de la lui communiquer sans retard, avec prière de vouloir bien la porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) LE DUC DE CASIGLIANO.

Annex O.

Reply of the King of Bavaria.

M. von der Pfordten to Sir J. Milbanke.

Munich, ce 20 *Décembre*, 1852.

LE Baron de Pelkhoven, Conseiller d'Etat, chargé par intérim du Portefeuille des Affaires Etrangères, a reçu dans le temps la note par laquelle Mr. J. R. Milbanke, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, lui a communiqué le Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai de l'année courante, relatif à l'ordre de Succession éventuelle dans la Monarchie Danoise, et l'a invité en même temps, en raison de l'Article IV de ce Traité, à accéder au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière à ce même Traité. Le Baron de Pelkhoven s'est empressé de placer cette communication sous les yeux de Sa Majesté, et comme le Soussigné, Ministre d'Etat de la Maison du Roi et des Affaires Etrangères, a depuis repris le Portefeuille de son Département, il a reçu l'ordre du Roi de faire à M. le Ministre la déclaration suivante :—

Le Roi de Bavière, son auguste Souverain, a pris connaissance de ce document important avec tout l'intérêt qu'il mérite ; Sa Majesté ne croit cependant pas devoir devancer la Diète de Francfort dans les décisions qu'elle pourra prendre dans cette affaire.

Selon l'avis du Roi, cette Succession éventuelle dans la Monarchie Danoise est un point qui, aux termes l'Article VI de l'Acte Final du Traité de Vienne concernant les changements du droit de souveraineté sur des territoires Allemands, est déféré à la totalité des Etats Allemands.

Il est notoire que jusqu'à présent toutes les questions relatives aux rapports de droit public résultant de l'union de Slesvig et du Holstein ont éte de la compétence de la Diète et ont été jugées par elle.

Sa Majesté le Roi, vu ses engagements basés sur le Pacte Fédéral, ne saurait donc préjuger la décision à prendre par un organe qui, par le texte même de ce pacte, ainsi que par les précédents établis, est appelé à connaître cette question.

Le Soussigné, en priant M. le Ministre de vouloir bien porter le contenu de la présente dépêche à la connaissance du Gouvernement Britannique, profite, &c.

(Signé) VON DER PFORDTEN.

Annex P.

Reply of the Grand Duke of Hesse (Hesse-Darmstadt).

M. Dalwygk to Sir A. Malet.

(Translation.) *Darmstadt, January* 24, 1853.

THE Undersigned, President of the Grand Ducal Hessian Ministry, has received the honoured note of the 17th November of last year, by which the Envoy Extraordinary, &c., Sir Alexander Malet, was so good as to transmit to him a printed copy of the Treaty concluded at London on the 8th of May of last year, between Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, on the one part, and Denmark on the other; with the view principally of maintaining the integrity of the Danish Monarchy by regulating the succession after the extinction of the male line of the now reigning family of Denmark, and at the same time to request a declaration of adhesion on the part of this Government to the said Treaty on the ground of Article IV.

The Undersigned has not failed to bring this obliging communication to the knowledge of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, who has given it his full attention.

In pursuance of the commands of his most gracious Sovereign, the Undersigned has to express the best thanks of the Grand Ducal Government for the above-mentioned important communication ; but with regard to the contents of the same, he must for the present confine himself to the representation that his Royal Highness the Grand Duke takes it for granted that this subject will, in consequence of Article VI of the Vienna Resolutions of the 15th May, 1820, which have become a fundamental Law of the Germanic Confederation, be brought under the deliberation of the whole Body of the Diet, and hence that it would be desirable to await such deliberation and its result.

The Undersigned, &c. (Signed) DALWYGK.

Annex Q.

Reply of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

M. de Watzdorf to Mr. Forbes.

Weimar, ce 31 *Décembre,* 1852.

LE Soussigné, Ministre d'Etat et des Affaires Etrangères de Son Altesse Monseigneur le Grand Duc de Saxe, a eu l'honneur de recevoir, dans le temps, l'office que son Excellence M. Forbes, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, a bien voulu lui adresser, en date du 25 du mois passé, pour inviter le Gouvernement Grand Ducal à accéder au Traité conclu à Londres, le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, en réglant l'ordre de Succession éventuelle à la totalité des Etats actuellement réunis sous le sceptre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark.

Le Soussigné a été empêché jusqu'alors à ses vifs regrets, par une longue et sérieuse maladie de son auguste Maître, de porter cette communication à la connaissance de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc.

Mais, après l'heureux rétablissement de Son Altesse Royale, il s'est hâté de prendre ses ordres, et par suite de cela Son Altesse Royale l'a chargé de remercier son Excellence M. l'Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la communication fait par elle, et de lui dire que Son Altesse Royale croit devoir préférer de ne pas donner sa déclaration sur une question qui sera traitée, comme on doit le supposer, selon la nature des choses devant la Diète Germanique, avant que la Diète n'ait donné sa décision.

Le Soussigné, en remplissant ces ordres, est également chargé de faire mention déjà maintenant que le Gouvernement Grand Ducal est obligé de réserver les droits de Succession que la Maison Ernestine de Saxe prétend au Duché de Lauenbourg, et de protester contre tout ce qui pourrait être de nature à contrarier le succès de ces justes prétensions.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) DE WATZDORF.

Annex R.

Reply of the Grand Duke of Baden.

Baron Rüdt to Mr. Magenis.

Carlsruhe, le 26 *Janvier,* 1853.

LE Soussigné, Ministre d'Etat de la Maison Grand-Ducale et des Affaires Etrangères de Son Altesse Royale le Régent de Bade, a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note par laquelle Mr. Arthur Magenis, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, a bien voulu lui communiquer le Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, et inviter, en conséquence de l'Article IV de ce Traité, le Gouvernement de Son Altesse Royale le Régent à y accéder.

Le Soussigné est empressé de mettre cette importante communication sous les yeux de Son Altesse Royale son auguste Maître, qui après en avoir pris connaissance avec le plus vif intérêt et fait l'objet d'un examen sérieux, l'a autorisé à faire en son nom la déclaration suivante :—

Son Altesse Royale a de tout temps prêté une attention suivie à tout ce qui concerne l'ordre de Succession en Danemark, et c'est avec un sentiment de vive satisfaction qu'elle voit les Puissances signataires de ce Traité donner en cette occasion de nouvelles garanties du prix qu'elles attachent au maintien de l'équilibre Européen et du soin et de l'empressement qu'elles mettent à sauvegarder en tout lieu la paix et la sécurité générale.

Cependant Son Altesse Royale tout en reconnaissant les généreux motifs qui animent à cet égard les Cours signataires, regrette de ne pouvoir répondre au désir qu'elles lui ont exprimé en accédant de suite purement et simplement au Traité en question.

Cette Succession eventuelle dans la Monarchie Danoise, en tant qu'elle regarde le Duché de Holstein, concerne en effet, aux yeux de Son Altesse Royale, les intérêts généraux de la Confédération Germanique et appartient par conséquent, d'après les termes de l'Article VI de l'Acte Final de Vienne, à sa compétence.

Son Altesse Royale ne pense donc pas pouvoir en sa qualité de membre de cette Confédération se prononcer isolément dans une affaire qui réclame avant tout une décision générale de la totalité des Etats Allemands.

Anticiper par une semblable démarche à la résolution future de la Diète Ger-

manique serait, selon sa conviction, se départir du principe de solidarité constante qui en forme la base, et qui a toujours été le regulateur de la conduite du Gouvernement Grand-Ducal.

Le Soussigné en priant Mr. Arthur Magenis de vouloir bien porter le contenu de la présente note à la connaissance du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, profite avec plaisir de cette occasion, &c.

(Signé) B^N^. RUDT.

Annex S.

Identical Replies of the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin and Mecklenburgh-Strelitz.

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*Count Bulow to Lord Bloomfield.**

Schwerin, le 10 *Janvier*, 1853.

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, &c., a eu l'honneur de recevoir la note du 27 Novembre dernier par laquelle son Excellence Lord Bloomfield, &c., a bien voulu lui communiquer le Traité conclu à Londres le 8 Mai, 1852, dans le but d'assurer l'intégrité de la Monarchie Danoise, et inviter le Gouvernement du Grand Duc à y accéder.

Le Soussigné n'a pas manqué de placer ces documents sous les yeux du Grand Duc son auguste Maître, qui après en avoir pris connaissance avec tout l'intérêt que l'importance de cette communication mérite l'a chargé de la réponse suivante.

Son Altesse Royale ne saurait méconnaître les motifs généreux qui ont dû engager les Puissances signataires de cette Acte à s'occuper dans un intérêt tout Européen de la solution d'une question qui, dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, aurait pu amener des difficultés et même devenir un sujet de troubles pour le Nord de l'Europe. Elle se plait à reconnaître dans cet Acte un nouveau témoignage de la sollicitude que les Grandes Puissances placés à la tête du concert Européen ne cessent de vouer, dans l'accomplissement de leur haute vocation, au maintien de leur tranquillité générale, en ayant soin d'écarter d'avance tout ce qui pourrait en compromettre la durée.

Son Altesse Royale n'est pas moins sensible au procédé obligeant du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, qui a bien voulu lui donner connaissance du dit Traité et lui faire l'honneur de l'engager à y accéder.

Cependant en examinant consciencieusement à quel titre le Grand Duc doit se voir appelé à participer à cet Acte d'une portée Européenne, Son Altesse Royale a cru devoir prendre en considération avant tout sa position comme membre de la Confédération Germanique.

Cette position lui semble impliquer le devoir de ne pas se prononcer par une déclaration isolée dans une affaire qui intéresse la totalité de la Confédération et dans laquelle le Grand Duc pour sa part se trouve principalement intéressé dane sa qualité de membre du Corps Germanique.

Toute démarche isolée semblerait à Son Altesse Royale une déviation du principe de solidarité qui forme la régle immeuble de la conduite du Gouvernement Grand-Ducal dans toutes les questions politiques qui peuvent toucher les interêts généraux de la Confédération.

C'est par suite de ces considérations que Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc croit devoir s'abstenir de procéder à une accession formelle au Traité conclu à Londres, tout en regrettant vivement que ces considérations l'empêchent de répondre aux intentions bienveillantes que les Cours signataires du dit Traité ont bien voulu lui témoigner en cette occasion.

En priant son Excellence Lord Bloomfield de vouloir bien porter le contenu de cette note à la connaissance du Cabinet Royal, le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) COMTE DE BULOW.

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* The despatch from M. de Bernstorff to Lord Bloomfield was dated Neu Strelitz, January 13, 1853.

DENMARK.

Accessions to the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, relating to the Succession to the Danish Crown.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1864.

DENMARK AND GERMANY.

REPORTS

FROM

MR. WARD AND VICE-CONSUL RAINALS

RESPECTING THE

DUCHIES

OF

SCHLESWIG AND HOLSTEIN,

DATED RESPECTIVELY

MAY 28, 1857, AND FEBRUARY 15, 1861.

Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their Address dated March 8, 1864.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

3292]

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated March 8, 1864;

for—

"Copies of the Report of Vice-Consul Rainals on the Affairs of Schleswig and Holstein, referred to by Earl Russell in his Despatch to Mr. Paget in June 1861:

"And, of the Report on the same subject drawn up in 1857 by Mr. Ward, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Hamburgh."

No. 1.

Mr. Ward to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 28.)

(Extract.) *London, May* 28, 1857.

1. I HAVE the honour to submit to your Lordship the following observations on the political state of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, having, in conformity with your Lordship's instructions, made all possible inquiries on the spot with a view of ascertaining how far the grievances of which the people complain are real, and what are the practical remedies for those grievances, and in what way a better amalgamation with Denmark than that which now exists could be effected.

2. My late visit to Holstein, and the intercourse I have had with intelligent and influential men there, have satisfied me of the correctness of the impression which I had previously formed, as to the nature of the struggle going on between the Danish and German inhabitants of the territories of the Danish Monarchy. It is essentially a contest of nationalities, and can only be set at rest by such an arrangement as shall secure to each of the conflicting races the means of a free social development within its own sphere, without being subjected to oppression or molestation by the other race, and, at the same time, shall preserve the Danish Monarchy from dismemberment, according to the declared intention of the Great European Powers.

3. The main cause of the war between Denmark and the Duchies was the non-recognition by the Danish Government of the historical rights of the Duchies, viz., their inseparability, their independence, and the succession to the Crown of the male *agnati* of the House of Holstein.

The difficulties of the present situation have been immediately produced by the *coup d'état* of the Danish Government, which violently established for the entire Monarchy, the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, as well as the Kingdom of Denmark, the so-called Corporate Constitution ("Gesammt Verfassung") of the 2nd of October, 1855.

The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein refuse to admit the validity of that Constitution, and in the case of Holstein, being a German State, the objections of the inhabitants are supported by Austria and Prussia, and are likely to be adopted by the Germanic Confederation as a body. Hence a conflict between Denmark and the German States may be anticipated at no distant day.

4. The population of the Danish Monarchy (exclusive of its distant islands and Colonial Possessions) is, in round numbers, 2,500,000, of which 1,500,000 belong to the Kingdom, 400,000 to the Duchy of Schleswig, and 600,000 to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg. The Duchies, therefore, contain about two-fifths of the entire population.

5. Previous to the year 1815, when the territorial importance of Denmark was greater than now, in consequence of the union with Norway, few complaints of partiality or prejudice were heard from the King's German subjects. But when the Kingdom was shorn of its Scandinavian appendage, the Danes began to conceive the notion of augmenting their own strength by bringing the affairs of the Duchies within their exclusive management. The King was then absolute, and it was not till the 28th of May, 1831, that he issued a general law for the erection of Provincial States, which was a concession partly to the spirit of reform then prevailing throughout Europe, and also, as regarded Holstein and Lauenburg, to the requirements of the Germanic Federal Constitution of 1815. These Provincial States were accordingly established in the years 1834 and 1835. They were composed of deputies from the respective classes of the larger and smaller landowners, the townships, and the clergy, with a property qualification both for electors and elected, and were to assemble every two years. The number of members was:—

For the Danish islands, to assemble at Roeskilde..	66 to 70
For Jutland, to assemble at Viborg	51 to 55
For Schleswig, to assemble at Schleswig	44
For Holstein and Lauenburg, to assemble at Itzehoe	48

The States were to give their opinion upon propositions submitted to them by the King-Duke, as to the laws affecting person and property, taxation, &c., and were at liberty to prefer complaints; but their functions were consultative only, as the King might at pleasure either adopt or reject their advice. These Provincial States represented the people curially, or according to classes; and the States of one Province had, or ought to have, the same weight with the Government as those of another, whether the number of the members was greater or less respectively. This Constitution by Provincial States very much resembled those which were at first established by most of the German Sovereigns, in consequence of the Federal Act of 1815.

6. Such was the Constitution of the country down to the time of the issuing of the famous open letter of the late King Christian VIII of the 8th July, 1846, in which the intention was, for the first time, announced to amalgamate the several parts of the Monarchy into one Danish Corporate State. The States of the Duchies protested, and Holstein complained to the Germanic Diet, but the Danish Envoy at Frankfort explained the open letter to mean merely that the countries composing the Monarchy, although independent of each other, and in possession each respectively of independent constitution, legislation, and administration, were, at the same time, more or less connected by common relations founded upon fitness and historical development, and upon this the Germanic Diet passed a Resolution in September 1846, formally recognizing the rights of the Duchies. Then began the popular demonstrations in the Duchies, in favour of their nationality, and opposite demonstrations in Denmark in the Danish interest, which lasted throughout the year 1847.

7. The late King died without effecting any more intimate union between the Kingdom and the Duchies than is above described, which was in fact a mere personal union. Immediately after the accession of the present King, Frederick VII, in January 1848, an attempt to introduce a new Constitution for the purpose of more closely uniting the different parts of the Monarchy, was made, and it was to have been submitted to an Assembly of Notables, twenty-six from the Kingdom, and twenty-six from the Duchies; but the project failed before the expiration of two months. Consequently it cannot be said that the Corporate State, in the Danish sense, has ever had any historical existence, but, on the contrary, the Duchies have been connected with the Kingdom by a personal union only, and have been only known to history as separate States.

8. The events of the war between Denmark and the Duchies are generally known, as well as the successive Governments which administered the affairs of the Duchies respectively from the time of the breaking out of the war in March 1848, down to that of the re-establishment of the authority of the King-Duke in February, 1852.

As the time approached for reinvesting the King-Duke with his Sovereignty in the Duchies, their future Constitution naturally became the subject of discussion between Denmark and the German Powers. The Danish Government does not appear to have contemplated at this period any *coup d'état* or violent measures of incorporation; for in its despatch of the 6th of December, 1851 (addressed to the Danish Envoys at Vienna and Berlin, for communication to those Courts), it promised to effect the constitutional union of the different parts of the country into one corporate Monarchy, by legal and constitutional means only, viz., through the Consultative Provincial States of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, as well as the Danish Representative Diet (established for that Kingdom only, on June 5, 1849), and the landowners of Lauenburg.

This promise of the Danish Government was accepted by Austria and Prussia as satisfactory to them, and as an engagement for the fulfilment of an indispensable duty on the part of Denmark.

9. In consequence of the mutual understanding thus arrived at King Frederick VII, on the 28th of January, 1852, issued a Proclamation (the terms of which are important to be borne in mind) announcing his intention to take measures for uniting the different parts of the Monarchy into one well-ordered whole, and for establishing a Constitution for them in common. The existing separate Danish Constitution was to be preserved intact, while the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were to receive special Constitutions respectively, and their independence, as well as that of the Duchy of Lauenburg, was guaranteed. The new common Constitution was to be submitted to the existing Provincial States of the Duchies for their consideration, and the Provincial States were to receive such a further development as would give them not merely a consultative voice in public affairs, but the power to resolve. The King-Duke engaged that so soon as the Ducal authority in Holstein should be restored to him he would govern it according to the laws rightfully in force, which should not be altered otherwise than in a constitutional way; and to the Duchy of Schleswig he engaged that the new Constitution for that Duchy should contain all the requisite provisions for securing to the Danish and German nationalities

there, perfectly equal rights and powerful protection. Special Ministers were to be appointed for Denmark, for Schleswig, and for Holstein and Lauenburg, and the domain lands were to continue in the Department of the Minister for that part of the Monarchy in which they respectively lay. The Germanic Diet, on the 29th of July, 1852, recorded its approval of the last-mentioned Proclamation, and its confidence that the King would not cease to be animated by the same spirit of justice and conciliation in maintaining and developing the institutions legally existing in his German dominions.

10. The engagements of the King towards his own subjects and the German Powers are sufficiently clear. Let us now see in what manner successive Danish Ministers have carried out those engagements.

11. The condition upon which a common Constitution for the entire Monarchy was to be framed, was a previous agreement with the representative organs then legally existing. These were, for Denmark, the Representative Diet of that kingdom; for Schleswig and Holstein, their Provincial States respectively. The drafts of special Constitutions for Schleswig and Holstein were, in the first instance, prepared by the Danish Ministers, and in the year 1853 communicated to the Provincial States of both Duchies, with the notification that they were not to consider the subject generally of the general relations between the different parts of the Monarchy, but only those paragraphs which related to the future composition of the Provincial States, and their competence to regulate the special affairs of each Duchy. Six paragraphs of the respective special constitutions, disposing of those general questions which most interested the Provincial States, were expressly withheld from their consideration.

They perceived that no voice, with respect to the formation of the Corporate Legislature, was to be accorded to them, but their opinion was asked merely as to the future mode of administering the internal affairs of the Duchy within the sphere of the Minister for the Duchy in question. Consequently the States of Holstein refused their assent to the project; and the States of Schleswig assented to it, only subject to important modifications. Thereupon the King was advised by the Danish Ministers to issue ("octroyer") the new special Constitutions of his own authority, which he did without regard to the non-acquiescence of Holstein or to the modifications desired by Schleswig. The special Constitution for Schleswig bears date the 15th of February, 1854; that for Holstein the 11th of June, 1854; both of which are considered by the Danish authorities to be still in force. The Corporate Constitution framed in connection with these two special Constitutions was issued by the King on the 26th of July, 1854, without having been previously submitted to the Provincial States of either Duchy. It provided chiefly for the erection of an Imperial Council ("Reichsrath"), consisting of twenty members named by the King, and thirty elected, by which all the common internal affairs of the Corporate Monarchy were to be managed, and whose functions were very limited, as they scarcely extended beyond voting the common taxes and State loans, and exercising a consultative voice as to future constitutional alterations; everything else being left to the decision of the King in his Privy Council. For these Constitutions of the year 1854, the then Prime Minister, Oerstedt, is chiefly responsible. His views were moderate and conciliatory compared with those of his successor, and for this reason his policy did not satisfy the ultra-Danish party. The contemplated Imperial Council for the common internal affairs of the Corporate Monarchy never, in fact, came into action, for the Danish Separate Diet protested against it, and the opposition of that body eventually forced the King to abandon altogether the Constitution of July 26, 1854, and to substitute for it another better calculated, in the opinion of the ultra-Danish party, to secure their ascendancy in those parts of the Monarchy where Denmark, as such, never has had, and has not now, any legitimate right to govern.

12. The Minister Oerstedt was obliged to retire in December 1854, and was succeeded by M. de Scheele, a German, holding the office of Landrost, or Chief Magistrate of the District of Pinneberg, in Holstein. M. de Scheele, who is a man of energetic character, had formerly some German leanings, but took office for the purpose of carrying out the Corporate Constitution in the Danish sense. The Corporate Constitution of the 2nd of October, 1855, which is now the leading and paramount grievance of the Duchies, is M. de Scheele's work. It was issued ("octroyé") by the King after previous communication (as recited in the introduction) with the Separate Danish Diet, but without having been submitted to the Provincial States of Schleswig or Holstein, or their approval having been in any way asked. It is entitled the Constitution for the common affairs of the Danish Monarchy, and it establishes an Imperial Council ("Reichsrath") for legislating upon such common affairs, consisting of eighty members, of whom twenty are nominated by the King for twelve years; thirty are elected for eight years by the different Representative bodies of the Kingdom and Duchies; and thirty are elected directly by the people. Of the first class of members twelve are nominated from Denmark, three from Schleswig, four from Holstein,

and one from Lauenburg. Of the second class, eighteen are elected by the Danish Diet, five by the States of Schleswig, six by the States of Holstein, and one by the landowners of Lauenburg. Of the third class, seventeen are elected from Denmark, five from Schleswig, and eight from Holstein. As a member every man is eligible having attained the age of twenty-five; for electors the qualification is the payment of 200 rix-dollars (22*l.* 10s. sterling) yearly in taxes, or a yearly income of 1,200 rix-dollars (135*l.* 10*s.* sterling). The members of the Imperial Council receive salaries of 500 rix-dollars (56*l.* 5*s.* sterling) per annum each. It is expressly declared in the Corporate Constitution, that the Constitution of the 5th of June, 1849 (which erected the Separate Danish Diet) is to be considered applicable to the Kingdom of Denmark only.

13. The Constitution of October 2, 1855, was followed by a law prescribing the mode of election for members of the Imperial Council, and by two Supplementary Ordinances—viz., one for Schleswig, dated November 10, 1855, and another for Holstein, dated June 23, 1856, determining what are to be considered the special affairs of those Duchies respectively. The instruments above recited, together with a Patent for the Duchy of Lauenburg, dated December 20, 1853, form, in the view of the Danish Government, the existing fundamental laws of the Danish Monarchy.

14. The first thing that strikes one with regard to the Imperial Council established by the Constitution of October 2, is, that it is composed so as to give to the Danes a large and constant majority in the common Legislature. It appears that of the eighty members no less than forty-seven are taken from the Kingdom of Denmark; and supposing three Danes, at least, to be chosen from the Danish parts of Schleswig, the Government is thus sure of a majority of fifty against the thirty to be chosen from the German parts of the Monarchy. But, besides this, the electoral law under which a portion of the Imperial Council is chosen is so contrived as greatly to favour the Danish element. The system of voting prescribed is extremely complicated, with the sole purpose, as would seem, of securing the representation of the minority in Holstein (for in Denmark the Government has no German party to fear), and the Duchy of Schleswig is divided into a number of small electoral districts, whilst Holstein forms one district only. The inhabitants of the Duchies took part in the first elections to a very small extent, and many refused to vote from scruples as to the legality of the whole proceeding. On the other hand, the numerous military officers and Government employés in the Duchies voted, without exception, for the candidates of the Danish party. The result of the elections was a legislative body almost entirely Danish, or attached to the Danish side, and it will be easily believed that a motion made in the Imperial Council during its last session, on behalf of the German party to declare the new Constitution illegal until it should have been referred to and approved by the Provincial States, was supported by fourteen members only, and so fell to the ground, though it had the utility of attracting public attention throughout Germany to the question, and of hastening the fall of the Prime Minister De Scheele, who retired in April last, in consequence of misunderstandings with his colleagues and with the ultra-Danish party, and having previously lost the confidence of the Germans by his repeated violations of the rights and liberties of the Duchies. As a fact showing the state of public feeling in Holstein with respect to that Minister, it may be mentioned that in August last the Provincial States of Holstein preferred an indictment against him before the High Court of Appeal, for having illegally established the Constitution of October 2, 1855, and for having illegally advised other Royal Ordinances to which the concurrence of the States was requisite. The Court got rid of the accusation by declaring itself incompetent to deal with the matter.

15. The chief grievance, therefore, of the inhabitants of the Duchy of Holstein, and which, in fact, overrides all others, is, that the promises made to them and to the German Powers by the King, on the 28th of January, 1852, with respect to their future Constitution, has not been fulfilled, but that a Corporate Constitution has been forced upon them, to which their Provincial States have not assented, and which lays the Duchy at the feet of a perpetually governing Danish majority. This grievance affects Schleswig also, the same promise having been given by the King to the inhabitants of the latter Duchy and to the German Powers, as regards the future Constitution; with the difference that Schleswig cannot, like Holstein, appeal to the Diet in the character of a member of the Germanic Confederation.

16. The unauthorised system of treating the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein as Danish dependencies, instead of as States united with Denmark in the person of the King-Duke, has brought upon the inhabitants some serious grievances of a practical nature, which they universally complain of, but hitherto without having obtained any redress. The question of the domains is one of the most prominent.

17. The State taxation of Denmark is very high, owing to the comparatively large

amount of its debts (nearly 120,000,000 rix-bank dollars, or 13,500,000*l.* sterling), and the difficulty of reducing the public expenditure. The financial budget has not been based upon the known means or requirements of the different parts of the Monarchy, so that each part should contribute its fair share in the ratio of its wealth or population, but proceeds upon the principle of a community of duties ordered according to estimates framed by financial authorities of former times. In the first instance, the normal budget of taxes, comprising the Customs, Post Office, Domains, &c., is levied generally in all parts of the Monarchy, without reference to their respective ability, and when the proceeds of the original levy is exhausted, the Government resorts to the Duchies, as well as to the Kingdom separately for further contributions, according to a fixed scale, but no credit is given for any excess of taxes which may have been already levied in one part of the Monarchy more than in the others, so that the entire contributions of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig respectively are disproportioned to the relative means and resources of those territories. The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein are further obliged, by their special Constitutions of 1854, to contribute, in the rates of their population, out of their revenues towards such additional expenses of the Corporate State as the ordinary levies are insufficient to cover, and that ratio is fixed for the present for Schleswig at 17, and for Holstein at 23 per cent., together 40 per cent., or two-fifths of the whole. Now the States of Holstein contend (as those of Schleswig likewise) that the Ducal domains belonging exclusively to the Duchy in which they lie, the revenues of those domains ought not to be drawn as a part of the original budget into the common Treasury of the entire Monarchy, for the equal use of all the King's subjects, whether Danish or German. They complain that such an appropriation, through a Minister of the Corporate State, is a violation not only of the established laws of the Duchy, but of the promise contained in the Royal Proclamation of January 28, 1852 (which placed the revenues in question in the department of the special Ministers for Schleswig and Holstein respectively), as well as of the propositions made by the Danish Ministers themselves to the States in 1853. They consider that the domain revenues ought not to be included in the common normal budget, but reserved for the exclusive service of the Duchy, so that whenever an additional or extraordinary levy may be ordered, the States of the Duchy may resort to the domains for its twenty-three per cent. of the amount required, and thus avoid the necessity of levying new taxes upon the inhabitants. The fact is, that the domains were never in former times treated as the common property of the entire Monarchy, but of the State in which they respectively lay, and the Royal promise of 1852 seems intended to recognize them as still belonging to the Duchies. This question is of much consequence to the Duchies, for their domains, taken together, are more than thrice as productive as those of Denmark. The last official return of the surplus revenues (called "Intrades") of all the domains, states them to be as follows:

	Rixdollars.
Denmark	582,670
Schleswig	754,940
Holstein	713,781
Total	2,051,391

equal to about 230,906*l.* sterling; whereas in the financial budget of the Monarchy the net proceeds of the same domains are thus credited:

	Rixdollars.
Denmark	346,840
Schleswig	722,284
Holstein	658,770
Total	1,728,894

equal to about 194,387*l.* sterling. Whether the former or the latter statement be taken as the correct one, it is equally clear that if the proceeds of the Schleswig and Holstein domains respectively were to be applied as desired to the service of those Duchies exclusively, the taxation of the inhabitants would be proportionably lightened; and they appear entitled to this relief on the ground of the Royal promises, and because they have never consented, through their constitutional organs, the Provincial States, to the diversion of the domain revenues from the purposes to which they were anciently and legitimately applied. Last year the Danish Ministers entertained the intention of selling a portion of the domain lands in the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, and a proposition to that effect was made to the Imperial Council. It was, however, not proceeded with, partly perhaps for fear of irritating excessively the German Powers, but chiefly because many members of the Danish party declared the time unfavourable. The proposal, however, is sufficient to show that the Danes claim the right of alienating the Ducal domain lands in all the Duchies, and of

appropriating the proceeds to the service of the Corporate Monarchy, whenever they may deem such a measure expedient.

18. With respect to the domains generally, it should be explained that for a long time past (and especially since an annual Civil List has been assigned to the King) there have not been within the Danish Monarchy any considerable tracts of land of which the King or the Duke respectively might dispose at his mere will and pleasure; but the expression "domains" is used in the Corporate Constitution to mean those parts of the Duchies wherein the Executive might formerly levy taxes of its own authority, and of which the revenues are now immediately applicable to the common State expenditure. The administration of these districts by a Minister of the Corporate Monarchy (contrary, as already explained, to the rights of the Provincial States), of course carries with it the appointment and supervision of the officers employed, and has, therefore, greatly increased the patronage of the Danish party. In this way the amalgamation of about one-third part of Holstein with the Kingdom has, by means of Ministerial superintendence and the employment of Danish officers, been for the present indirectly accomplished.

19. Whilst the Holsteiners have in vain endeavoured to obtain the management of the domain lands of their own Duchy, the Danes have made an attempt to appropriate to the use of Denmark alone the capital sum which is to be received from foreign Powers, according to the late Treaty for the redemption of the Sound duties, although those duties have been uniformly treated as belonging to all parts of the Monarchy in common, and have always been paid into the common Treasury. The law of appropriation has passed the Imperial Council, and is said to have received the royal assent. Even if it should not be put in force, the attempt will be remembered as a striking instance of the encroaching spirit in which the Danish majority are accustomed to proceed in regard to the inhabitants of the Duchies.

20 The forced introduction of the Danish coinage, viz., the rix-bank dollars of 96 schillings (equal to 2*s.* 3*d.* sterling) into Holstein, and the prohibition of German money on pain of confiscation, would have been a most serious public inconvenience, if it had been possible for the Government to carry the prohibition into effect. But the Danish coinage being wholly inadequate to the demand, and the people having been long accustomed to German money, particularly the Hamburgh mark-courant of 16 skillings (equal to 1*s.* 3*d.* sterling), the latter currency continues to circulate in the Duchy at the risk of confiscation. Prussian money is also very common, and the intermixture of the three different sorts of money is of itself a sufficient nuisance. Many of the merchants and tradesmen who have dealings with Hamburgh still keep their accounts in marks banco, and the Danish money is seldom seen except when payments to the Revenue Departments are required to be made. The alteration of the coinage without the consent of the Provincial States was clearly illegal, and formed one of the articles of the indictment preferred as before-mentioned against the late Minister De Scheele.

21. The establishment of a customs tariff for the entire Monarchy is a good deal complained of as regards its operation in the Duchy of Holstein. This, it is true, is not, like the alteration of the coinage, a constitutional grievance; for the Royal Proclamation of January 28, 1852, held out the prospect of abolishing the customs-frontier on the Eider, and bringing the whole Monarchy into one Customs-Union. It was, however, not anticipated that the new tariff, though comprising some reductions, would on the whole be so much higher than the old one as to press heavily upon many articles of general consumption, and to give so great encouragement to smuggling as it actually has, while the manufacturing industry of Holstein is so inconsiderable that little or nothing has been gained by opening to it the market of the northern parts of the Monarchy.

The following are some instances in which the corporate tariff of 1854 affects the consumer in the Duchy more unfavourably than the former Holstein tariff of 1838:—

Articles.		Duty in 1838.			Duty in 1857.		
		Rds.	sch.			Rds.	sch.
Cotton manufactures, printed or coloured ..	per 100 lbs.	15	0			33	32
Brandy, in casks	per oxhoft of 30 quarters	12	0			18	8
Ditto, in bottles	per 100 bottles	8	0			12	48
Rum, from St. Croix	per oxhoft	2	0			17	48
Coffee, raw	per 100 lbs.	2	8			3	12
Linen, bleached	ditto	10	40			15	0
Silk manufactures..	ditto	30	0			1	48
Silk ribbons	ditto	30	0		per lb.	1	48
Lace, bobbinet, and tulle, of silk, linen, or cotton	ditto	30	0		„	1	48
Wine, in casks	per oxhoft	8	0		„	15	0
Ditto, in bottles	per 100 bottles	8	32			12	48
Woollen cloth	per 100 lbs.	33	32			50	0

Besides these increased customs duties, a new excise tax on brandy amounting to about 12½ rix-bank dollars per oxhoft, and other impositions formerly unknown in Holstein, have been introduced into that Duchy since the termination of the war.

22. Formerly Holstein was a member of the German Postage Union, and had the benefit of the low rates of postage which are thereby established for letters conveyed to and from all parts of Germany. Now, Holstein is incorporated with Denmark as regards postage, and the union with Germany has been dissolved. The consequeuce is, that much higher rates of postage are charged on letters sent to or received from places in Germany. A single letter, for instance, from Kiel to Berlin or Leipsic pays 22 rix-schillings, equal to 5½ silbergroschen, or about 6½*d.* sterling; whereas the highest rate of postage for the greatest distance within the German Postage Union is 3 silbergroschen, or something under 4*d.* sterling.

23. These are practical grievances which annoy the people of Holstein in the every-day business of their lives; but what is felt more bitterly is the spirit in which the Danish Government of this German Duchy is invariably carried on. The declared object is Danish ascendancy; and to effect this, means are resorted to for keeping down and humiliating the German nationality. The Duchy is filled with Danish officers. In the Customs, the Post-Office, the management of the domains, and the Civil administration, the employés are generally Danes. The military force stationed in the Duchy is likewise Danish, the German troops being removed to Denmark. Where offices are held by German functionaries, they are obliged to be extremely cautious of giving offence to the Government, for a very slight expression of political feeling is sufficient to cause their removal. The late Minister, De Scheele, did not hesitate to remove the President and two of the Judges of the High Court of Appeal at Kiel, and to fill the vacancies with persons of his own views. He has also nominated a military man, Lieutenant-Colonel Kaufmann, to be Curator of the University of Kiel and Principal Magistrate of the District, an appointment which was severely censured by public opinion. This system of employing in the service of the Duchies only Danes, or such Germans as make themselves subservient to the Danish policy, must necessarily last so long as the Danish party possesses a governing majority in the corporate legislation of the Monarchy. There are, indeed special Ministers for Schleswig and Holstein, whose nominal duty is to administer the internal affairs and watch over the peculiar interests of the respective Duchies; but the special Ministers are unavoidably members of the Danish party, and the moment they cease to be so they will also cease to hold office. M. de Scheele was the special Holstein Minister, and he still holds a magisterial post as Landrost of Pinneberg. It is of no avail that a Royal Ordinance exists with respect to naturalization ("indigenat"), declaring Danes and Germans equally eligible to offices, and entitled to equal Civil rights in all parts of the Monarchy. This law serves the purpose of the Danes in procuring Government offices in the Duchies, but it has not led to the employment of the Germans in Denmark, nor, in fact, have the Germans much inclination to take part in Danish affairs. Even for the military service of the Monarchy there are few aspirants from the Duchies, especially since the military school was removed to Copenhagen, the effect of which is, that the army is becoming more and more Danish, whilst numbers of retired military officers are provided for by posts in the revenue service in the two Duchies. The youth of Holstein have, indeed, still the right of admission into the public service after passing an examination before the juristic faculty of the University of Kiel; and this right is really all that remains to the Duchy against the prejudices of the ruling party in Copenhagen. Formerly, the students from Schleswig were also required to pass two years of their academic course at Kiel, but they are now allowed to do so at either University, Kiel or Copenhagen, which tends to attract candidates for Government employment to the latter place, and to diminish the number of students at Kiel. The High Court of Appeal at Kiel has also, since the war, been somewhat shorn of its dignity, in consequence of the jurisdiction it formerly had in Schleswig, as the Court of the Last Instance for that Duchy, having been taken away from it by the Government. No new arrangement would be satisfactory to the inhabitants of Holstein, nor, generally speaking, to those of Schleswig, unless it carried with it the entire exclusion of Danish functionaries, and the employment of natives, or naturalized subjects of the King-Duke, in all public offices, whether judicial, administrative, or otherwise, within the Duchy.

24. On the accession of the present King in January 1848, a general amnesty was granted for all political offences, with some few exceptions. Now it has been usual in the Danish Monarchy, and is so also in most other countries, on the demise of the Crown, for the new King to confirm generally all the existing rights, privileges, concessions, commissions, and appointments, granted or made by his Royal predecessors. This was not done by King Frederick VII, but postponed *ad bene placitum;* consequently the effect of the amnesty was neutralized, except as to legal penalties incurred, and not a man among his

subjects, from the first Minister of State down to the lowest labourer, was safe, as against the Crown, in the enjoyment either of his place or his acquired civil rights. At least a hundred official functionaries in both the Judicial and Administrative Departments, as well as clergymen, in Holstein, were thus silently dismissed from the public service of the Duchy, and six Professors were in this way obliged to leave the University of Kiel (besides others who were dismissed on the special grounds), without any charges having been brought against them, or any particular reasons assigned for dispensing with their services. This extraordinary state of things still continues, and most of the public officers hold their places on sufferance only, although, according to the legal principles established in Denmark, as well as in all the German States, an employé of the Crown is considered to have a sort of freehold in his office, and cannot be dismissed at pleasure, or without a formal process of legal inquiry into his conduct.

25. The non-confirmation of existing privileges was made to affect also some industrial undertakings. A concession for printing, which had been for many years enjoyed by a printer and bookseller at Itzehoe, was not renewed, in order to the suppression of the most widely circulated newspaper in the Duchy, called the "Itzehoer Wochenblatt," published by the person in question, and whose politics were adverse to the Danish party; so that a town contributing 250,000 rix-dollars per annum (28,125*l.*) of taxes to the State, is not allowed the convenience of a newspaper, even as a medium for advertisements. The town of Kiel has also no newspaper, except an insignificant sheet appearing three times a-week, and carefully avoiding politics. The Duchy is, in fact, not allowed to have a press of its own, and is obliged to vent its complaints through the journals of other German States, as opportunities occur. The abolition of the censorship, proclaimed by the Royal Ordinance of March 1848, is merely nominal, for as every paper appearing without special permission, or containing objectionable matter, is immediately seized by the police, no man dares to publish anything without the previous approval of the Government functionaries, whilst in Denmark, on the contrary, since 1849 the press has enjoyed a very high degree of liberty, which it abuses often enough. Even official publications of the Danish Government are not always allowed to be read in the Duchies. A German translation, printed at Kiel, of a portion of the proceedings of the Imperial Council at Copenhagen, in 1856, was seized by the police, under an order from the Special Minister for Holstein. If, indeed, it had been permitted to publish in detail the complaints made by the Provincial States of Holstein during their last session in 1855 and 1856 against the Special Minister for Holstein, and of the answers returned to those complaints by the Danish Government, the public indignation in Germany would no doubt have been excited in a high degree.

26. The feeling of all classes of the inhabitants of Holstein, from the nobility down to the common people (and I have had many opportunities of observing it), is equally strong against the partial and unjust system of government pursued by the Danes, and it is pretty certain that they will never rest satisfied until they have obtained guarantees for the protection of the German nationality within the Monarchy, and for placing it on a footing of at least equality with the Danish race. It must be admitted, even by the Danish party, that the declared object of the Royal Ordinance of January 28, 1852, viz., to bind the separate parts of the Monarchy into one well-ordered whole, has not yet been attained, and that the promise of equal rights and protection to the different nationalities remains to be realised. The continued hostile position of the Kingdom and the Duchies towards each other is the necessary consequence of the reconstruction of the Monarchy not having been attempted upon any solid or permanent basis, but in the sense of the Danish party only. The German Powers, indeed, now insist that the Provincial States of Holstein shall be allowed to meet and discuss fully the Corporate Constitution of October 2, 1855; and they deny the validity of that Constitution until the States shall have given it their sanction. That the view of Austria and Prussia is in so far legally correct, admits of no doubt; but those Powers must be well aware that the States of Holstein, whenever the question shall be submitted to them, will refuse their assent to that Constitution; that the States desire an opportunity of preferring to the Germanic Diet a long series of complaints of violations of law and mal-administration by the Danish Government; and that they will use their utmost efforts to obtain such a Constitution for the Duchy as will exclude from it the Danish nationality, and put an end to the systematic encroachments of a governing Danish majority. They will not be satisfied (and this should be clearly understood) with a mere alteration in the number of representatives assigned to the Duchy in the common legislature. Even such a plan as that proposed in the abortive Constitution of January 28, 1848, to assign an equal number of representatives, on the one side, to the Kingdom, and, on the other side, to the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, would not be acceptable. The landed proprietors of Holstein have little desire to participate in a representative system framed according to modern constitutional theories, much less in a system in which they would

have to be represented in common with Danes. They have no wish to deprive Denmark of the electoral system conceded by her Constitution of 1849, or of any part of the political freedom which she enjoys under it; but they know that to take a share in any such representative system is equivalent to submitting the Duchy to the will of a Danish majority; and they prefer retaining the former principle of a representation by classes ("Landständische Verfassung"), as in the General Law of 1831, in any Constitution which may be finally settled for the Duchy. The simple re-establishment of the Provincial States of the Duchies as consultative bodies only, without any Corporate Legislature, would, indeed, be far preferable to the results of the Corporate Constitution of 1855. The tendency of the actual state of things is highly demoralising to both of the contending races; and the rent in the Danish Monarchy is gradually widening to an extent which makes it every day more difficult to find adequate means of reconciliation and adjustment.

27. If it should be found possible to redress the grievances of Holstein, by restoring the German nationality to its constitutional rights through the means which will in the sequel be suggested, the position of the Duchy of Schleswig will equally deserve serious consideration. The practical grievances of that Duchy as regards its constitution, finances, administration, and exclusive employment of Danish functionaries, are in all respects the same as those of Holstein, with the addition of that most serious evil, the systematic forcing of the Danish language upon the German portion of the inhabitants. Although Schleswig cannot, as a German State, claim the protection of the Germanic Confederation, yet Austria and Prussia are well entitled to insist upon the fulfilment of the promises made to them in favour of Schleswig by the present King of Denmark, as recorded in his Proclamation of January 28, 1852, and it may be presumed that England, as mediator of the peace, has also an interest in seeing that those promises should be faithfully realized. By that instrument, the King, after holding out the prospect of a new Constitution for the further development of the functions of the already existing Provincial States, engaged as follows: "The project of law to be prepared for the Duchy of Schleswig shall, in particular, contain the requisite provisions for obtaining for, and securing to, the Danish and German nationalities in the said Duchy, perfectly equal rights and powerful protection." Now, it is notorious that the Danish rule in Schleswig, since that Duchy was restored to the sovereignty of the King-Duke, has been hard and arbitrary beyond measure. Here, very nearly all the former Government employés, who were natives, have been dismissed and replaced by Danes. Not even the Danish-speaking natives of the northern parts of the Duchy have been allowed to remain in office. Further, it has been and is the systematic policy of the Government to force the Danish language upon the German population of Schleswig (forming about two-thirds of the whole); and not merely in places where the races are mixed, but in very many parishes where the population is exclusively German, the use of the Danish language in the churches and schools is compelled by public authority. Numerous instances of this have been mentioned to me, and I am informed that in the Danish schools the regulation requiring the German language to be used in a certain number of the hours devoted to school instruction is habitually evaded by selecting the hours appropriated to writing and arithmetic, in which there is no reading by the scholars or lecturing by the teachers. In a work published by Dr. Valentiner, late Pastor of Gelting, in the District of Angeln, in Schleswig, it is stated that in that district alone there are twenty-four parishes, with 40,000 German inhabitants, upon whom Danish clergymen are forced, and who are obliged to submit to the exclusive use of the Danish language in their churches and schools. Such facts may seem incredible, but they have not been contradicted by the Danish Government, and I am assured they are perfectly reliable. Dr. Valentiner is himself an instance of a pastor who was superseded without any other fault than his attachment to the Lutheran Church and the German language; and a minute inquiry into the actual condition of the clergy in Schleswig would no doubt lead to the discovery of other similar instances of persecution. A specimen of Danish intolerance may likewise be found in section 5 of the Special Constitution for Schleswig of the 15th of February, 1854, which deprives the patron of a living of the right to present, unless he is a Protestant. It may well be supposed how deeply the Holsteiners sympathise with the wrongs of their countrymen in Schleswig, and the more so since there seems no immediate prospect of Austria or Prussia doing anything for the re-establishment of the native tongue in the German parts of the Duchy. Schleswig, like Holstein, has no free press in which an expression can be given to the complaints of the inhabitants. A German paper, the "Kopenhagener Zeitung," which used to circulate there, has been lately prohibited, and the Ministry for Schleswig takes care that nothing whatever shall be published without his approval. The Danish police in the Duchy is not only rigorous, but highly aggressive, in its treatment of the German inhabitants; consequently, it is not easy to see how the grievance of the language, or indeed any other

grievance, is to be redressed, so long as the corporate relations exist which have been forcibly established *de facto* between Schleswig and the kingdom. It is to be remembered, however, that Schleswig, although severed from Holstein, is not, and cannot (according to the pledge given to the German Powers in 1851), be legally incorporated with the Kingdom; consequently, it is not yet too late to effect an arrangement for securing the Constitutional independence of that Duchy, and for preserving the equal rights of the two nationalities within it, according to the spirit and letter of the Royal engagements of 1852.

28. From the preceding observations, it will be understood how unreasonable was the expectation entertained by Denmark that either the Holsteiners or the Schleswigers should accept the Corporate Constitution of October 2, 1855, "octroyé" as it was against the wishes of the Provincial States, and in the face of the obligations which bound the King-Duke to the Germanic Confederation. There is no real union legally existing between the Kingdom and the Duchies, nor ever has been. It is a personal union only between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, and the thing to be now done is to establish this personal union upon a solid basis, consistent at once with the engagements by which the King stands pledged to the Duchies, and with the Law of July 31, 1853, regulating the succession to the united Crown according to the Treaty of London of May 8, 1852, which Treaty contains a recognition by the great European Powers, of the principle of the permanent integrity of the Danish Monarchy. The inhabitants of Holstein, like those of Schleswig, disclaim all desire to disturb that integrity; they are content to remain subjects of the King-Duke, as they long have been, but they find nothing in the Treaty of London requiring the formation of a Corporate State with an uniform system of legislation and administration in all parts of the Monarchy; while they do find that in Article III of the Treaty, it is declared that the former obligations of the King towards the Germanic Body, in respect of the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, remain unaltered. It would therefore be perfectly consistent with the object for which the Great Powers regulated the Succession, either to return to the former Constitution under the general Law of 1831, viz., by Provincial States, both in Denmark and the Duchies, subject to whose advice the King-Duke directed the affairs of the Monarchy, without the interference of any corporate legislature, or, what would be far preferable, to re-establish the Monarchy upon Federal principles, according to one of the several plans which I shall proceed to suggest. A well-regulated Confederation of the States of the Monarchy would give entire satisfaction to the Duchies, as involving within itself the settlement of the whole of the practical grievances which are now complained of; whether, and by what means, the Danes could be induced to agree to the principle of a Confederation, is of course a different question. The object of the Danish party being to maintain their own ascendancy in the Duchies, they cannot be expected easily to assent to any plan which would nullify their scheme of a Corporate State, and deprive them of the advantage of their governing majority. But I submit, that what the great Powers have to consider is, not what the Danes are willing to agree to, but what they reasonably ought to agree to, considering the actual legal position of Holstein, as a German State, the engagements entered into by the King with both Schleswig and Holstein, and the impossibility of making the people of those Duchies permanently submit to the exclusive rule of the Danish race. There is at Copenhagen a moderate as well as an ultra-Danish party. Possibly it may be true that the ultimate object of what is sometimes called the "Student" party (embracing not merely students but many leading political men in Denmark), is the incorporation of Schleswig with the Kingdom, in order that Denmark, as such, may be strong enough to become a prominent member of a future Scandinavian union with Sweden and Norway, which occupies the day-dreams of young Denmark, and was last year the subject of public demonstrations both in Denmark and Sweden. The more moderate Danish politicians, however, deprecate, for the present, all such enthusiasm, and they feel that the actual difficulties in regard to the Duchies are such that they would willingly terminate them by some concessions. The inhabitants of the Duchies, however, are little inclined to enter into any such compromise with the Danish Government, and they feel that the time has arrived for broadly asserting their rights, and endeavouring to place them for the future upon a solid constitutional foundation.

29. Before I take the liberty of indicating the way in which the Duchies may be rendered independent without endangering the integrity of the Monarchy, it may be convenient to recapitulate those grievances which have the character of *gravamina* in a legal sense, and ought to be redressed as a matter of right. They are:

A.—Grievances common to Schleswig and Holstein:—

(1.) The non-communication to the Provincial States, for their approval, of the Corporate Constitution of 1855, as promised by the King on January 28, 1852.

(2.) The withdrawal of the domains from the special management and use of the Duchies, and their application to the common purposes of the Monarchy, contrary to the Royal promise of 1852.

(3.) The unequal footing upon which the two nationalities are placed in the common legislature established by the Corporate Constitution of 1855, the Germans being therein in a perpetual minority.

(4.) The merely partial communication to the Provincial States of the Special Constitutions issued for the Duchies in 1854, after withdrawing the most important paragraphs from their consideration.

B.—Grievances particularly affecting Schleswig :—

(1.) The utter disregard of the German nationality, in the expulsion of nearly the whole of the native employés.

(2.) The like, as exhibited in the forcing the Danish language upon the German inhabitants in the churches and schools.

(3.) The like, as manifested in the systematic annoyances of the Danish police, and the prohibition of German newspapers.

C.—Grievances particularly affecting Holstein :—

(1.) The dismissal of high judicial and administrative functionaries, of professors of the University, and other employés, merely on account of their nationality.

(2.) The effecting of important alterations in the administration of justice by mere Ordinances, without asking the assent of the Provincial States.

(3.) The compulsory change of the money current in the Duchy, without the assent of the Provincial States.

(4.) The systematic restriction of the German press in the Duchy, without any adequate necessity.

(5.) The disregard of the University of Kiel, as the common University for Schleswig and Holstein, according to the Royal promise of 1852, by suspending the obligation upon the youth of Schleswig to study at that University.

Other grievances, such as the quartering of the Danish military in the Duchies and the removal of the German military to Denmark, the common customs tariff, the postage union with Denmark, &c., although often complained of, do not appear to fall within the category of those Constitutional *gravamina* of which the Duchies have a right to claim the redress.

No. 2.

Mr. Paget to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 26.)

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 22, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th of December last, I have now the honour to inclose to your Lordship the Report, with Annexes, addressed to me by Mr. Rainals, British Vice-Consul at Copenhagen, on his return from Schleswig.

This Report, which I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's favourable notice, appears to establish the following points :—that there is almost universal dissatisfaction in the "Mixed districts" at the existing regulations respecting the languages; that the compulsory education in Danish produces hostility and bad feeling towards the Danish Government, instead of creating Danish sympathies; that the effect of the regulations respecting Divine worship is to demoralise the population; that the complaints respecting the proceedings of the Government employés in the south of Schleswig and "Mixed districts" are in many instances well founded; that there is very little or no desire, as is pretended by a certain party, for political union with Holstein, still less with Germany; and lastly, that the Danish Government cannot do greater injury to their own interests, or better serve the cause of their opponents, than by allowing the grievances which are well founded to remain unredressed.

Your Lordship is aware of the repeated efforts I have already made to induce the Danish Government to remedy the evils above indicated, and of the frequency with which I have made use of the argument just mentioned. On those occasions I have generally received for answer, that the reports on which I founded my representations were exaggerated, and I had no evidence to prove that they were not.

I feel bound, however, to observe that I do not believe it would be of the slightest

utility bringing these matters before the Danish Government at this moment; for even if they themselves could be induced to listen to them, which I doubt, they would not venture to incur just now the opposition which any concessions to Schleswig would be sure to raise. If, therefore, any further representations are to be made to the Danish Government on this question, I am decidedly of opinion that they should be postponed to some more favourable opportunity.

I inquired of Mr. Rainals if he thought there would be any rising in Schleswig if the Federal troops entered Holstein, and he seems to be of opinion that there would not.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Vice-Consul Rainals to Mr. Paget.

(Extract.) *Copenhagen, February* 15, 1861.

1. IN conformity with the instructions contained in your letter of the 15th of December last, I proceeded on the 20th of that month to the Duchy of Schleswig, for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into the state of affairs and the feelings of the inhabitants of that Province, more especially in that portion denominated "Mixed districts," and in that more exclusively inhabited by a German population.

The matters to which I have principally directed my inquiries were those indicated in your letter, namely;—

(1.) Whether the promise of equality of rights and protection to the two nationalities, guaranteed by the Royal Patent dated January 28, 1852, has been carried into effect.

(2.) In regard to the working of existing laws bearing on public and private education, Divine worship, ceremony of confirmation, &c.

(3.) Whether the term "Mixed districts" can fairly be applied to all the localities now coming under that denomination, or whether the proportion would not indicate some of them as appertaining more properly to the Danish or German district, as the case may be.

(4.) Whether, as asserted, public offices are held by Danes to the exclusion of natives of the Duchy, and that these persons exercise their authority in an arbitrary and vexatious manner.

(5.) With respect to the feelings of the inhabitants on the subject of the re-establishment of their former union with Holstein.

(6.) Whether the discontent which is said to prevail in the Duchy exists in reality, and if so, whether it is the result of well-founded complaint, or is attributable to the workings of any political party hostile to the present organization of the Danish Monarchy.

(7.) On any other matter of interest bearing on the subject.

2. On all these questions it has been my object to obtain the most impartial and unbiassed testimony. I have, therefore, not confined my inquiries to any particular class of persons or to any political party. I have seen inhabitants of the towns, peasants and landed proprietors, adherents of the Government, as well as those who oppose their policy, and from the evidence I have thus obtained I am now enabled to submit to you the following Report.

3. With a view to a proper consideration of the subject it will be desirable to divide the population into two classes, namely, those who reside in the towns, and those who inhabit the country districts; and these classes must again be subdivided into four others, viz., those who inhabit the purely German districts south of the line Schleswig-Husum; those in the Frisian, on the west coast, between Husum-Tönder; those in the districts denominated "Mixed;" and those in the Danish portion of the Duchy, north of the line Flensburg-Tönder.

4. In all these parts I discovered less agitation than I had anticipated; but in the neighbourhood where prominent political characters resided I observed the feelings were more excited and the subject of grievance better understood.

5. The grievances most frequently brought forward in the towns of the purely German districts are: first, that the conduct of the Government employés, especially that of the police, is arbitrary, that they are generally Danes, or, when exceptionally natives of the province, only appointed because they are strong partisans of the Danish Government, and that, in all matters of concessions, licences, and other local advantages, they give those who profess adherence to their policy a decided preference; secondly, that the Government, not confining the introduction of the Danish language and institutions to the "Mixed

Districts," use all means to reduce German elements by appointing Danes as teachers in purely German colleges and schools who are not properly acquainted with the German language; thirdly, that, by the interference of the authorities, they have been deprived of all liberty in the selection of the members of the Diet, or of their Communal Bodies, the latter of whom, especially, are now chosen on account of their political opinions, and without regard to their capacities or fitness for the office; fourthly, that the object of the Government is to sever all former union between the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

6. The population of the purely German country districts confine their complaints principally to these: first, against the appointment of partisans of the present policy of the Government to all petty local offices, to the exclusion of others better suited; secondly, against the petty and irritating oppression exercised by the local authorities towards those who oppose or express their dissatisfaction with the system of administration; and, thirdly, in a few instances, against the total separation of the institutions of the two Duchies.

7. Upon the fullest investigation of these grievances, as far as lay in my power during so brief a period, I have come to the conclusion that the German nationality, in the districts indicated, suffers under great disadvantages, as I have satisfactorily ascertained that a large number of the most important public offices, to the great prejudice of the national pride, are held by Danes who, to say the least, show too much zeal in the execution of their duties, and too openly favour their partisans, while they unfairly pursue their opponents. In the villages I found the petty officials almost solitary adherents of their superiors. Numerous examples were furnished to me with regard to the arbitrary conduct of officials, in the infliction of fines and penalties for trifling disobedience, in depriving tradesmen of supplies to public institutions or other local advantages without just cause, in the management of public schools, and with regard to private tutors.

8. Beyond the appointment of Danish officials and Danish teachers I could not discover any foundation for the complaint respecting introduction of Danish elements into this German portion of the Duchy; but a general fear was evident that what had already been done in that direction would be followed up by further encroachments, and a very strong sympathy for the population of the neighbouring "Mixed Districts" was expressed on account of the forced introduction of the Danish language there.

9. I ascertained that the members of the communal institutions were, when possible, selected among the adherents of the present policy of the Government, or from those who professed to be so, but in many instances ill-suited, either by abilities or position, to represent the local interests of the place. Many of the most intelligent persons were excluded from election as Deputies to the Diet or to local offices, on account of having signed or been connected with addresses or petitions to the Provincial Diet, representing their grievances and praying for relief and redress.

10. The result of my inquiries regarding the wish for the re-establishment of former union with Holstein was, that in the towns I found a large number of persons, generally the most intelligent and the wealthiest, who desired it, but without separation from Denmark, and without Schleswig becoming a member of the Germanic Confederation. In the country districts I found the population almost indifferent on this head; when they referred to the subject, it was only as an alternative against the existing state of affairs; they said they had been happy formerly, and now they are the reverse. With the exception of some village politicians, who had evidently been instructed, few understood the advantages or disadvantages of the union.

11. In the Western or Frisian districts, where the church and educational language is German, and where the people speak Frisian, high and low German, I found the complaints fewer, save in the town of Bredsted, where the German language predominates, and the middle class of the inhabitants entertain very much the opinions of those of the more southern towns, opinions strongly supported by a local political leader, whose expressions were violent, but whose arguments were weak. The lower orders of the town and country population appeared personally content; but all loudly complained of the Danish language, as that of church and education, in the adjoining villages situated in the "Mixed districts."

12. Upon making inquiries, I did not find the few grievances I heard against the local authorities in these districts justified; but I also discovered that most of them are natives of the Duchy, and personally popular, though considered, by the "Union party" alluded to, as renegades, because they had remained faithful during the disturbances of 1848. As a cause of the general objection against the use of the Danish language in the neighbouring villages, I was told that these villages are incorporated with the Frisian country, and, consequently, frequent communication with them takes place; upon fol-

lowing up my inquiries I ascertained that the petty officials of these villages, strange to say, are obliged to receive and reply to all communications concerning their parish in German, though their educational language is Danish. I found that the Frisian language is rapidly giving way to the German, especially on the sea-side, and the reason assigned for this is, that many of the seamen who formerly served on board of Danish vessels now sail in those belonging to Bremen and Hamburgh, and, independent of this, the fisheries on the coast are almost exclusively carried on by fishermen from the Elbe.

12A. In the districts denominated "Mixed," where the educational language is Danish, and the Danish and the German languages alternately used in the churches, I first endeavoured to ascertain whether the one or the other of these languages predominated; and the result of my inquiries I give in annexed paper.

13. In the parishes of these districts, where German must be called the language of the people, as well as in those where Danish predominates, I heard nothing but lamentations on the subject of the state of divine worship, and the forced introduction of the Danish language, except from a few individuals, directly or indirectly connected with the Government, or decorated with the Order of Dannebrog as a reward of their labour in the cause of Danish institutions. Their grievances may be thus classified: Against the clergymen, first, because they are exclusively Danes, and do not properly understand German; secondly, because they too strongly and arbitrarily carry out the system of the Danish Propaganda, and conduct themselves more as police-masters and spies than as religious instructors; 2. Against the espionage and systematic annoyance of police and gendarmes on all occasions, both private and public; 3. Against the partiality shown by clergymen and employés to those who second their political views by granting them recommendations for concessions and licences required in all professions or trades; 4. Against the prohibition of teachers being engaged by two or more families in association, and the difficulties thrown in the way of even keeping private teachers; 5. In a few instances against the religious act of confirmation taking place in Danish; and 6. Exceptionally against the disunion of the two Duchies.

14. Most of these grievances I found confirmed in the main points. I ascertained that all children under nine or ten years of age are exclusively educated in the Danish language; from that age until they leave school, at the age of fourteen, they receive weekly twenty-four to twenty-six hours' instruction in Danish, and four, at times, I was told, only two or three hours' in German. But that education is neglected, as said, I did not find confirmed in the few instances where I had occasion to judge; but, as I was not permitted to attend examinations in the village schools, my inquiries were limited to asking children questions on ordinary subjects, on which I did not find them ignorant, though it would not be surprising if they had been, as in many places, especially in the western portion of these districts, the children do not go to school, except during the four winter months, attending herds of cattle, &c., during the remainder of the year; but this is, of course, done by the desire of the parents. The passive resistance of the population against the Danish language has, of course, an evil effect on education, as the children, as soon as they have left the school-room, hear no more Danish as a general rule. I frequently saw children at play outside the schools, and noticed that they invariably spoke German, even in the more Danish of these districts. The reason given by parents against the Danish as educational language is, that they cannot assist the children in their lessons, because they do not understand that language as written or printed, only having been been taught German, though they can sometimes speak low Danish—a language which I readily understood when addressed in it, but which I found difficult to follow when it was spoken between two of the inhabitants, as it is very different from the Danish as printed, and is mixed up with many German words.

15. Most of the clergymen are Danes, and some of them, by the admission even of their own colleagues, are but imperfectly acquainted with the German language, in which, nevertheless, they have to deliver a sermon every alternate Sunday. With few exceptions, they appear arbitrary in small matters, and consider their principal duty to be to force the Danish language upon their congregation, instead of propagating the Christian faith. In consequence they are generally more shunned and feared than respected and loved by their parishioners, and their churches are almost empty when Divine service is held in Danish, and indifferently attended when the service is German.

I saw a few clergymen who made exceptions to the general rule. Their humane conduct was fully appreciated, and their churches were better attended, though the cause they were obliged to advocate was not more popular. I have, however, good reason to believe that such men run some risks of losing their appointments for want of "zeal." To obtain positive proofs on this point was impossible.

16. That the espionage of the police and gendarmes is great, and that they annoy and

irritate the population at large, I had evidence of during my journey, and afterwards personal proof of, so much so that I remained a week less in Angeln than I had intended, because I found I could not pursue my inquiries without fear of injuring others by making them suspected.

17. The petty village officials I invariably discovered were chosen from among the few who are ready to serve as instruments of the Danish party, and the like persons almost exclusively held licenses as carpenters, tailors, &c.; whereas inns and public-houses were kept by opponents, as others did not apply for licenses, knowing they would meet with no support from the public. I always sought these "loyal" villagers, and found them, as a general rule, decorated with the Order of the Dannebrog; but nevertheless, with few exceptions, they admitted, when alone with me, that forcing the Danish language on the people was unjust, and did not advance the Danish cause, but had rather a contrary effect. They said the clergymen were unpopular, not so much because they are Danes, as because they care less for the religious welfare of their congregations than for the progress of the Danish language and Danish institutions. These men invariably made me promise secresy, lest they should lose their license or their appointment.

18. With regard to teachers, I ascertained that it is prohibited for two or more families—from economy or other reasons—to engage them in association, and the difficulties thrown in the way of keeping private tutors or governesses are many and very vexatious.

19. The objections against the religious act of confirmation taking place in Danish I found on the decrease. The reason given was, that as the children are taught religion in Danish, they may as well be confirmed in that language. During the latter part of my stay in these districts the Royal Patents of January last, on the subject of the religious act of confirmation, and with respect to private teachers, were published; and I shall later have occasion to refer to the effect they appeared to produce.

20. The yeomen and peasantry of the Mixed Districts have, as a general rule, no political opinions of their own. If they had any idea on the subject, it is principally among the population in Angeln, and then it is confined to a wish of an union with Holstein. The few persons here who enter upon the subject too evidently show that their ideas and opinions are not original, but are exactly those entertained by the large landed proprietors on whose estates they reside, or in whose neighbourhood their property is situated. But the present feeling with regard to the Danish language is so universal and so strong that I fear it would not take much to rouse them to open opposition.

21. The passive resistance of the entire population of these districts, called "mixed," to the forced introduction of the Danish language, and the irritating conduct of the clergy, is extraordinary, and they use every legal—and perhaps, sometimes, even illegal—means at their disposal to oppose both. Many persons admitted they had formerly spoken Danish amongst themselves and to their children, but now, with the exception of a few very aged persons, they speak low or high German to each other, and with their families. In many instances I found it even difficult to persuade persons to speak Danish with me; and I can state, without fear of contradiction, that a person only acquainted with German, travelling through these districts, would seldom, if ever, perceive that any other language is spoken there.

22. It cannot be denied that these people have also good reason to complain of Danish as the educational language, because their trade, especially in grain, is carried on with the German portion of Schleswig and with Holstein, where this language is useless, while a knowledge of German is indispensable.

23. In the town of Tonder, also situated within the Mixed districts, the complaints made were principally these: 1. On the subject of Danish education both private and public; 2. Against the arbitrary conduct of officials, especially during the late general election; 3. Against exclusion of native employés; 4. Against appointment of partisans of the Danish policy to communal offices, without reference to their fitness; 5. Against the union with Holstein being severed.

25. Upon instituting inquiries into the truth of these complaints I was led to believe they were exaggerated, though not without some foundation; thus I had an opportunity of ascertaining that the assertion that some of the teachers in the public school did not understand German properly, was incorrect, as admitted by several of the German inhabitants. The conduct of the authorities appears to me to bear the impress rather of want of local experience and knowledge of the people they had to govern, than of oppression, though I cannot but admit that their proceedings with reference to the recent elections bore the character of too great zeal, and perhaps even of revenge.

25. That Danes held the public offices to the exclusion of natives of the province I did not find quite in conformity with truth, as many of the better appointments had been

given to Schleswigers, though both the Governor of the county ("Amtmand") and the Director of Police are natives of the Kingdom.

26. Though the inhabitants of Tonder can generally speak Danish, and of the entire population (about 3,500) only some 500 use the German language among themselves, yet the feeling in favour of the union with Holstein is strong in the town, and this was made evident during the late election, when the German candidate, a strong partisan of the union, received a much larger number of votes, in the town, than his opponent, who, nevertheless, was elected principally through the support of the surrounding country population, who are likewise entitled to vote for the city member.

27. The rural population around Tonder I found generally satisfied, though a few said they would like a little more German taught in the schools.

28. In the town of Flensburg Danish sympathies and the Danish language are more common than in any town south or west of it. Nevertheless, very many of its inhabitants are dissatisfied on the following points: 1. The introduction of Danish teachers in the German college and schools; 2. The prohibition against engaging tutors, in association, or establishing private schools with unlimited number of pupils; 3. The partiality shown to those who favour Danish at the expense of German institutions; 4. In a few instances with reference to the supposed intention of entirely severing the union with Holstein.

29. Flensburg, being the capital of the Duchy of Schleswig, the seat of the High Court of Appeal, and the residence of numerous officials, civil and military, is differently situated from the other towns, and the direct influence of the presence of a Government is evident; moreover, the population, essentially commercial, enjoy many advantages through the direct trade with the Kingdom.

Upon making inquiries on the subject of the complaints I had heard, I ascertained that Danish teachers are almost exclusively employed in the college and schools, though Flensburg, as an *enclave* in the Mixed districts, is entitled to German as church, law, and educational language; and that the difficulties thrown in the way of educating their children in private German schools are unjust and injudicious.

30. The complaints against the employés for showing preference to the one at the expense of the other nationality in local advantages were not proved to my satisfaction. I found the conduct of this large and important body generally well spoken of, and ascertained that many of them are natives of the Duchy. The party in favour of the union with Holstein is not strongly represented; one of them, however, innocently assured me that the reason was that there were no lawyers sufficiently rich and independent to run the risk of agitating the question.

31. Having thus terminated my investigations in the districts indicated in your instructions, I proceeded northward through the Danish portion of the Duchy. In visiting the towns and villages on the east coast it appeared to me that the population is tolerably satisfied, but as my stay was but very brief I could not form any decided opinion. In the town of Apenrade some German is spoken, and, no doubt, there is a small dissatisfied party, but it is of no importance; whereas, in the town of Hadersleben a great deal of German is spoken, and the German sympathies of the more southern districts are present to some extent, but they did not appear to offer any great impediments to the Danish Government.

As Hadersleben is situated in a purely Danish district of Schleswig it would be difficult to satisfy the demands of the discontented with regard to the language. If concessions were made here they would be called for in places where German emigrants have formed little colonies around them in several otherwise purely Danish parishes.

32. It now remains for me to endeavour to give a *résumé* of the general impressions left on my mind with regard to the wishes of the inhabitants and the present state of the Duchy of Schleswig, together with the opinion I formed from what I saw and heard, respecting the general causes of the complaints, their possible remedies, and the difficulties with which the Danish Government have had and still have to contend.

33. First I would state that I never once heard His Majesty the King of Denmark spoken of but with respect and affection, while I did hear expressions to the effect that if he possessed the power he had the will to make his subjects happy and content.

34. I met with but very few persons who admitted that they desired separation from the Kingdom of Denmark or union with Prussia or Germany, and these few were confined to strong partisans of the nobility (Ritterschaft) and large landed proprietors, but so well are they aware that the population of the country do not share their sentiments, that they only communicated them when warm in argument and by mistake. The nobility and landed gentry formerly held Court and diplomatic appointments from Denmark, from which

they are now excluded, and entertain, perhaps, hopes of being similarly employed if union with Germany could be effected. But these two classes have, nevertheless, by their intelligence, wealth, and connections abroad a very considerable direct and indirect influence on the German population of the Duchy, which they use with the ostensible purpose of securing justice to the people and an union of the two Duchies.

The wish for a legislative and administrative union with Holstein was generally expressed among the intelligent persons of the population in the towns, but only to a small extent among those inhabiting the country districts, and neither party desired separation from Denmark, and much less union with Germany, or that Schleswig should become a member of the Germanic Confederation. I did not fail to observe that the opinions of many persons were influenced by a particular party hostile to the present organization of the Danish Monarchy, and in this I was confirmed by partizans of the union with Holstein, who admitted the influence alluded to, but confessed they had become the followers of the party only as a means of obtaining release from the vexatious system of the ultra-Danish party. They further admitted that their leaders, the nobility (Ritterschaft) and large landed proprietors, are not looked upon as their true friends, as they support the privileges of certain classes, and are adverse to the introduction of liberal institutions; that if justice were done to the population at large, an attempt would soon be made to deprive these very leaders of their prerogatives and power, but their influence was acknowledged to be so strong that it was doubted whether it could be thrown off without great sacrifices.

That this feeling on the part of the partizans of the "Union" is known to their leaders was personally admitted to me by one of them, but he entertained no fear of the object in view being accomplished.

35. Independent of the two classes alluded to there is a third whose influence in Schleswig is considerable. I refer to those persons, principally lawyers and clergymen, who were exiled after the events of 1848-51, and now reside in Germany, whence they keep up a constant state of agitation in the Duchy through pamphlets and newspapers; many of these I met with in the houses of the yeomen, although their entry into the country is prohibited, and I have reason to believe they had been supplied gratis. Some of these pamphlets, which I have perused, exaggerate the grievances of the people, and almost invite them to revolt, holding out a promise of assistance from Germany.

36. One other alternative for the solution of the question at issue entertained by the nobility (Ritterschaft) and some of the landed gentry is a division of Schleswig thus:—the portion a little north of the line Tonder-Flensburg, together with some of the western islands, in a like line, and the Island of Fehmern, to be ceded to Holstein, and become a member of the Germanic Confederation; that part north of this district, together with some of the Western Islands, in the line indicated, as well as Als and Aro, to be incorporated with Denmark; but such a division is not desired by any one else, and can only be accounted for when it is known that nearly all the estates of the party alluded to lie within the portion of the Duchy which they wish united with Holstein in the manner stated.

37. Some few persons are in favour of an independent Schleswig somewhat in position to Denmark as Norway to Sweden, and others are for a Schleswig in personal union with Denmark, but with separate legislation, administration, and, if possible, finances; this latter party is decidedly composed of those who may be considered loyal, and they are met with in different parts of the Duchy; but all stated that such arrangements could only be carried satisfactorily into effect if guaranteed by the Great Powers, or else they feared a reaction on the part of Denmark on the first favourable occasion, especially with reference to the nationality and language.

38. With the exception of Danes and a few employés I cannot say that I met persons in Schleswig who desire an incorporation with the kingdom, but all regret the present state of affairs, and, very many, that the disturbances of 1848 ever took place. Few of the inhabitants of the towns, and none of those in the country districts, desire war, but many expressed a doubt as to the possibility of resistance against the influence of, and dependence on, the leading opposition party in the event of German troops entering the Duchy of Schleswig.

39. The chief causes of complaint against the Danish Government throughout the whole province, even where parties are not individually interested, are:—1. The attempt to suppress the German language and institutions by the introduction of Danish in their place; 2. The oppressive and vexatious conduct of clergymen and of those holding public offices; 3. In a few cases that the income of the domain-lands of the Duchy is paid into the public treasury of the Monarchy, instead of being applied specially in the interest of that province; and 4. That taxes are too high.

40. The first two I consider just causes of complaint; the two latter not so, because

the proceeds of the domains of the kingdom which have been sold, and the income of those which remain, have also been paid into the public treasury of the Monarchy. The taxation is not higher than the population can afford to pay, and the general affluence and prosperity of the whole province proves this. These two latter complaints were, however, only seldom brought forward.

41. It cannot be denied that the Danish Government have been most unfortunate in the selection of their employés and their clergymen, the latter more especially, in the districts denominated "Mixed." The former are generally deficient, either in abilities or practical knowledge of the country and the people—a people who, as a race, are naturally intelligent and decidedly conservative; in some districts, especially in Angeln, reserved and suspicious. The employés also lack firmness in the proper execution of their duties, in place of which they appear to substitute a vexatious system of annoyance, irritating to the feelings of the population, inspiring contempt rather than respect, and in no way forwarding the cause they wish to serve. The clergymen appear to suffer very much under the same disadvantages, and, in addition, sacrifice their clerical duties to the political propaganda of the Danish language and cause; consequently they seldom possess the respect or affection of their congregations, but lead the people to adopt a system of opposition and deception which, if persevered in, cannot fail to have a demoralising effect.

42. Danish rule cannot justly be said to be inclement in Schleswig, save in matters concerning the advancement of the Danish language and Danish institutions, upon which most of the difficulties turn.

If the Government were closely to watch the conduct of their employés and their clergymen, and in no way make their position dependent on their success in Danish propaganda, or tacitly sanction their unwise and arbitrary conduct, much trouble would be avoided. If, bearing in mind that the German language has been upheld for centuries in districts where the language of the people was then, perhaps, Danish, they had gradually, instead of abruptly, introduced the Danish language, it would probably have been less opposed and made progress; but as matters now stand, when a question of religion and education has been turned into one of politics, it is hazardous to say that the concessions so loudly called for, if now made, would give entire satisfaction, though I firmly believe that they would have a most beneficial effect, more especially if liberally and speedily carried out. Those granted by the Royal Patents of January last, with regard to private tutors and the religious act of confirmation, I do not think will prove of much effect. I heard them discussed by different classes in Schleswig, but the general feeling was that they would afford the clergy new means of oppression. This was more particularly the case with regard to the permission of keeping private tutors, on condition that the Church visitors shall have the privilege, from time to time, to examine children thus educated, and if they do not consider them as far advanced as children of the same age in the schools (without reference to relative abilities), be authorized to compel parents to send them to the public school, thus leaving the Church visitors the absolute judges.

43. That the Danish Government have had great difficulties to contend with in the administration of Schleswig since the peace was concluded, cannot be doubted. In the first place, the part the native public servants, both civil and clerical, had taken in the disturbances of 1848, was such that dependence could scarcely be placed in them, and to replace them by other natives of Schleswig, suited for the offices, was perhaps an impossibility. The objection to employ persons educated at the University of Kiel is strong, because that institution is regarded as the cradle of opponents to everything Danish.

That the Government have constantly been harassed by a powerful opposition on the part of the nobility ("Ritterschaft") and the landed gentry of the Duchy, whose interest is not identical with liberal institutions, by which the population at large might be conciliated, cannot be denied. To this opposition is added, at the present moment, some from Germany; and the Government cannot feel satisfied that the grievances, to a certain extent used as a means of agitation, if remedied would lead to a satisfactory result.

I have also good reason to believe that they labour under another difficulty, viz., that of being incorrectly informed as to the true feeling of the people of Schleswig; some reports, especially with respect to the use of the Danish language, which I have read, bear strong evidence of misrepresentations or ignorance on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HARRY RAINALS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

Statements with reference to the Southern or purely German portion of the Duchy of Schleswig.

1. WHILE the Diet of Schleswig was holding its sittings in 1860, petitions were presented to it from several thousand persons, residents of all parts of the Duchy, setting forth their grievances, more especially with reference to the Danish language and Danish institutions, and praying for relief and redress. These petitions were, as stated, presented to the House; but, strange to say, on the demand of the authorities, though against the protest of the majority of the members, delivered up by the President to the police.

Legal proceedings were then instituted against a large number of the petitioners, though not all, under the plea that the form of the petitions was unconstitutional. The result was, that many persons were fined heavily, some in smaller sums, and some even imprisoned. Most of the petitioners were voters, and belonged to the more intelligent, though not wealthy, classes; and they were excluded from voting during the late general election.

During the same sitting of the Diet, twenty-six of its members drew up, signed, and presented to it, to be voted on, a petition to the King, containing very strong and almost revolutionary language, so much so that the President forbad it to be voted on. These twenty-six persons were principally members of the aristocracy, or of the wealthier classes. No proceedings were taken against them.

The partisans of the Danish Government state that no steps were taken against the twenty-six petitioners, because it was desired that interference in the prerogatives of the members of the Diet should be avoided.

Note.—The fines and expenses in these petition cases amount to more than 15,000 rix-dollars; but more than this sum has been subscribed in Holstein and Germany to defray them.

Inclosure 3 in No. 2.

Statement with reference to the Districts denominated "Mixed" in the Duchy of Schleswig.

1. WITH reference to the question, which portion of these districts may, as regards language, more properly be considered Danish or German, I submit the following statement as the result of my inquiries on the spot:

2. The districts to the southward of Tonder-Boo, as other portions of the Duchy, are divided into parishes, and the number of inhabitants of each parish, as given by me, is in accordance with the Census of 1855.

3. The Danish language is understood and generally spoken in the following parishes; nevertheless, the inhabitants not only understand, but now frequently speak, German, and sometimes even pretend they cannot speak Danish. In some of these places, where the people speak German, it is high, not low, German; and where this is the case, I found Danish the most ruling language. When the low German is spoken, together with the Danish, it is an indication of the reverse. The places where I observed the latter to be the case I underline*:—

	Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
1. Tönder	3,515	14. *Hanved*	3,036
2. Aventoft	615	15. *Rylskoo*	323
3. Ubyng	474	16. *Munkbrarup*	1,980
4. South Lygum	932	17. *Nykirke*	143
5. Humdrup..	562	18. *Hyrup*	611
6. Ladelund..	928	19. North Hagsted	670
7. Brarup.	808	20. Great Vie..	1,140
8. Karlum	642	21. Vandrup	577
9. Klœgsböl..	846	22. Hjoldeluna	679
10. Medelby	1,659	23. *Jove*	1,046
11. Valsböl	516		
12. Boo	1,719	Total	26,212
13. *Adelby*	2,791		

4. The Danish language is understood and, among elderly persons, spoken, but low German is now the language used by the people in the following parishes:—

	Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
1. Steenbjerg	1,058	7. Sieversted	835
2. Grumtofte	2,313	8. Egebœk	1,618
3. Quœrn	1,228	9. Fiolde	1,701
4. Husby	1,358		
5. Great and Little Solt.. ..	1,424	Total	12,884
6. Oversee	1,339		

5. The Danish language is understood by many, and spoken by some, very aged persons; but the low German is the language generally spoken in these parishes:—

	Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
1. Lyksborg	767	7. Tumby	706
2. Sterup	1,176	8. Olseby	344
3. Eskrüs	2,172	9. Struxtrup	661
4. Sorup	2,162	10. Farensted	1,383
5. Satrup	1,535		
6. Havetoft	1,829	Total	12,735

6. I found it extremely difficult to find any one, except emigrants from the North, or men who had served as soldiers in the kingdom, who could speak Danish; all spoke low German in these parishes:—

	Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
1. Gelting	3,396	5. Svesong	1,675
2. North Brarup	1,724	6. Ollerup	488
3. Böl.	1,467		
4. Treia	1,410	Total	10,160

7. In the parish named below, the languages spoken are, Danish, low German, and Frisian; but as far as I could ascertain, low German in excess of the two others—Lœk, with 2,646 inhabitants.

8. Recapitulations:—

	Population.
23 parishes where Danish is generally understood and spoken, together with German	26,212
9 parishes where Danish is understood and spoken by elderly persons, but where low German is now used	12,884
10 parishes where Danish is understood by many, and spoken by a few, aged persons, but the low German is now the language used	12,735
6 parishes where low German is the language	10,160
1 parish where Danish, low German, and Frisian are spoken; German in excess ..	2,646
Total population	64,637

9. With reference to the foregoing statements, it must be observed that, among the population of these districts are many who originally came from Jutland, where, at Ribe and at Kolding, markets were held, until a recent period, twice a-year, at which farm and domestic servants were hired. Some of the elderly persons with whom I spoke admitted they had thus become inhabitants of these districts. On the other hand, some emigrants from the German portion of the Duchy and from Holstein have also settled in this part of the province.

Inclosure 4 in No. 2.

Statement with reference to that portion of the Duchy of Schleswig denominated "Mixed Districts."

1. I WAS frequently told that the only means by which licenses or other "favours" could be obtained, was by attending Danish Church, allowing children to be baptized, and young persons to be married on Sundays when Divine service was in Danish, whether the parents understood that language or not.

I have reason to believe that there is some truth in this statement, for one clergyman admitted that he understood his duty to be—to advance the Danish language and cause wherever he could, and consequently he had used different means to induce persons to attend Divine service, baptize or marry their children, &c., in Danish. One of these means was, to tell parents that he would not allow their children to absent themselves from school to attend herds of cattle, &c., under the plea that they were not sufficiently advanced

* Printed in italics.

in education, unless they would conform to his desire with respect to language. This clergyman resided in a parish where I could not discover that the Danish language is spoken. Nevertheless he distinctly stated that he had succeeded in inducing persons to have religious acts performed in that language.

2. Another case, where a clergyman was ready to sacrifice the welfare of his parishioners to the Danish language was this:—In a northern parish, where both languages are understood, but where German is usually spoken, a number of persons, feeling the necessity of a Savings Bank, applied to the clergyman for his co-operation. He consented, and the necessary steps were taken. When all was prepared, a meeting was held, the statutes were read and signed. But the Angeln peasants, being cautious and suspicious, asked permission to read the statutes. Upon doing so they discovered a clause, stipulating that all books, correspondence, &c., were to be kept in the Danish language. This clause, they asserted, had not been read aloud, and they objected to it; whereupon the clergyman and three of his adherents declined having anything to do with the Bank, and retired. Another Committee was formed, and when I was in the village I saw the books, &c., which were in very good order; and at that time there was a sum of 12,280 rix-dollars deposited in the Bank, the savings of smaller peasants.

Memorandum.—Considering that both languages are permitted to be used in these districts in Courts of law, even the least that can be said is, that the clergyman carried his "zeal" very far. I saw him later, and he acknowledged the truth of the above statement, except that he persisted in saying that he had read the "Danish clause" aloud.

3. In another village a petition was presented to the church visitors, praying that documents, with reference to Church matters, might always be published in German as well as in Danish. The petitioners were fined 50 rix-dollars, and threatened with imprisonment, unless the fine were paid within three days.

4. Two yeomen desired personally to wait upon the Minister for Schleswig, on the subject of the forced use of the Danish language, and applied for a passport to Copenhagen,which was refused them; whereupon they went to Flensburg, obtained one there, and proceeded to Copenhagen, where they saw the Minister. Upon their return to their village, they were fined 80 rix-dollars for obtaining a passport under false pretences.

5. A new Arithmetic was ordered for a village school, and one, published in German as well as in Danish, was indicated. A peasant purchased the German edition, and sent his child to school with it. This was considered German agitation, and the father was fined 10 rix-dollars.

6. Twice during my stay in the Mixed districts I had occasion personally to observe the attendance at church, when the service was Danish: once in a parish with 1,500 inhabitants, when I found present, besides the children (compelled to attend) five individuals, three of whom were parish officials. On another occasion, I did not go into the church (situate in a more northern district), but I counted every person who did, and the number was thirty-nine; this was in a parish with a population of more than 2,300 persons. I was told this was an unusually good attendance, and so thought the clergyman, for, on calling upon him, he asked me if I had been at church; and replying in the negative, he said he regretted it, as more than 100 persons had been present. I did not contradict him. This gentleman was the same who refused to be connected with a Savings Bank, because his parishioners objected to the use of the Danish language in all transactions of the institution.

7. That want of zeal in the Danish cause, on the part of the clergy, is attended with risk of loss of appointment, I have reason to believe. In a district where the German language is really exclusively used, I head the Danish clergyman much praised, and learnt that he was kind and considerate, and allowed the schoolmaster to teach the children a little extra German twice a-week. I complimented him on his kindness in this respect; at first he denied all knowledge on the subject, but afterwards he admitted it to be true, and particularly desired me not to mention his name in connection with the subject, as if it reached the ears of the Dean he would probably be dismissed. He, as well as a few others of his calling belonging to the more humane, stated "too much" was required of them, and that the Government had carried the language question too far. Many did not hesitate to say that the system could not be carried out in the present generation, if ever. One clergyman assured me that his position was so intolerable that, but for the hope of early removal, he would resign. This gentleman acknowledged, that when Divine worship was held in Danish, he did not deliver a sermon—he had substituted catechizing—as he could not conscientiously do so to a few children, who could not understand its purport.

8. My attention having been drawn to the Danish libraries established in different parts of Schleswig, and having been told that the books were much read in the Mixed districts, I endeavoured to find out whether this statement were true. I met with German books in numerous yeoman and peasant houses, but, except in houses of Danes, or strong partizans of their cause, I saw none in Danish. I was told by some peasants that when they desired to stand well with the clergyman, they sometimes borrowed Danish books from him, but they never read them.

Calling one day on a clergyman who had reported that the books in his village library were in great demand, I inquired whether such was the case; he unhesitatingly answered in the affirmative, and added they were much read by old as well as by young persons. I asked permission to see the library, with a view of ascertaining whether the state of the books would confirm his assertion, which I doubted, but was told it was in charge of his wife. Shortly after, that lady made her appearance, and, upon the conversation being led to the subject of the use of the books, she, the librarian, distinctly stated they were never applied for; her husband remonstrating rather angrily, she added that sometimes the children read them, but never after they had left school.

The lady was not aware why I sought this information, but her husband was.

Inclosure 5 in No. 2.

Statements with reference to that portion of the Duchy of Schleswig denominated "Mixed Districts."

1. I CONSTANTLY met with persons in villages where I felt sure the Danish language was spoken, who, nevertheless, stated they could only speak German; some by persuasion, some by other means, were induced to speak Danish, but nearly all against their wish, except aged men and women, from whom I obtained much useful information as to where the language is spoken.

In one instance a man positively told me he could not speak a word of Danish; his high German was so bad that I did not believe him, and I soon ascertained in the village that he was a Dane, who had only been a year in the Duchy. Upon calling his attention to his folly he said his wife, who also spoke Danish, told him it was more "genteel" to speak German.

2. Upon entering a house in a village where Danish is well understood, and addressing the proprietor, a yeoman, in Danish, he said he did not understand that language, but his father (aged 80) did. I was led to the old man's chamber, and conversed with him in Danish, in the presence of the son. The old man suddenly commenced speaking low German, whereupon the son addressed him in Danish thus:—"Father, you should speak Danish with the gentleman, because you understand it the best."

The man was ashamed of himself, and the only excuse he could offer was that, by hiding their knowledge of the Danish language, they thought they might have a better chance of getting back their "own German."

DENMARK AND GERMANY.

Reports from Mr. Ward and Vice-Consul Rainals respecting the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, dated respectively May 28, 1857, and February 15, 1861.

Presented to the House of Commons, by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their Address of March 8, 1864.

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